

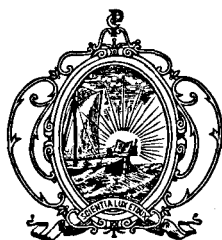


# **‘HAPPINESS FOR MANKIND’**

## **ACHAEMENIAN RELIGION AND THE IMPERIAL PROJECT**

by

**Bruce LINCOLN**



**PEETERS**  
**LEUVEN - PARIS - WALPOLE, MA**  
**2012**

# ACTA IRANICA

ENCYCLOPÉDIE PERMANENTE DES ÉTUDES IRANIENNES

## COMITÉ D'HONNEUR

Chahryar ADLE (Paris); Jes ASMUSSEN (Copenhague); Jacques DUCHESNE-GUILLEMIN (Liège); Farrokh GAFFARY (Paris); Badri GHARIB (Téhéran); Charles-Henri DE FOUCHÉCOUR (Paris); Gherardo GNOLI (Rome); † János HARMATTA (Budapest); Helmut HUMBACH (Mayence); Gilbert LAZARD (Paris); Pierre LECOQ (Paris); Manfred MAYRHOFER (Vienne); Asadollah Soren MELIKIAN-CHIRVANI (Paris); Antonio PANAINO (Bologne); Adriano ROSSI (Naples); Rüdiger SCHMITT (Sarrebruck); Shaul SHAKED (Jérusalem); Nicholas SIMS-WILLIAMS (Londres); Prods O. SKJÆRVØ (Cambridge, Mass.); David STRONACH (Berkeley); Werner SUNDERMANN (Berlin); † Georges REDARD (Berne); Bo UTAS (Uppsala); François VALLAT (Paris); Yutoka YOSHIDA (Kobé).

## RÉDACTION

Jacques DUCHESNE-GUILLEMIN, Professeur émérite de l'Université de Liège.  
Pierre LECOQ, Directeur d'Études à l'École Pratique des Hautes Études (Paris).  
Ernie HAERINCK, Professeur à l'Université de Gand.  
Philippe HUYSE, Directeur d'Études à l'École Pratique des Hautes Études (Paris).  
Bruno OVERLAET, Conservateur "Iran Ancien", Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire, Bruxelles.

ACTA IRANICA 53

IN AEDIBUS  
PEETERS  
LOVANI

ZGB 2761-53, GX



A catalogue record for this book is available from the Library of Congress.

ISBN 978-90-429-2525-0

© 2012

*All rights reserved. No part of this book may be reproduced or translated in any form, by print, photoprint, microfilm, microfiche or any other means without written permission from the publisher*

PRINTED IN BELGIUM

D/2012/0602/50



**For Jean Kellens**

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF FIGURES . . . . .	IX
LIST OF TABLES . . . . .	XIII
PREFACE . . . . .	XVII
 I. THE POLITICS OF THE PERSIAN PARADISE (THE PARIS LECTURES)	1
1. À la recherche du paradis perdu . . . . .	3
2. The King's Truth . . . . .	20
3. Space, Motion, and Climate in the Achaemenian Imaginary	41
4. Il faut cultiver notre jardin: On Achaemenian Horticulture and Imperialism . . . . .	59
Appendix to Chapter Four: Zoroastrian Mythology of Plants: Synoptic Table . . . . .	80
5. Implications of Grammatical Number in the Mythology of Vegetation . . . . .	89
 II. HUMAN UNITY AND THE DIVERSITY OF PEOPLES IN ACHAEMENIAN MYTH, ART, AND IDEOLOGY (THE SIENA LECTURES) . . . . .	105
6. Bisitun and Persepolis . . . . .	107
7. Naqš-ī Rostam . . . . .	127
8. The Unity and Diversity of Peoples in Later Iranian History. . . . .	145
9. Sacred Kingship? . . . . .	167
 III. AESTHETICS AND THE DEMONIC (LECTURES, 2008-9) . . . . .	187
10. Creation and Other Epiphanies in Achaemenian Religion	189
11. The Geography of Creation . . . . .	202
12. Representing the Lie in Achaemenian Persia. . . . .	213
13. Representing the Lie in Mazdaean Iran . . . . .	225
14. On Zoroastrian and Achaemenian Demonology . . . . .	237
15. Happiness Regained . . . . .	258
 IV. GREEKS AND PERSIANS . . . . .	269
16. Herodotus as Anthropologist . . . . .	271
17. On the Sisterhood of Europe and Asia . . . . .	289

# VIII

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

18. Myth and Diplomacy: Persian Overtures to the Argives . . .	304
19. Aeschylus's <i>Persians</i> and the Categorical Opposition of East and West . . . . .	324
20. On Persian Pedagogy and Greek Machismo . . . . .	335
 V. VARIA . . . . .	355
21. The Wise Lord's Will and the Making of Wonders . . .	357
22. Cosmogonic Myth and Dynastic Crisis . . . . .	375
23. Rebellion and Treatment of Rebels . . . . .	393
24. Happiness, Law, and Fear . . . . .	406
25. Big and Little in Old Persian . . . . .	425
26. Ancestors, Corpses, Kings, and the Land . . . . .	437
27. The Bifurcated Cosmos of Mazdaean Religion (with Clarisse Herrenschmidt). . . . .	446
28. Cosmology and Hydraulics . . . . .	462
 29. Reflections after the Fact . . . . .	473
 BIBLIOGRAPHY . . . . .	479
 INDEX . . . . .	523

## LIST OF FIGURES

1.1	Plan of the royal garden at Pasargadae (after David Stronach)	6
3.1	Lands/peoples of the empire, as listed in DB §6 (521 B.C.E.)	44
3.2	Lands/peoples of the empire, as listed in DNa §3 (c. 490 B.C.E.) . . . . .	44
3.3	Apadāna staircase at Persepolis, with relief sculpture of tributaries . . . . .	49
5.1	Colored tile relief from Susa, detail showing golden pomegranates on the butt end of spears carried by elite troops . .	99
5.2	Pomegranate fruit, with seeds . . . . .	101
5.3	Fruit of the plane tree, with seeds . . . . .	102
6.1	Rock-cut relief from Bisitun . . . . .	112
6.2	Darius's crown, as depicted at Bisitun . . . . .	114
6.3	Skunxa the Scythian, as represented in the Bisitun relief . .	115
6.4	Scythians wearing the pointed hat, as depicted on the Persepolis Apadāna . . . . .	116
6.5	Scythian wearing the pointed hat, Darius's tomb at Naqš-ī Rustam . . . . .	116
6.6	Eastern staircase ascending to the Apadāna at Persepolis . .	117
6.7	Original center relief toward which the Apadāna staircase ascended . . . . .	118
6.8	Extent of the empire, as defined by DPh §2 . . . . .	120
6.9	Bottom of the east staircase at the Apadāna containing delegations from the western peoples most distant from Persia . . . . .	122
6.10	Apadāna reliefs, Median delegation . . . . .	122
6.11	Apadāna reliefs, Ethiopian delegation . . . . .	123
7.1	Portion of a polychrome decorated wall at Susa. Procession of spear-bearers . . . . .	129
7.2	Tomb of Darius, Naqš-ī Rustam . . . . .	140
7.3	Tomb of Darius, Naqš-ī Rustam, detail . . . . .	140
7.4	Naqš-ī Rustam, tomb of Darius. The king stands on a platform	142
8.1	Mythic genealogy, as narrated in the Cihrdād Nask, according to Dēnkard 8.13.5-9. . . . .	157
8.2	Demonic genesis of less-than-fully human species according to Greater Bundahišn 14b.1-3 . . . . .	163



9.1	A portion of the relief sculptures on the Apadāna steps, Persepolis . . . . .	170
9.2	Apādana reliefs, detail . . . . .	185
11.1	The situation of Susa and the opportunity it provided for re-centering the Persian empire . . . . .	205
11.2	The situation of Susa on the river Choaspes . . . . .	208
12.1	Mutilated copper head (of Sargon?) discovered at Nineveh . . . . .	223
13.1	Bisitun relief, line drawing . . . . .	235
17.1	Geographic distribution of Okeanos's daughters according to Andron of Halicarnassus . . . . .	301
18.1	Taxonomy of lands/peoples, as seen from the vantage point of the Achaemenian Empire . . . . .	306
18.2	Mythic genealogy connecting Persians to Argos, as related in Herodotus 7.61 and 7.150 . . . . .	313
18.3	Persian interpretation of the Perseid genealogy, as reported in Herodotus 6.54 . . . . .	314
18.4	Ethnic identity of the descendants of Io, following the Persian variant reported in Herodotus 1.1 . . . . .	320
19.1	Correlated binary oppositions in <i>Persae</i> 492-507 . . . . .	331
20.1	Taxonomy underlying the Persian system of education . . . . .	345
20.2	Guards or soldiers equipped with long spears in reliefs from Persepolis . . . . .	354
20.3	Guards or soldiers equipped with long spears in reliefs from Susa . . . . .	354
22.1	Relations described in DB §10, dating roughly to the moment Cambyses departed for Egypt in 525 B.C.E. . . . .	376
22.2	Redefinitions of the situation in 522 B.C.E. accomplished through DB §§10-11 . . . . .	378
23.1	Relief sculpture at Bisitun . . . . .	395
23.2	Achaemenian genealogy, according to DB §§1-4 and 10, AmH §1, AsH §1 and CMb . . . . .	399
23.3	Transition from Median to Persian empire . . . . .	400
23.4	Structural logic that governs how eight of the nine rebellions of 522-521 B.C.E. are described in the Minor Inscriptions of Bisitun (DBb-DBj) . . . . .	401
23.5	Skunxa, the Scythian . . . . .	405
25.1	Semantic fields of Old Persian <i>maθišta</i> . . . . .	432
25.2	Taxonomy of offensive weapons, according to Vidēvdād 14.9 . . . . .	434
26.1	Relations of the dead and the land in Herodotus 4.127 . . . . .	443

26.2	Relief sculpture at Darius's tomb, Naqš-ī Rostam . . . . .	444
27.1	Taxonomy expressed through the sequence of creation as narrated in DNa §1 and variants . . . . .	447
27.2	Mazdaean cosmogony . . . . .	448
27.3	Consequences of Ahriman's assault . . . . .	451

## LIST OF TABLES

1.1	Periodization of events as falling in different eras, found in Darius's inscriptions at Bisitun and elsewhere . . . . .	15
1.2	The order of creation as narrated in Achaemenian and Zoroastrian sources . . . . .	17
2.1	Legitimations given for Darius's military action against various peoples according to DB §§52, 72, and 75 . . . . .	28
2.2	Differing, but interrelated accounts of what Darius claimed to have done "in [one and] the same year" and "after I became king" . . . . .	32
2.3	Speech acts attributed to the nine rebels in DB §§10-51 . . . . .	36
3.1	Formulae introducing the lists of lands/peoples. . . . .	47-48
3.2	Greek sources treating the Achaemenian king's annual rotation . . . . .	53
3.3	The Achaemenian king's annual rotation, according to Athenaeus, <i>Deipnosophistae</i> 513ef . . . . .	54
4.1	Conditions inside and outside different versions of "paradise" . . . . .	61
4.2	Zoroastrian mythology of plants in two variant traditions . . . . .	76
	Appendix to Chapter Four: Zoroastrian Mythology of Plants. . . . .	80-85
5.1	Lists of the Wise Lord's material creations in four Older Avestan texts . . . . .	91
5.2	Lists of the Wise Lord's material creations in eleven Younger Avestan texts. . . . .	92-93
5.3	Lists of the Wise Lord's material creations in Pahlavi texts . . . . .	94
5.4	Lists of the Wise Lord's material creations in the Achaemenian inscriptions. . . . .	98
7.1	Correlated binary oppositions in DSe §4 and §5 . . . . .	132
7.2	Formulae introducing lists of <i>dahyāva</i> (DPe §2, DSe §3, DNa §3, XPh §3) and describing responses to rebellion (DSe §4, DNa §4, XPh §4) . . . . .	138
8.1	Fate of the Wise Lord's original creations (as listed in cosmogonic accounts, DSf §1, et al.) over the three eras of cosmic time. . . . .	146-147
9.1	The four primordial creations, as narrated in four variants of the cosmogony written in Akkadian . . . . .	174

9.2	The fifth act of creation, as narrated in four variants of the cosmogony written in Akkadian . . . . .	175
9.3	Introductory formulae preceding lists of lands/peoples under Achaemenian rule . . . . .	179
10.1	Occurrences of the verb "to see" (Old Persian <i>vaiṇa-</i> ) . . . . .	201
12.1	Contrasted blessings and curses in DB §§60-61 . . . . .	216
13.1	Minor inscriptions at Bisitun, where Darius formulaically accuses his adversaries of having lied. . . . .	234
14.1	Descriptions of rebellions from DB §§11-49. . . . .	239-240
14.2	Prayer formulae in which the king seeks divine protection against identified threats . . . . .	248
14.3	Formulae describing the Wise Lord's final act of creation. . . . .	252-253
14.4	Binary contrasts drawn in DNb . . . . .	254
15.1	Occurrences of <i>šiyāti</i> and <i>šiyāta</i> and their temporal distribution . . . . .	264
17.1	Climactic classification of Okeanos's daughters according to Andron of Halicarnassus. . . . .	301
20.1	Greek accounts of the subjects taught to young Persians . . . . .	338
20.2	Bifurcation of the educational day, according to Strabo 15.3.18 . . . . .	340
20.3	Homologous temporal structures at the level of the day, the individual life, and the history of the cosmos . . . . .	349
21.1	Distribution of verbs used with the formula "by the Wise Lord's will". . . . .	366
21.2	Vocabulary correlated with <i>vasna</i> ("will") in all Avestan occurrences . . . . .	367
21.3	Variants on the creation account in which earth and sky are replaced by the term <i>fraša</i> ("wonder") . . . . .	369
22.1	Reworkings of Eurasian cosmogony in narratives of dynastic crisis and succession in 522 B.C.E. . . . .	387
22.2	Reworkings of Eurasian cosmogonic myth in Achaemenian narratives of dynastic crisis and succession in 522 and 338 B.C.E. . . . .	390
23.1	Competing identities between those claimed by speakers and those assigned by the "Minor Inscriptions" at Bisitun (DBb-DBj) . . . . .	397
23.2	Accusations of behaviors that constitute "rebellion" in the historic narrative of DB §§10-50 . . . . .	403
24.1	Relations of fear ( <i>trs-</i> ), happiness ( <i>šiyāti</i> ), and the Persian people/army ( <i>kāra</i> ) according to DPe §3 . . . . .	408
24.2	Interrelations of the two Old Persian inscriptions that face each other on the South Persepolis wall. . . . .	408-409



24.3	Protection against menacing evils, as described by DPe and DPd . . . . .	410
24.4	Sources of fear and their antidotes, as elaborated in the Achaemenian inscriptions . . . . .	419
25.1	Contrasting uses of Old Persian <i>kamna</i> , "few" . . . . .	426
25.2	Identity of persons who bear the title <i>mabišta</i> . . . . .	430
25.3	Contrasting hierarchic positions associated with Old Persian <i>vazrka</i> and Avestan <i>vazra</i> . . . . .	435
28.1	Homologies of time and space in Mazdaean cosmology . . . . .	462
28.2	Mazdaean homologies of space, time, number, quality, microcosm and macrocosm . . . . .	463
28.3	The tripartite schema as structuring device for mythic narratives of the Wise Lord's original creations . . . . .	464
28.4	Homologies of space, time, number, and quality in Zoroastrian mythic hydrology, as treated in Greater Bundahišn 11 . . . . .	467
28.5	Homologies of time, number, and quality in Herodotus's narrative of how Cyrus took Babylon (1.189-92) . . . . .	472

## PREFACE

One of the many absurdities transmitted to aspiring historians of religions at the University of Chicago in the early 1970s, when I did my studies, was the understanding that religion and politics were quite separate domains that had little relevance for each other. Implicitly, and at times in more direct fashion, my teachers and fellow students construed the religious as a privileged space radically opposed to the worldliness of the political, i.e. a pure realm where squalid matter found no proper place. Scholars, like priests, monks, and the faithful at large sought peace, contentment, beauty, meaning, depth, authenticity, and solace in the realm of the sacred, even if it was a sacred they experienced only at second hand. Accordingly, it was part of their professional responsibility to guard the refuge against profanation.

To this day, I am uncertain whether those who told — or those who heard, absorbed, and then retold — this edifying story actually believed it, for this raises the broader, more intractable query: "What does it mean to believe?" Regarding the more narrow empirical question, I can only observe that we students — like those judged good students in all disciplines — surely understood it was easier to pass one's exams, enter the guild, find gainful employment, get grants and make friends if one reproduced conventional orthodoxy with a reasonable semblance of conviction. At the very least, considerations of tact and prudence led us to render the question moot by leaving politics out of the discussion.

During those same faraway years, I was being encouraged to study Indo-Iranian and Indo-European religions, which — like all other religions — were portrayed and perceived as apolitical entities, to be studied in apolitical fashion. That these had been known as "Aryan" religions just a few decades before and had been treated in rather different fashion was for the most part ignored. And when, on rare occasion, this inconvenient fact was actually acknowledged, it was treated as a regrettable — but instructive — aberration that demonstrated the perils of mixing politics, religion, and the academic study of the latter.

I am ashamed to confess that like most others, I dutifully and uncritically internalized these attitudes, which affected my studies in numerous ways. Among these was my approach to Iranian materials, which were becoming my chief area of interest. Initially, I oriented toward Avestan

and then made room for Pahlavi, neither of which languages were taught at Chicago and for which I was lucky enough to get some assistance from Carsten Colpe, Eric Hamp, and William Malandra, to whom I remain deeply grateful. The logic of the choice seemed clear enough, for these were, after all, the languages of the Zoroastrian scriptures, which perforce held prime interest for a student of religion. Old Persian, in contrast, was the language of the Achaemenian royal inscriptions, i.e. political texts, which thus were understood to fall outside our disciplinary purview. As I recall, I gave the inscriptions a cursory read in Kent's translation and dismissed them as having a few points of interest, but for the most part being repetitive in diction, propagandistic in intent, superficial and perfunctory in their treatment of the gods. Conceivably, historians might find something of interest there, but not historians of religions (a distinction that carried the implicit concession that we were not really historians).

To be sure, there were a few historians of religions who did, indeed work with the Old Persian texts, although they exercised less influence at Chicago than they rightly deserved (Geo Widengren, Jacques Duchesne-Guillemin, and Ugo Bianchi, for example).<sup>1</sup> And I knew that philologists and Iranists proper had occasionally explored religious aspects of the Achaemenian world (Émile Benveniste and Gherardo Gnoli, above all at that moment,<sup>2</sup> for Clarisse Herrenschildt's strikingly innovative articles<sup>3</sup> and Mary Boyce's volume<sup>4</sup> had then not yet appeared).

<sup>1</sup> E.g. Geo Widengren, "The Sacral Kingship of Iran," in *La Regalità sacra. Contributi al tema dell' VIII Congresso Internazionale di Storia delle Religioni* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1959), pp. 242-57, idem, *Der Feudalismus im alten Iran* (Cologne: Westdeutscher Verlag, 1969); Jacques Duchesne-Guillemin, "Religion et politique, de Cyrus à Xerxès," *Persica* 3 (1967): 1-9, idem, "La religion des Achéménides," in Gerold Walser, ed., *Beiträge zur Achämenidengeschichte* (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1972), pp. 59-82, idem, "Le dieu de Cyrus," *Acta Iranica* 3 (1974): 11-21; Ugo Bianchi, "L'Inscription 'des daivas' et le zoroastrisme des Achéménides," *Revue de l'histoire des religions* 192 (1977): 3-30.

<sup>2</sup> Most notably in Émile Benveniste, *Le vocabulaire des institutions indo-européennes* (Paris: Editions de Minuit, 1969), passim and Gherardo Gnoli, "Politique religieuse et conception de la royauté sous les Achéménides," in *Commémoration Cyrus: Hommage Universel* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1974), pp. 117-90.

<sup>3</sup> Clarisse Herrenschildt, "Désignation de l'empire et concepts politiques de Darius I<sup>er</sup> d'après ses inscriptions en vieux perse," *Studia Iranica* 5 (1976): 33-65, eadem, "Les créations d'Ahuramazda," *Studia Iranica* 6 (1977): 17-58, eadem, "La religion des Achéménides: État de la question," *Studia Iranica* 9 (1980): 325-39, eadem, "Manipulations religieuses de Darius I<sup>er</sup>" in Marie-Madeleine Macfoux, ed., *Mélanges Pierre Lévêque* (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1987), pp. 195-207.

<sup>4</sup> Mary Boyce, *History of Zoroastrianism*, Vol. 2 *Under the Achaemenids* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1982).

But being young, naïve, and relatively unaware, I was content to follow the lead of my mentors. Politics stood apart from the study of religion. Consequently, Old Persian, the Achaemenians, and the royal inscriptions were very much off the table.

By the end of the 1970s, Ayatollah Khomeini and the Iranian Revolution had prompted me to reconsider the relation of religion to politics and to reorganize my research agenda.<sup>5</sup> Only in the 1990s, however, did I begin to explore this vast theme in the Achaemenian context. My first tentative venture was a study of the phrase Darius used to legitimate his usurpatory ascent to the throne, which he incessantly described as having taken place “by the Wise Lord’s will” (*vašna Auramazdāha*). Close study of Old Persian lexemes and diction revealed unexpected nuances, and consideration of related Avestan texts proved revealing in multiple ways.<sup>6</sup> Inter alia, they helped me recognize a) that the religious aspect of the Old Persian texts was not a superficial and cynical overlay, but a foundational part of imperial ideology; b) that the Achaemenian texts were no less religious than the Avesta, although the styles — perhaps also the goals — of religion attested in the two corpora had significant differences, as well as some deep continuities; c) it was thus extremely instructive to read the inscriptions along with related materials in Avestan, Greek, and even Pahlavi, provided one took account of both the subtlest differences and the strongest similarities.

Further work on the topic followed, some of which was published in articles<sup>7</sup> and some in a short book intended for a non-specialist audience;<sup>8</sup> most, however, took the form of lectures, symposium presentations,

<sup>5</sup> I discussed this reorientation in my “Introduction,” to Bruce Lincoln, ed., *Religion, Rebellion, Revolution. An Interdisciplinary and Crosscultural Collection of Essays* (London: Macmillan and New York: St. Martin’s Press, 1985), pp. 3-11.

<sup>6</sup> Bruce Lincoln, “Old Persian *fraša* and *vašna*: Two terms at the Intersection of Religious and Imperial Discourse,” *Indogermanische Forschungen* 101: 147-167. A revised version of this article appears as Chapter Twenty of this volume.

<sup>7</sup> Earlier publications that have not been incorporated in this volume include “The Center of the World and the Origins of Life,” *History of Religions* 40 (2001): 311-26, “The Cyrus Cylinder, the Book of Virtues, and the ‘Liberation’ of Iraq: On Political Theology and Messianic Pretensions,” in *Religionen in Konflikt: Vom Bürgerkrieg über Ökogewalt bis zur Gewalterinnerung im Ritual*, ed. Vasilios Makrides and Jörg Rüpke (Münster: Aschendorf, 2004), pp. 248-64, “From Artaxerxes to Abu Ghraib,” in Tore Ahlbäck, ed., *Exercising Power. The Role of Religions in Concord and Conflict* (Åbo, Finland: Donner Institute for Research in Religious and Cultural History, 2006), pp. 213-241, and “An Ancient Case of Interrogation and Torture,” *Social Analysis* 53 (2009): 157-72.

<sup>8</sup> Bruce Lincoln, *Religion, Empire, and Torture. The Case of Achaemenian Persia* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2007).



seminars, and sheafs of notes that piled up in my study. Gradually, I came to realize that the Achaemenian rulers theorized themselves as occupying the centerpoint of cosmic space and the midpoint of historic time, a situation that made them the most perfect, most moral of humans, but which also obliged them to wage the fiercest and most desperate of struggles, on which the fate of creation depends. This sensibility finds its fullest and most explicit expression in the highly condensed, highly formulaic, and therefore highly allusive account of creation that is placed — where else? — at the very beginning of numerous Old Persian texts. Many chapters of this book explore the multiple entailments and implications of this Achaemenian cosmogony, while others consider a variety of data in which a related cosmological sensibility and sense of moral purpose can be recognized. Having started with a goal both more narrow and more amorphous, I have gradually come to focus on the way Achaemenian categories of time, space, quantity, matter, deity, person, and morality were constructed such that rulers and others came to understand the imperial processes of conquest, expansion, domination, and extraction as nothing less than a divinely ordained mission of cosmic renewal and salvation. This volume is meant to make available the details of my analysis, while shedding light on a historically important and theoretically instructive case where the spheres of “religion” and “politics” prove virtually indistinguishable.

Seminars that I co-taught with Clarisse Herrenschmidt and Jean Kellens in 2002 and 2007, respectively, provided important stimulus to these researches and the help these distinguished colleagues offered was of inestimable value. Professor Kellens’ invitation to deliver a series of lectures at the Collège de France in May 2003 was particularly precious, as it prompted me to study the Achaemenian institution of the paradise-garden and its previously unrecognized relation to creation mythology, the ideals of kingship, and the expansion of Persian imperial power. The lectures I gave on that occasion are here published together for the first time as Chapters One-Four.<sup>9</sup> A subsequent invitation of Maurizio Bettini to hold a series of seminars on the theme “Alterity in the Ancient World” at his Center for the Anthropological Study of Antiquity in the Università degli Studi di Siena permitted me to explore the way Achaemenians theorized human unity and diversity, and the way this found

<sup>9</sup> An earlier version of the first lecture was published as a free-standing article: “À la recherche du paradis perdu,” *History of Religions* 43 (2003): 139-54. The others have not previously appeared.

expression in their iconography and tributary practices, work that is here presented as Chapters Six-Eight.

Other chapters have received hearings in various forums and all benefitted from the comments and criticism of colleagues to whom I am grateful. Along these lines, I would thank Clifford Ando, Stefan Arvidsson, Guittay Azarpay, Françoise Bader, Nicole Belayche, Philippe Bourgeaud, Nicole Brisch, Claude Calame, Pietro Clemente, Marcel Detienne, Christopher Faraone, Fritz Graf, Cristiano Grottanelli, Wouter Henkelman, Sara Iles Johnson, Bruce Kapferer, Charles de Lamberterie, Gregory Nagy, Richard Neer, Jan Ovesen, Mark Payne, Éric Pirart, Richard Rosengarten, Maria Michaela Sassi, John Scheid, Salvatore Settis, Pier Giorgio Solinas, Matthew Stolper (who also provided invaluable help on numerous specific points), David Stronach, Philippe Swennen, Xavier Tremblay, Hugh Urban, and Andrew Wolpert. I am particularly grateful to Jay Munsch and Nicolas Meylan, who provided able research assistance for various pieces of this work. As always, the deepest, most enduring thanks of all go to Louise Lincoln, for her unflagging support, limitless patience, astute critical eye, but above all for the extraordinary pleasure of her love and good company.

September 2009

Sankt Johann/San Giovanni, Süd-Tirol

# I.

## THE POLITICS OF THE PERSIAN PARADISE (THE PARIS LECTURES)\*

\* Chapters One-Four were originally presented in French at the Collège de France in May 2003, at the invitation of Jean Kellens.

## CHAPTER ONE

### À LA RECHERCHE DU PARADIS PERDU\*

#### I

Since the moment in the late 1970s when Clarisse Herrenschmidt dedicated her first extraordinary article to the unexpected complexities she recognized in the formulaic language of the Old Persian inscriptions<sup>1</sup> and Margaret Cool Root offered her penetrating analysis of royal iconology,<sup>2</sup> we have seen a quantum leap in our understanding of Achaemenian religion. Recently, progress has culminated in the magisterial synthesis of Pierre Briant, *Histoire de l'empire perse de Cyrus à Alexandre* (Paris and Leiden, 1996),<sup>3</sup> behind which stand numerous important and original contributions by scholars including Gregor Ahn, Jack Martin Balcer, Peter Calmeyer, M.A. Dandamaev, Jean Kellens, Heide-Marie Koch, Amélie Kuhrt, Pierre Lecoq, Heleen Sancisi-Waardenburg, Rüdiger Schmitt, David Stronach, Christopher Tuplin, Josef Wiesehöfer, and others.<sup>4</sup>

\* An earlier version of this chapter was published in *History of Religions* 43 (2003): 139-54.

<sup>1</sup> Clarisse Herrenschmidt, "Désignation de l'empire et concepts politiques de Darius I<sup>er</sup> d'après ses inscriptions en vieux perse," *Studia Iranica* 5 (1976): 33-65, "Les créations d'Ahuramazda," *Studia Iranica* 6 (1977): 17-58, "La Perse, rien que la Perse: Essai sur la royauté d'Ariyaramnès et d'Arsamès," in *Pad Nām ī Yazdān* (Paris: Institut d'études iraniennes, 1979), pp. 5-21, and "La première royauté de Darius avant l'invention de la notion d'Empire," in *idem*, pp. 23-33.

<sup>2</sup> Margaret Cool Root, *The King and Kingship in Achaemenid Art: Essays on the Creation of an Iconography of Empire* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1979).

<sup>3</sup> Pierre Briant, *Histoire de l'empire perse de Cyrus à Alexandre* (Paris: Librairie Arthème Fayard, and Leiden: Nederlands Instituut voor het Nabije Oosten, 1996), English translation by Peter T. Daniels, *From Cyrus to Alexander. A History of the Persian Empire* (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2002).

<sup>4</sup> Among a great many outstanding works, I would note Gregor Ahn, *Religiöse Herrscherlegitimation im Achaemenidischen Iran: Die Voraussetzungen und die Struktur ihrer Argumentation* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1992), Jack Martin Balcer, *Herodotus and Bistun: Problems in Ancient Persian Historiography* (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner, 1987), M.A. Dandamaev, *A Political History of The Achaemenid Empire*, trans. W.J. Vogelsang (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1989), Muhammad A. Dandamaev and Vladimir G. Lukonin, *The Culture and Social Institutions of Ancient Iran*, trans. Philip L. Kohl (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), Peter Frei and Klaus Koch, *Reichsidee und Reichsorganisation in Perserreich* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1984), Jean Kellens, "Trois



By now it is clear that the classic question — “Were the Achaemenians Zoroastrians or not?” — can be resolved only by imposing definitions of the latter term that are unduly restrictive. Thus, for example, if it is legitimate to consider all those who worship Ahura Mazdā (“the Wise Lord”) as Zoroastrians, and not simply Mazdaeans (i.e. Mazdā-worshippers), we can include the Achaemenians without hesitation. If, however, we decide that one needs to invoke — or at least mention — the name of Zarathustra, then Cyrus, Darius, and their heirs cannot be viewed as Zoroastrian, for the prophet (if such he was) is lacking in all their texts. Given the fundamental ambiguity of these documents, the question can be debated forever, but never resolved. And generations of Iranists, historians, and historians of religions have happily succumbed to the temptation.<sup>5</sup>

Gradually, however, the majority of experts have abandoned this question to consider one that is broader in scope, and also more productive. To wit: What role did religious beliefs (of whatever sort) play in the construction of the Achaemenian empire? Of particular interest in this context are 1) the understanding of Ahura Mazdā as a God and Creator who is marked by absolute benevolence, uncompromised by any hint of evil; 2) the opposition between Truth (*rtā*) and the Lie (*drauga*) as the foundation of an ethical dualism; and 3) the prominent position assigned to the king as God’s chosen instrument. With this change in perspective, we pass from a sterile nominalism to research designed to explicate the strategies through which a great imperial power of antiquity

réflexions sur la religions des Achéménides,” *Studien zur Indologie und Iranistik* 2 (1976): 113-32, idem, ed., *La religion iranienne à l’époque achéménide* (Gent: Iranica Antiqua, 1991), Heide-Marie Koch, *Die religiöse Verhältnisse der Dareioszeit* (Göttingen: Göttinger Orientforschungen, 1977), eadem, *Achämeniden-Studien* (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1993), Amélie Kuhrt and Heleen Sancisi-Waardenburg, eds., *Achaemenid History* (Leiden: Nederlands Instituut voor het Nabije Oosten, 1987- ), Pierre Lecoq, *Les inscriptions de la perse achéménide* (Paris: Gallimard, 1997), Heleen Sancisi-Waardenburg, *Yaunā en Persai: Grieken en Perzen in een ander perspectief* (Groningen: Dijkstra Niemeyer, 1980), David Stronach, *Pasargadae. A Report on the Excavations Conducted by the British Institute of Persian Studies from 1961 to 1963* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1978), Josef Wiesehofer, *Der Aufstand Gaumatas und die Anfänge Dareios I* (Bonn: Habelt, 1978).

<sup>5</sup> For a summary of positions up to 1980, see Clarisse Herrenschmidt, “La religion des achéménides: État de la question,” *Studia Iranica* 9 (1980): 325-39. Since that time many of the items in the previous note have appeared, along with Mary Boyce, *History of Zoroastrianism. Vol. II: Under the Achaemenians* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1982), Martin Schwartz, “The Religion of Achaemenian Iran,” in Ilya Gershevitch, ed., *The Cambridge History of Iran. Vol. 2: The Median and Achaemenian Periods* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), pp. 664-97, and Edwin Yamauchi, *Persia and the Bible* (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Books, 1996).

imagined itself, motivated itself, and legitimated itself. Conceivably, this is also a research program that has certain contemporary resonance and interest, provided one does not exaggerate the parallels.

## II

In the present chapter, I want to consider the nature and importance of the institution the Achaemenians called *\*pairi.daiza*, the term from which we have received the word, but — according to general opinion — not the religious idea of “paradise.” For reasons that will gradually become clear, however, I have begun to consider that opinion debatable.

Technically, *\*pairi.daiza* is a Median form adopted by the Achaemenians. Like related terms in other Iranian languages (Avestan *pairi.daēza*, Old Persian *pairi.daida*, New Persian *pālēz*, etc.), it designates an enclosing wall and the territory it encompasses, just like its Greek equivalent *peri-teikhós*. The Achaemenians built such structures throughout their empire, consistently selecting the most pleasant locales for their placement. Inside these walls they used techniques of irrigation to create lush gardens, in which they planted an enormous variety of exotic plants. Some *paradeisoi* also contained animals for hunting, but in all cases the intent seems to have been to create an exquisite space, in which the king and nobility could disport themselves, rest, and enjoy exquisite pleasure.<sup>6</sup>

Apparently the other peoples of the Ancient Near East considered the Achaemenian paradise as a strictly Persian entity, to describe which they had no adequate word in their own languages and for which they consistently adopted the Iranian term as a loanword: *pardēs* in Hebrew, *pardēsu* in Akkadian, *partēz* in Armenian, *partētaš* in Elamite, *firdaus* in Arabic, and *paradeisos* in Greek, a language in which very few Iranian loans are attested.

In general, the Greek authors from whom we have our descriptions of the Persian *paradeisoi* emphasized the abundance of fish, birds, wild and domestic animals, trees and plants to be found, regularly specifying that

<sup>6</sup> The fullest studies to date of this institution are Wolfgang Fauth, “Der königliche Gärtner und Jäger im Paradeisos: Beobachtungen zur Rolle des Herrschers in der vorderasiatischen Hortikultur,” *Persica* 8 (1979): 1-53, Christopher Tuplin, “The Parks and Gardens of the Achaemenid Empire,” in Tuplin, *Achaemenid Studies* (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner, 1996), op cit., pp. 80-131, Anders Hultgård, “Das Paradies: vom Park des Perserkönigs zum Ort der Seligen,” in M. Hengel et al., eds., *La cité de dieu = Die Stadt Gottes* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2000) 1-43, and Jan N. Bremmer, “The Birth of Paradise,” in *Greek Religion and Culture, the Bible, and the Ancient Near East* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 2008), pp. 35-55.

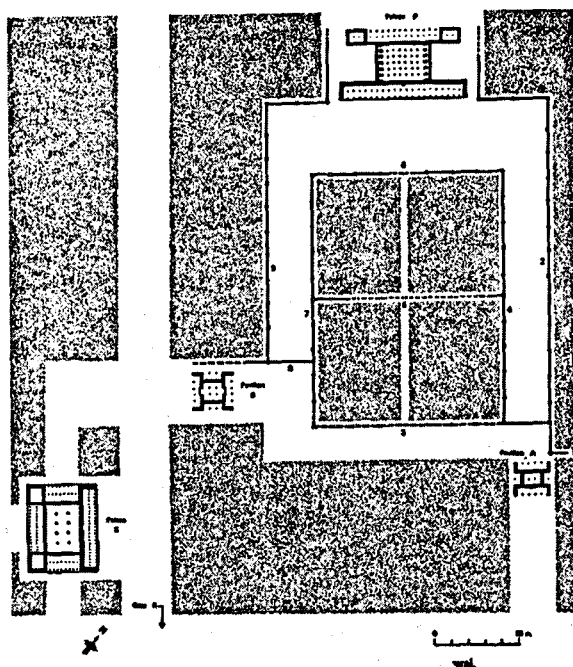


Fig. 1.1 Plan of the royal garden at Pasargadae (after David Stronach).

these were “of every species.”<sup>7</sup> They also regularly noted their ideal climate, sometimes contrasting this to the heat, cold, or desiccation of neighboring environs.<sup>8</sup> Such perfection resulted from the technical enhancement of a terrain already favored by nature, whose temperature was regulated by shade and moisture by irrigation.

Thanks to excavations led by David Stronach, we know rather well the *paradeisos* that Cyrus built at Pasargadae (Figure 1.1), which included a

<sup>7</sup> Plants “of all sorts” or “of every species” are mentioned by Xenophon, *Anabasis* 1.4.10 and 2.4.14, idem, *Æconomicus* 4.13-14, Arrian, *Indica* 8.40.3-4, idem, *Anabasis* 6.29.4, Diodorus Siculus 5.19.2 and 19.21.3, Longus 4.2; animals by Xenophon, *Cyropaedia* 1.3.14, idem, *Anabasis* 1.2.7, Arrian, *Indica* 8.40.3-4, Diodorus Siculus 19.21.3; birds by Xenophon, *Hellenica* 4.1.15-16, Arrian, *Indica* 8.40.3-4, Achilles Tatius 1.15; fish by Xenophon, *Hellenica* 4.1.15-16. Abundance of vegetation is signalled in more general terms by Xenophon, *Hellenica* 4.1.33, idem, *Æconomicus* 4.14, Diodorus Siculus 14.79.2, and Achilles Tatius 1.15; abundance of animals by Xenophon, *Hellenica* 4.1.33, idem, *Anabasis* 1.2.7, and Curtius Rufus, 8.1.11.

<sup>8</sup> The abundant waters of a *paradeisos* are mentioned by Xenophon, *Anabasis* 1.2.7, Plutarch, *Alcibiades* 24.5, Diodorus Siculus 5.19.2 and 19.21.3, Curtius Rufus 8.1.12, Septuagint *Genesis* 2.10-14, *Ecclesiastes* 2.6, *Song of Solomon* 4.12-15. Irrigation is specifically mentioned by Arrian, *Anabasis* 6.29.4 and Diodorus Siculus 5.19.2. Contrast to surrounding areas that are too hot and dry figures in Arrian, *Indica* 8.40.2-3, Diodorus Siculus 19.21.2-3, too cold in Arrian, *Indica* 8.40.3-4, Plutarch, *Artaxerxes* 25.1.

magnificent rectangular garden at the center of the palace, alongside a portico with colonnade. Inside the portico was a royal throne and a number of seats reserved for nobles, who were able to gaze out on the garden from this covered space or descend and stroll through the vegetation.<sup>9</sup> The walls that enclosed the garden had two gates, which admitted visitors and water through two irrigation channels. Inside, the space was divided into four sectors, representing the four cardinal directions. Arrian has left us a brief description: "The grave of Cyrus was in the royal preserve (*basilikōi*) at Pasargadae, and around it there flourished a grove with every sort of tree. It was irrigated with water and deep grass grew in the meadow."<sup>10</sup>

In general, Greek authors treated *paradeisos* as a technical term, which indicated the Achaemenian institution and nothing other.<sup>11</sup> Xenophon, for example, who first introduced this word, stated quite specifically: "There are gardens, which are called *paradeisoi*, full of everything good and beautiful that the earth cares to grow, and in these [the Persian king] passes most of his time when the season does not prevent it."<sup>12</sup> Hesychius, for his part, defined *paradeisos* as "a well-watered place in which

<sup>9</sup> David Stronach, "The Royal Garden at Pasargadae: Evolution and Legacy," in L. de Meyer and E. Haerlinck, eds., *Archeologia Iranica et Orientalis. Miscellanea in honorem Louis van den Berghe* (Ghent: Peeters, 1989), 1: 475-502, idem, "The Garden as a Political Statement: Some Case Studies from the Near East in the First Millennium B.C.," *Bulletin of the Asia Institute* 4 (1990): 171-80.

<sup>10</sup> Arrian, *Anabasis* 6.29.4: Εἶναι γὰρ ἐν Πασαργάδαις ἐν τῷ παραδείσῳ τῷ βασιλικῷ Κύρου ἐκείνου τάφον, καὶ περὶ αὐτὸν ἄλσος πεφυτεῦσθαι δένδρων παντοίων, καὶ ὕδατι εἶναι κατάρρυτον καὶ πόαν βαθεῖαν πεφυκέναι ἐν τῷ λειμῶνι.

<sup>11</sup> An important exception is the description of the *paradeisoi* that were a significant part of the splendid beauties and pleasures of Atlantis, as imagined by Diodorus Siculus 5.19.2. More broadly, the entire discussion of 5.19.1-5 seems to model Atlantis on the *paradeisos*, including its fruitfulness and productivity (5.19.1, 2, 5), beauty (5.19.1), abundant sweet water (5.19.2, 3), varied species of vegetation (5.19.2, 3, 5), animals for hunting (5.19.4) and fish (5.19.4), luxury and pleasure (5.19.2), healthful climate (5.19.3, 5). All of this leads to the following conclusion.

*On the whole, the island has a climate so utterly temperate that for the whole year it produces abundant fruit from trees and of other seasonal kinds. Thus, it seems as if it were really the life-filled place (embiōstērion) of some gods, not of humans, through the extremity of its happiness and good fortune (hyperbolēn tēs eudaimonias).*

καθόλου δ' ἡ νῆσος αὕτη τὸν περικείμενον ἀέρα παντελῶς εὐκρατον ἔχουσα τὸ πλεόν μέρος τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ φέρει πλῆθος ἀκροδρῶν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν ὥραιων, ὥστε δοκεῖν αὐτὴν ὥσει θεῶν τινων, οὐκ ἀνθρώπων ὑπάρχειν ἐμβιωτήριον διὰ τὴν ὑπερβολὴν τῆς εὐδαιμονίας.

<sup>12</sup> Xenophon, *Oeconomicus* 4.13: ὅπως κῆποι τε ἔσονται οἱ παράδεισοι καλοῦμενοι πάντων καλῶν τε κάγαθῶν μεστοί, ὅσα ἡ γῆ φύειν θέλει, καὶ ἐν τοῦτοις αὐτὸς τὰ πλεῖστα διατρίβει.

to stroll and for the relaxation of the king.”<sup>13</sup> In a passage of the Septuagint, however, the Alexandrian translators of the Bible used this word in a more pregnant sense to render *gan*, the Hebrew term for “garden.”

*And the Lord God planted a paradeisos in Eden to the east, and he placed there the man whom he had created. And God caused to grow from the earth every tree that was beautiful to see and good to eat, and the tree of life in the middle of the paradeisos, and the tree of knowledge of good and evil. A river went forth from Eden to irrigate the paradeisos, and from there it separated into four sources. The name of the first is Phison (Heb. Pishon). This one encircles all the land of Havilah, where there is gold. The gold of this land is good, and there are rubies and emeralds there. The name of the second river is Phëon (Heb. Gihon). This one encircles all the land of Ethiopia. The third river is the Tigris, which passes opposite Assyria, and the fourth river is the Euphrates. And the Lord God took the man whom he had created, and he set him in the paradeisos to work and watch over it.<sup>14</sup>*

Our sense of the term “paradise” as a place and state of primordial perfection, tragically lost through the first manifestation of evil, but recuperable individually at the end of life and collectively at the end of time is based on this passage of the Septuagint, from which the word enters virtually all European languages. Prior to the Septuagint, we have no attestation of this dense constellation of ideas and images in connection with this term. In fact, the term appears only once in the Achaemenian inscriptions, and that occurrence — Artaxerxes II’s assertion that his

<sup>13</sup> Hesychius, gloss on paradeisos: ἡ τόπος εὐδρος, ἐν ᾧ περίπατοι. Καὶ ἡ βασιλέως κατάλυσις. Diodorus Siculus 16.41.5 also characterizes the paradise as the place where “the Persian kings were accustomed to practice their relaxations (τὸν μὲν βασιλικὸν παράδεισον ἐν ᾧ τὰς καταλύσεις οἱ τῶν Περσῶν βασιλεῖς εἰώθεισαν ποιεῖσθαι), adding — quite significantly — that this made it the first place attacked by rebels, who cut down the garden’s trees.

<sup>14</sup> LXX Genesis 2.8-15: Καὶ ἐφύτευεν κύριος ὁ θεὸς παράδεισον ἐν Ἑδεμ κατὰ ἀνατολάς καὶ ἔθετο ἐκεῖ τὸν ἄνθρωπον ὃν ἔπλασεν. καὶ ἐξανέτειλεν ὁ θεὸς ἔτι ἐκ τῆς γῆς πᾶν ξύλον ὠραῖον εἰς ὄρασιν καὶ καλὸν εἰς βρῶσιν καὶ τὸ ξύλον τῆς ζωῆς ἐν μέσῳ τῷ παραδείσῳ καὶ τὸ ξύλον τοῦ εἰδέναι γνωστὸν καλοῦ καὶ πονηροῦ. ποταμὸς δὲ ἐκπορεύεται ἐξ Ἑδεμ ποτίζειν τὸν παράδεισον· ἐκεῖθεν ἀφορίζεται εἰς τέσσαρας ἀρχάς. ὄνομα τῷ ἐνὶ Φεισῶν· οὗτος ὁ κυκλῶν πᾶσαν τὴν γῆν εὐδείλατ, ἐκεῖ οὐ ἔστιν τὸ χρυσίον· τὸ δὲ χρυσίον τῆς γῆς ἐκεῖθεν καλόν· καὶ ἐκεῖ ἔστιν ὁ ἄνθραξ καὶ ὁ λίθος ὁ πράσινος. καὶ ὄνομα τῷ ποταμῷ τῷ δευτέρῳ Γηῶν· οὗτος ὁ κυκλῶν πᾶσαν τὴν γῆν Αἰθιοπίας. καὶ ὁ ποταμὸς ὁ τρίτος Τίγρις· οὗτος ὁ πορευόμενος κατέναντι Ἀσσυρίων. ὁ δὲ ποταμὸς ὁ τέταρτος, Εὐφράτης. Καὶ ἔλαβεν κύριος ὁ θεὸς τὸν ἄνθρωπον, ὃν ἔπλασεν, καὶ ἔθετο αὐτὸν ἐν τῷ παραδείσῳ ἐργάζεσθαι αὐτὸν καὶ φυλάσσειν. Elsewhere, the Septuagint uses the term *paradeisos* to denote gardens filled with all manner of exotic fruit trees (Ecclesiastes 2.5, Song of Songs 4.13), as well as an Achaemenian royal garden (Nehemiah 2.8).

In two extremely learned articles, Jan Bremmer has tackled this problem, arguing that the *paradeisos* of the Septuagint derives from Hellenistic, rather than Persian models.<sup>17</sup> In support of this thesis, he offers a meticulously thorough reading of the Greek and Hebrew evidence, but overlooks certain Old Persian, Avestan, and Pahlavi materials that prompt a different conclusion. Making use of these, I would like to suggest that a set of themes similar to those in the passage from Genesis found expression in the Persian institution of the *\*pairi.daiza*, themes that include the original perfection of creation, the world's fall from that enchanted state, and the possibility of recovering that Paradise Lost. This last hope, I will argue, helped animate the expansionist politics of the Achaemenian empire, which acquired in this fashion a distinctly religious coloration.

<sup>16</sup> Diodorus Siculus 5.19.1-5.

<sup>17</sup> J.N. Bremmer, "Paradise: from Persia, via Greece, into the Septuagint," in Gerard P. Luttikhuisen, ed., *Paradise Interpreted: Representations of Biblical Paradise in Judaism and Christianity* (Leiden: Brill, 1999), pp. 1-20 and "The Birth of Paradise," op cit.

## III

Twenty-three Achaemenian inscriptions begin with an account of the creation. Although some differences exist among these variants, they are not so great as to have deep significance for our inquiry and we can content ourselves with the text Darius the Great placed on his tomb at Naqš-ī Rostam, also at Susa, Suez, and Elvend.

*A great god is the Wise Lord, who created this earth, who created that sky, who created mankind, who created happiness for mankind, who made Darius king: one king over many, one commander over many.*<sup>18</sup>

Obviously, the five entities mentioned in this brief cosmogony do not have the same ontological status, and they are not coeval. Thus, while the first four acts of creation took place at the dawn of time, the fifth — i.e. the installation of Darius as king — followed much later. This came in 522 B.C.E., some years before the composition of this inscription, for which Darius and his scribes were responsible. Inclusion of his accession in the cosmogonic account simultaneously suggests: 1) the continuity of divine creativity; 2) the capacity of the Wise Lord to intervene within human history; and 3) the extraordinary situation of 522, concerning which we will presently speak.

With linguistic subtlety, the text places a caesura after its account of the first four creations through the vocabulary it uses. Thus, to say that the Wise Lord enthroned Darius as king, the text employs the term *kar-*, a fairly common and vague verb, whose semantics are more or less the equivalent of French *faire* ("to make, to do"), here employed with a double accusative: "He made Darius king" (*Dārayavaum xšāyaθiyam akunauš*). In contrast, for the first four creations, the text uses a much more specialized verb: <sup>2</sup>*dā-*, which means "to put in place for the first time; establish; install."<sup>19</sup> In Old Persian, this verb never has any other

<sup>18</sup> DNa §1: *baga vazrka Auramazdā, haya imām būmīm adā, haya avam asmānam adā, haya martiyam adā, haya šiyātim adā martiyahyā, haya Dārayavaum xšāyaθiyam akunauš, aivam parūnām xšāyaθiyam, aivam parūnām framātāram*. Cf. DSe §1, DSf §1, DSt §1, DZc §1, and DE §1. Significant variations occur at DSP §1, DSs §1, and DNb §1. For an exhaustive study of this and the variants produced by later Achaemenian monarchs, see Herrenschildt, "Les créations d' Ahuramazda," *op cit*. The importance of the creation myth in Achaemenian religious ideology was also recognized by Ugo Bianchi, "Dieu créateur et vision universaliste: Le cas de l'empire achéménide," in Philippe Gignoux, ed., *La commémoration. Colloque du centenaire de la section des sciences religieuses de l'école pratique des hautes études* (Louvain: Peeters, 1988), pp. 191-200.

<sup>19</sup> Regarding the semantic range of <sup>2</sup>*dā-* in Old Avestan, see Jean Kellens, "Ahura Mazdā n'est pas un dieu créateur," in C.-H. de Fouchécour and Ph. Gignoux, *Études irano-aryennes offertes à Gilbert Lazard* (Paris: Association pour l'avancement des

subject than Ahura Mazdā and it always describes primordial divine action, carrying the implication that the products of such action are themselves fully good, much like their Creator.<sup>20</sup>

After the original creation in four parts, one can infer that there followed a period in which the Wise Lord ceased his creative action. During this interval, however, problems arose, which forced the deity to abandon his otiosity and to make Darius king.

#### IV

We will return to the problem of the temporal interval in the drama of creation that ended with Darius's accession, but first it is useful to consider the fourth of the Wise Lord's original creations, i.e. "happiness for mankind" (*šiyāti... martiyahyā*).<sup>21</sup> This is the sole abstraction in the account and, in contrast to earth, sky, and mankind, it is rather rare for such an item to make an explicit appearance in the world's mythologies of creation. Accordingly, it poses a greater challenge for interpretation than do the other members of the set, as can be seen from Elamite versions of the trilingual inscriptions, where the same term appears as a loanword (Elam. *ši-ia-ti-um be-ip-la-iš-da* "happiness for mankind"). In the Akkadian versions, however, one finds *dum-qi a-na niše<sup>meš</sup>* from *dum-qu*, a substantive whose semantics include 1) good fortune; 2) divine favor; 3) well-being, prosperity; 4) beauty; and 5) treasure, favorite thing.<sup>22</sup> Etymologically, one can establish a connection between *šiyāti*

études iraniennes, 1989), pp. 217-28. The two Old Avestan passages where this verb denotes something like acts of creation by the Wise Lord (Yasna 37.1 and 44.3-5) Kellens interprets as acts of ordering and emplacement, "la mise à leur place respective des éléments constitutifs de l'univers et de la vie" (p. 227). On the relation of these texts, see further Jean Kellens, "Les cosmogonies iraniennes entre héritage et innovation, in Brigitte Huber, Marianne Volkart, and Paul Widmer, eds., *Chomolangma, Demawend und Kasbek. Festschrift für Roland Bielmeier* (Halle: International Institute for Tibetan and Buddhist Studies, 2008), pp. 681-87.

<sup>20</sup> The seventy-three occurrences of *²dā-* are listed in Kent, *Old Persian*, p. 188. It does not appear in DB, but is frequent in Darius's later inscriptions and those of his successors, most often in connection with formulaic accounts of creation. Thus, DSe §1, DSf §1, DSt §1, DZc §1, DE §1, XPa §1, XPb §1, XPc §1, XPd §1, XPf §1, XPh §1, XE §1, XV §1, A1Pa §1, A2Hc §1, and A3Pa §1.

<sup>21</sup> The genitive case of *martiyahyā* poses an interesting problem. Given that the bases for happiness will be lost shortly after creation and regained only at history's end, it seems preferable to take this as an instance of the objective genitive ("happiness for mankind"), rather than a simple possessive ("happiness of mankind"), stressing the Creator's intentions, rather than the enduring nature of the state he created.

<sup>22</sup> Leo Oppenheim, et al., *Assyrian Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago*, (Chicago: Oriental Institute, 1956- ) 3: 180-83.



and Latin *quiēs* ("peace, tranquillity") and *quiēscō* ("I rest"), also with Old Church Slavonic *pokoīj* ("peace, calm"), Gothic *hveila* ("free time"), and Avestan *šiiāta*, all from the reconstructed Indo-European root *\*k<sup>ho</sup>yeH-*, *\*k<sup>ho</sup>eiH-*.<sup>23</sup>

Two discussions have significantly enhanced our understanding of Old Persian *šiyāti*. One of these is Jean Kellens' article on "L'âme entre le cadavre et le paradis," which considered the semantics of related terms in Avestan and concluded that happiness of this sort involved three different aspects, all of which were relevant for the Old Persian term: 1) la paix du sommeil; 2) le plaisir sexuel; and 3) la sérénité eschatologique.<sup>24</sup> Second, in her article on "Vieux-perse *šiyāti*,"<sup>25</sup> Clarisse Herrenschildt compared Darius's statement "If the Persian people/army should be protected, happiness (*šiyāti*) will be undestroyed for the longest time..."<sup>26</sup> with an accompanying explanation of the dangers against which such protection was desired.

*May the Wise Lord protect this land/people from the enemy horde, from famine, from the Lie. Against this land/people, may the enemy horde not come, nor the bad year, nor the Lie.*<sup>27</sup>

Apparently, *šiyāti* signifies an ideal state of peace, tranquillity, abundance, pleasure, and well-being that typifies the world as it was originally created and as it will be at the end of time. One can define this state in positive terms as the peace of sleep and the pleasures of sex, or in negative terms as the absence of three dangers, which entered the world at some time after the cosmogony, spoiling its original perfection. The most important of these dangers is the Lie (*drauga*; cf. Avestan *drug*, Sanskrit *druḥ*, German *Trug*, English *be-tray*), which other inscriptions depict as the necessary prerequisite for all disorder and conflict. The second danger is the enemy horde (*hainā* cf. Avestan *haēnā*, Sanskrit *sēnā*, German *Heer*), and third is famine (*dušiyāra*, literally, "bad year"). These form a classically trifunctional set, as Emile Benveniste demonstrated, recognizing the Lie as the negation of proper sovereignty,

<sup>23</sup> Jean Kellens, *Les noms-racines de l'Avesta* (Wiesbaden: Ludwig Reichert, 1974), p. 238. See also Thomas V. Gamkrelidze and Vjaceslav V. Ivanov, *Indo-European and the Indo-Europeans* (Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter, 1995) 1: 205.

<sup>24</sup> Jean Kellens, "L'âme entre le cadavre et le paradis," *Journal asiatique* 283 (1995): 19-56, esp. pp. 34-38.

<sup>25</sup> Clarisse Herrenschildt, "Vieux-perse *šiyāti*," in Jean Kellens, ed., *La religion iranienne à l'époque Achéménide* (Ghent: Iranica Antiqua, Supplement 5, 1991), pp. 13-21.

<sup>26</sup> DPe §3: *yadi kāra Pārša pāta ahati, hayā duvaīštam šiyātīš axšatā.*

<sup>27</sup> DPd §3: *utā imām dahyāum Auramazdā pātu hacā haināyā, hacā dušiyārā, hacā drauga; abi imām dahyāum mā ājamiyā mā hainā, mā dušiyāram, mā drauga.*

the enemy army as the negation of good martial force, and famine as the negation of the capacity for production and reproduction.<sup>28</sup>

The entrance of the Lie — something emphatically *not* created by Ahura Mazdā, nor part of his original good creation — produced a radical disruption in world history when evil invaded existence and began to corrupt its primordial, pristine nature. One can also say that in this moment was compromised the happiness (*šiyāti*) that the Wise Lord created as the prerogative of mankind. The inscriptions do not specify when or how the Lie first appeared, but in §10 of his great inscription at Bisitun, Darius supplies some relevant information.

*When Cambyses went to Egypt, then the people/army became vulnerable to deception and the Lie became great throughout the land/people — in Persia and Media and other lands/peoples.*<sup>29</sup>

This Cambyses was the son and heir of Cyrus the Great, who ruled over the empire from 530 to 522 B.C.E. and who invaded Egypt in 525. For three years thereafter, Cambyses was absent from the imperial center, during which time “the Lie became great” (*drauga... vasaḥ abava*, a phrase whose grammatical peculiarities will receive attention in Chapter Twelve). Scholars continue to debate precisely what happened between March and September of 522, a period for which Darius, Herodotus, and others supply differing descriptions.<sup>30</sup> Their differences notwithstanding, all reflect propaganda circulated by Darius, the ultimate victor in a struggle as fierce as it was complex and confusing. At a minimum, we can say that in March someone who represented himself as Bardiya, full brother to the king, fomented a rebellion. In June, Cambyses died a death described as natural (thus DB §11) or accidental (thus Herodotus 3.64), after which the rebel ascended to the throne.<sup>31</sup>

<sup>28</sup> Emile Benveniste, “Traditions indo-iraniennes sur les classes sociales,” *Journal asiatique* 38 (1938): 529-49. See further Antonio Panaino, “*hainā-, dušyāra-, drauga-*: un confronto antico-persiano avestico,” *Socializio glottologico Milanese* 27 (1986): 95-102 and Chapter Twenty-four, below.

<sup>29</sup> DB §10: *yaθā Kambūjiya Mudrāyam ašiyava, pasāva kāra arika abava utā drauga dahyauvā vasaḥ abava, utā Pārsaj utā Mādaj utā aniyāuvā dahyušuvā*. In Chapter Two I will discuss translation of Old Persian *arika* as “vulnerable to deception.”

<sup>30</sup> A number of Babylonian documents help to date the period during which Bardiya exercised power, but contain no information concerning the way he gained and lost it. These have been collected by Simonetta Graziani, *Testi editi ed inediti datati al regno di Bardiya (522 a.C.)* (Naples: Istituto Universitario Orientale, 1991).

<sup>31</sup> That the phrase “Cambyses died his own-death” (*Kambūjiya uvamršiyuš amariyatā*) employed a formula marking the death as not the result of foul play has been argued convincingly by Wilhelm Schulze, “Der Tod des Kambyzes,” *Sitzungsberichte der preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaft zu Berlin*, hist.-phil. Klasse (1912), pp. 685-703,

At Bisitun, Darius described the king who displaced Cambyses as an impostor: a Magian priest named Gaumāta, who exploited his knowledge of Cambyses's hidden crimes to usurp the latter's throne. Thus, before leaving Persia for Egypt, Cambyses is said to have secretly killed his brother Bardiya, of whom he was jealous. During the king's absence, the shrewd Gaumāta then assumed the identity of the dead prince. "He lied to the people/army thus: 'I am Bardiya, the son of Cyrus, the brother of Cambyses.' Then the people/army all became rebellious from Cambyses. It went over to him — Persia and Media and the other lands/peoples."<sup>32</sup>

In September, with a group of six conspirators, Darius killed his predecessor — were this Gaumāta or Bardiya — and installed himself on the throne (DB §13). Initially, he attempted to restore peace and well-being to the empire (DB §14), but rebellion and disorder spread throughout the provinces. During his first year in power, the new king was obliged to suppress nine insurrections, each of which was prompted by someone who, in all likelihood, was the legitimate native heir to the throne of Babylon, Elam, or some other previously independent province. These men sought to exploit a moment of confusion and Persian weakness to recover the independence of their people. When they failed in this attempt, the victor defined them as frauds and troublemakers, inspired by — and agents of — the great principle of evil.

*Proclaims Darius the King: These are the nine kings whom I seized in these battles. These are the lands/peoples that became rebellious. The Lie made them rebellious because these men lied to the people/army. Then the Wise Lord delivered them into my hand. As was my desire, so I did unto them. You who may be king hereafter: Protect yourself boldly from the Lie!"*<sup>33</sup>

H.H. Schaefer, "Des eigenen Todes sterben," *Nachrichten der Akademie der Wissenschaften, Göttingen*, phil.-hist. Klasse (1946-47), pp. 24-36, Jes Asmussen, "Iranica, A: The Death of Cambyses," *Acta Orientalia* 31 (1968): 9-14, and Gottfried Herrmann, "Zu altpersisch *uv'mršiyuš 'mriyt'*," *Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 128 (1978): 98-99. It is also confirmed by Egyptian evidence, regarding which see Edda Bresciani, "La morte di Cambise ovvero dell' empietà punita: A proposito della 'Cronaca Demotica', Verso, col. C. 7-8," *Egitto e Vicino Oriente* 4 (1981): 217-22.

<sup>32</sup> DB §11: *haṣ kārāhyā avaθā adurujiya: adam Bṛdiya ami, haya Kurauš puça, Kam-būjiyahyā brātā, pasāva kāra haruva hamiçiya abava hacā Kam-būjiyā, abi avam ašiyava, utā Pārša utā Māda utā anyiā dahyāva.*

<sup>33</sup> DB §§53-55: *θāti Dārayavauš xšāyaθiya: imai navā xšāyaθiyā, tayai adam agrbāyam antar imā hamaranā. θāti Dārayavauš xšāyaθiya: dahyāva imā, tayā hamiçiya abava draugadiš hamiçiya akunauš, taya imai kām adurujiyaša, pasāvadiš Auramazdā manā dastayā akunauš, yaθā mām kāmā, avaθadiš akunavam. θāti Dārayavauš xšāyaθiya: tuvam kā, xšāyaθiya haya aparam āhi, hacā draugā dṛšam patipayauvā.*

The first four columns of the Bisitun text were inscribed shortly after the events of 522-21, with the intention of casting Darius's eminently questionable seizure of royal power in the best light possible by treating it as a moral drama marked by the rise and fall of the Lie. In contrast, the inscriptions written in later years erase all the dirty details, replacing the violent history with a mythic account of creation in two acts. In the first, the Wise Lord fashions the world and produces "happiness for mankind"; in the second, he makes Darius king. One can chart the relation between these two discourses in schematic fashion, as in Table 1.1.

	DB	DNa §1, et al.
<b>Cosmogonic Time</b>		The Wise Lord creates earth, sky, mankind, and happiness for mankind. Original perfection.
<b>Historic Time</b>	Growth of the Lie when Cambyses is in Egypt (525 B.C.E.) Usurpation of Gaumāta (March 522) Death of Cambyses (June 522) Murder of Gaumāta, Darius assumes power (September 522) Nine rebellions and nineteen battles (December 522 – December 521)	Unspecified interval. Loss of perfection and happiness.
<b>Initial moment of eschatological time</b>	Darius established as king, without rivals. Triumph over the Lie, thanks to the Wise Lord's assistance.	The Wise Lord makes Darius king. Restoration of happiness and perfection.

Table 1.1 Periodization of events as falling in different eras, found in Darius's inscriptions at Bisitun and elsewhere. Bisitun organizes these events as a historic discourse, while the later inscriptions treat them as mythic.

Darius represented — and probably believed — that his enthronement was the Wise Lord's response to the Lie's entrance into the world. As king, Darius became God's chosen instrument to redress a crisis simultaneously

historical, cosmic, political, and moral; also, to rescue human happiness from the Lie and the rebels who are its agents. In his own propaganda, Darius does not appear as an ambitious and competent man in search of power, but as the world's savior, who will reestablish the original divine order. After Darius, all the Achaemenian kings assumed this salvific role, for which the oldest Zoroastrian texts preserve an evocative title: *ahūm.biš*, literally, "healer of existence."<sup>34</sup>

## V

The use of Zoroastrian evidence to interpret Achaemenian data can be dangerous and it is not my intention to repeat past errors. I would not argue that the Achaemenians were Zoroastrian in a strict sense and I would insist on the importance of differences, including the most subtle, as well as the similarities in the two textual corpora. For example, if it is useful to acknowledge some continuity between the status and project Darius claimed for himself and those attributed to the *ahūm.biš* in the Avestan hymns, it is equally important to note that the Zoroastrian "healer of existence" never assumed a royal aspect.

My own preference is to recognize a relation between the Achaemenian and Zoroastrian texts, but to understand them as two variants within a broad Iranian and Mazdaean tradition. This is to say that both share common linguistic, cultural, and religious elements that each one developed — or manipulated — in its own fashion, for its own motives. From this perspective, we can compare the cosmogony of the inscriptions with the one found in Zoroastrian sources, where six, rather than four, original creations normally appear. The Bundahišn, for example, provides a classic example.

*Just so, he created six creations of the material world. First was sky, second water, third earth, fourth plants, fifth animals, sixth man...*<sup>35</sup>

<sup>34</sup> Cf. XPa §1, XPb §1, XPc §1, XPd §1, XPf §1, XPh §1, XE §1, XV §1, A<sup>1</sup>Pa §1, A<sup>2</sup>He §1, A<sup>3</sup>Pa §1. The term *ahūm.biš* occurs three times in the Gāthic Avesta: Yasna 31.19, 44.2, and 44.16. Its importance as a title that implies the goal of restoring the world to its original perfection, as created by Ahura Mazdā has been discussed by Marijan Molé, *Mythe, culte, et cosmologie dans l'Iran ancien* (Paris: Presses universitaires de France, 1963), pp. 242-43 and 396-97.

<sup>35</sup> Greater Bundahišn 3.7 (TD<sup>2</sup> MS. p. 33, lines 2-5). Although this text specifies that there were six original creations, a statement echoed throughout the Bundahišn and elsewhere, it goes on to describe a seventh item: fire, which is associated with the highest heavens and Ahura Mazdā himself. Like DNa §1 and related passages, it thus presents creation as a set of X + 1 separate items, the last of which stands apart from the others. The full text reads as follows.

Placing this set parallel to that of the inscriptions (Table 1.2), we find that the two have three elements in common: Sky, earth, and mankind, albeit with some variation in their order of presentation. The alternation sky-earth and earth-sky is probably not of great importance, however, since one finds the standard Zoroastrian order (i.e. sky before earth) attested in two atypical Achaemenian inscriptions (DZc §1, DSab Bab. §1). One can also explain the insertion of water between sky and earth as following from the organizational logic of the Zoroastrian set, which reflects the nutritional chain. Thus, beginning in the Sky (Creation #1), Water (#2), in the form of rain, falls to the Earth (#3) — one can also say the water is eaten or consumed by the earth — thereby causing the growth of plants (#4), which are themselves eaters of water and earth. Animals, then (#5) eat the plants and all the other elements are eaten by humans (#6).

Achaemenian DNa §1 et al.	Zoroastrian GBd 3.7 et al.
1. Earth	1. Sky
	2. Water
2. Sky	3. Earth
	4. Plants
	5. Animals
3. Mankind	6. Mankind
4. Happiness for Mankind	

Table 1.2 The order of creation as narrated in Achaemenian and Zoroastrian sources.

The idea of the food chain suggests a possible connection between those items that are non-identical in the two sets: “Happiness for mankind” in the inscriptions, as compared to water, plants, and animals in the Zoroastrian texts. In the latter, {Water + Plants + Animals} defines the set of

*Just so, he created six creations of the material world. First was sky, second water, third earth, fourth plants, fifth animals, sixth man, and seventh fire, which is brilliance from the realm of endless light, where the Wise Lord has his throne.*

ōwōn-iz dām ī gētīg 6 brēhēnīd nazdist asmān duđīgar āb sidīgar zamīg cahārom urwar panjom gōspand šašom mardōm ud haptom ātaxš kē brāh az asar rōšn gāh [ī] Ohrmazd.

Similar lists of the original creation can be found in Avestan texts, although the way they are coded there occasionally presents certain difficulties. Clearest are Yašt 13.86 and Yasna 19.8; among Old Avestan texts, see Yasna 44.3-6 and 51.7.

substances that humans eat and with which their bodies are nourished. Beyond biological sustenance, these substances created by God also provide intense sensory pleasures and joy in the continuation of life that their consumption secures. In short, "happiness for mankind."

## VI

The hypothesis that "happiness for mankind" (*šiyātim... martiyahyā*) can be understood in concrete terms as involving the presence of water, plants, and animals is meant as a positive complement to Herrenschmidt's attempt to define such happiness as the absence of the Lie, the enemy horde, and famine. Here, the third term is particularly relevant, because the absence of famine means the presence of food. A Gāthic verse points in the same direction, as Jean Kellens recognized, for here the components of bodily well-being and pleasure — youth, strength, health, and immortality — are traced to water, plants, and animals: "les richesses qui nous nourrissent," all created by the Wise Lord.<sup>36</sup>

*You who shaped the cow, waters and plants, give me  
Immortality and health, O Wise (Lord), by virtue of  
your most Benevolent Spirit,  
(Give me) strength and youth through the proclamation of  
your Good Mind.*<sup>37</sup>

## VII

After this long excursus, let us return to the question of the Achaemenian *paradeisos*. For we can now understand that it was not simply a vacation spot, a national park, zoological garden, dream palace, or diversion for

<sup>36</sup> Kellens, "Ahura Mazdā n'est pas un dieu créateur," op cit., p. 228. Note that the verb used for the act of creation in this verse is *taš-* and not <sup>2</sup>*dā-*

<sup>37</sup> Yasna 51.7: *dāidī mōi yē gam tašō apascā uruuarāscā  
aməretātā hauruuātā spēništā mainiiū mazdā*

*təuuīši utaiiūīfi mananḥā vohū sənḥē*

cf. Yasna 37.1: "We sacrifice to the Wise Lord, who established the cow and Truth, who established waters and good plants, who established (heavenly) lights and earth and all good things." *iθā āt yazamaidē ahurəm mazdām yē gamca ašəmca dāt apasca dāt uruuarāscā vanuhiš raocāscā dāt būmīmca vispācā vohū*. Here as elsewhere, the "cow" serves as representative of all the species beneficial to man. Note that the cow — and she alone — is modified by the adjective *rāniō.skəratim* "happiness-producing," which occurs in the cosmogonic account of Yasna 44.3-6 (specifically at 44.6), also at 47.3 and 50.2. Yasna 48.5-6 is also relevant.

royal collectors: still less, the Disneyworld of antiquity. Rather, if I am not mistaken, it was a space of re-creation in the most precise and most profound sense. The surviving descriptions of *paradeisoi* consistently emphasize their exquisite beauty, their abundance of water, and the profusion of plants and/or animals with which they were filled: that is, the elements that constitute the sustenance — and, more importantly — the happiness of mankind.

The Persian paradise was a complex image: simultaneously a memory (better, a re-collection) of the world as originally intended by the Creator and a promise that its perfection would be restored. The labor of restoration is being accomplished — so the argument implicitly follows — by a line of kings whose founder was chosen by the Wise Lord to complete this undertaking by suppressing all rebels, all lies, and all corrupting forces. Within this ideological program, the construction of a paradise appears as the prefiguration of the world's ultimate salvation. Those who built such gardens did not intend the *paradeisoi* to remain privileged islands, cut off from surrounding territory. Rather, the Achaemenians identified their imperial conquests as the expansion of peace, truth, and well-being. In its most audacious ambitions and its most pretentious propaganda (also, perhaps, its most efficacious), Persian imperialism represented — and understood — itself as nothing less than a soteriological project, whose goal was to restore "happiness for mankind," a happiness lost at the beginning of history and recuperable at its end. On the day in which all the earth would become part of the empire, the empire would become paradise. Here, one should add that the word the Achaemenians decided to use as a designation for their expanding empire, as Clarisse Herrenschmidt demonstrated, was the same term that appears at the beginning of their cosmogonic myth: Old Persian *būmi*.<sup>38</sup> Thus, one can translate the phrase "A great god is the Wise Lord, who created this earth" (*imām būmīm*) with equal justice as "A great god is the Wise Lord, who created this empire,"<sup>39</sup> representing the conquest of a world empire and the foundation of an enduring Pax Persiana as the realization of the Creator's original intent: the end of history, the perfection of the world, and the definitive appearance of paradise.

<sup>38</sup> Herrenschmidt, "Désignation de l'empire et concepts politiques de Darius I<sup>er</sup>," op cit.

<sup>39</sup> DNa §1 and the other variants listed at n. 16: *baga vazrka Auramazdā, haya imām būmīm adā*.



## CHAPTER TWO

### THE KING'S TRUTH

#### I

In Chapter One, we made our point of departure the cosmogonic account found in several of the Achaemenian inscriptions, then touched on DB §10, the passage that best addresses the question of how paradise was lost through the entry of the Lie (*drauga*). Thereafter, we proceeded to examine how the desire to recover primordial perfection — to restore the world as the Wise Lord intended it to be — helped motivate and legitimate the Persian imperial project.

The present chapter traces a similar trajectory through the Persian imaginary, taking DB §10 once again as a point of departure. Most concretely, I will consider the semantics of Old Persian *arika*, the contradictory implications of DB §§63 and 57, and the way the verbs *θanh-*, *duruj-*, and *vratiya-* interact in DB §§52, 57, and 60-61. More broadly, I hope these data will provide a useful perspective on the eternal question of how 'truth' (or what is constituted as such) relates to power (material and discursive), particularly in the context of imperial turmoil.

Before moving to the Achaemenian materials, however, let me briefly recall another creation myth of sorts: the one with which Herodotus (1.96-101) described the origins of kingship among the Medes, who later transmitted that institution to their cousins, the Persians.<sup>1</sup> His narrative begins with the Medes in a situation of "much anomie" (*anomiēs pollēs*),<sup>2</sup> which persisted until the time of one Deiokes, "a wise man... [who] lusted after absolute power and worked to create it."<sup>3</sup> Toward this end, Deiokes began to practice a new and more active form of justice

<sup>1</sup> On this narrative, see Natalia Palomar, "El λόγος de Deyoces Heródoto 1.95-102," *Itaca* 3 (1987): 23-25, Antonio Panaino, "Herodotus 1.96-101: Deioces' conquest of power and the foundation of sacred royalty," in Giovanni Lanfranchi, et al., eds., *Continuity of Empire (?): Assyria, Media, Persia* (Padua: Sargon Editrice, 2003), pp. 327-38, and Mischa Meier, et al., *Deiokes, König der Meder. Eine Herodot-Episode in ihren Kontexten* (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner, 2004).

<sup>2</sup> Herodotus 1.96: καὶ ταῦτα μέντοι εὐούσης ἀνομίης πολλῆς ἀνὰ πᾶσαν τὴν Μηδικὴν ἐποίεε.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid.: ἀνὴρ ἐν τοῖσι Μῆδοισι ἐγένετο σοφὸς τῷ οὐνομα ἦν Δηϊόκης, παῖς δ' ἦν Φραόρτεω. οὗτος δὲ Δηϊόκης ἐρασθεὶς τυραννίδος ἐποίηε τοιαύδε.

than previously existed, making it his business to give straight judgments in accordance with the truth.<sup>4</sup> As word spread, people came from far and near to have him settle their disputes, and ultimately the Medes became dependent on Deiokes, at which point he ceased giving judgments, claiming that he now needed to tend to his own affairs. Crisis quickly followed and lawlessness arose even worse than before. In response, the Medes met in council, where — so Herodotus surmises — Deiokes's friends urged that a kingship be created.<sup>5</sup>

This being done, Deiokes was promptly selected as the Medes' first king, whereupon, as Pierre Briant put it, "par une série de mesures aussi brutales que efficaces, [il] transforma une société tribale en un État unifié, dominé par un roi tout-puissant."<sup>6</sup> Greek readers were surely meant to recognize that state as despotic and to recoil from it as such. Thus, among the first acts Herodotus reports of Deiokes as king is his demand for bodyguards, using the same term the historian earlier applied to the infamous troops on which Peisistratos based his tyranny.<sup>7</sup> Thereafter, Deiokes is said to have built a magnificent palace and a capital with massive defenses, after which he withdrew from public contact, introduced a courtly etiquette of deference, exalted himself above his countrymen, and created a network of spies and informers.<sup>8</sup> Herodotus credits Deiokes with having united the Medes,<sup>9</sup> but voices clear qualms about how he did so: "Once he had strengthened himself with autocratic power (*tēi tyrannidi*), he was a harsh guardian of justice."<sup>10</sup>

<sup>4</sup> Herodotus 1.96-97: κατοικημένων τῶν Μήδων κατὰ κώμας, ἐν τῇ ἐωυτοῦ ἐὼν καὶ πρότερον δόκιμος καὶ μᾶλλον τι καὶ προθυμότερον δικαιοσύνην ἐπιθέμενος ἥσκει... οἷα μνόμενος ἀρχὴν, ἰθύς τε καὶ δίκαιος ἦν... Δηϊόκης εἶη ἀνὴρ μούνος κατὰ τὸ ὀρθὸν δικάζων... πλεῦνος δὲ αἰεὶ γινομένου τοῦ ἐπιφοιτέοντος, οἷα πυνθανομένων τὰς δίκας ἀποβαίνειν κατὰ τὸ ἐόν.

<sup>5</sup> Herodotus 1.97: ἐούσης ὧν ἀρπαγῆς καὶ ἀνομίας ἔτι πολλῶ μᾶλλον ἀνὰ τὰς κώμας ἢ πρότερον ἦν, συνελέχθησαν οἱ Μῆδοι ἐς ταῦτ' οὗ καὶ ἐδίδωσαν σφίσι λόγον, λέγοντες περὶ τῶν κατηκόντων. ὥς δ' ἐγὼ δοκέω, μάλιστα ἔλεγον οἱ τοῦ Δηϊόκεω φίλοι "Οὐ γὰρ δὴ τρόπῳ τῷ παρεόντι χρεώμενοι δυνατοὶ εἰμὲν οἰκέειν τὴν χώραν, φέρε στήσωμεν ἡμέων αὐτῶν βασιλέα· καὶ οὕτω ἦ τε χώρα εὐνομήσεται."

<sup>6</sup> Briant, *Histoire de l'empire perse*, op cit., p. 36.

<sup>7</sup> Herodotus 1.98: ὁ δ' ἐκέλευε αὐτοὺς οἰκία τε ἐωυτῶ ἄξια τῆς βασιλείης οἰκοδομῆσαι καὶ κρατῦναι αὐτὸν δορυφόροισι. Cf. 1.59 on Peisistratos's troop of *doryphoroi*.

<sup>8</sup> Herodotus 1.98-100.

<sup>9</sup> Herodotus 1.101: Δηϊόκης μὲν νυν τὸ Μηδικὸν ἔθνος συνέστρεψε μούνον καὶ τούτου ἦρξε.

<sup>10</sup> Herodotus 1.100: Ἐπεῖτε δὲ ταῦτα διεκόσμησε καὶ ἐκράτυνε ἐωυτὸν τῇ τυραννίδι, ἦν τὸ δίκαιον φυλάσσωσιν χαλεπός.

Most contemporary scholars have come to be skeptical about the existence of Deiokes.<sup>11</sup> Although a man of that name does appear in Assyrian records, he is neither a Mede nor the founder of any kingdom.<sup>12</sup> Whatever tradition it is that Herodotus records, he adapted to his purposes, so that it occupies a crucial place in the architecture of his argument concerning why Greek freedom triumphed over Asian autocracy in the Persian Wars. Accordingly, he suggests that although the Medes and Persians may have understood their royal institution to have been founded on justice, integrity, and true speech, in this they were sadly mistaken. Rather, it originated in Deiokes's *simulation* (or *mimesis*) of justice, which masked — and helped fulfill — his ambition. Will to power, not truth, was the basis of imperial rule. Even so, nowhere is it suggested that Deiokes actively spoke untruth; only that his motives were impure and his actions disquieting.

Ultimately, the Herodotean narrative can be read as a meditation on the competing demands of royal office: power and truth; calculation and justice; selflessness, self-defense, and self-promotion. None of these can be ignored, any more than the tensions among them can be reconciled. Rather, they force any king, any aspirant to kingship, and any empire into self-contradiction, i.e. misrepresentation and misperception of its own motives, actions, and *raison d'être*.

## II

With this as prologue, let us consider DB §10, where Darius moves from his preliminary remarks (DB §§1-9) and begins his historic account, which falls in two portions: the story of how he became king (§§10-14)

<sup>11</sup> Inter alia, see Peyton R. Helm, "Herodotus' *Mēdikos Logos* and Median History," *Iran* 19 (1983): 85-90, Stuart Brown, "The *Mēdikos logos* of Herodotus and the Evolution of the Median State," *Achaemenid History* 3 (1988): 71-86, Heleen Sancisi-Weerdenburg, "Was There Ever a Median Empire?," *Achaemenid History* 3 (1988): 197-212, eadem, "The Orality of Herodotus' *Mēdikos Logos* or: the Median Empire Revisited," *Achaemenid History* 8 (1993): 39-55, Briant, *Histoire de l'empire perse*, pp. 36-37. Somewhat less critical is J.A. Scurlock, "Herodotus' Median Chronology Again?!", *Iranica Antiqua* 25 (1990): 149-65, esp. pp. 160-61.

<sup>12</sup> George Smith, "Assyrian History. Additions to the History of Tiglath-Pileser II," *Zeitschrift für Assyriologische Studien* 7 (1869): 98 first identified Herodotus's Deioces with one "Daiukku, governor of Mannea" (*Da-a-uk-ki LÚ šākin KUR Mannāja*), who appears in the Annals for 715 B.C.E. compiled under Sargon II of Assyria. The name, which is also attested in Elamite sources, is of Iranian origin and reflects an underlying *\*dahyu-ka*, built on *dahyu* "land/people," as Rüdiger Schmitt has shown, "Deiokes," *Anzeiger der Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-historische Klasse* 110 (1973): 137-47.

and that of events during his first regnal year, 522-521 B.C.E. (§§15-51). The narrative begins as follows.

*One named Cambyzes, the son of Cyrus, of our lineage — he formerly was king here. The brother of that Cambyzes was named Bardiya. He had the same mother and the same father as Cambyzes. Afterwards, Cambyzes slew that Bardiya. When Cambyzes slew Bardiya, it did not become known by the people/army that Bardiya was slain. Then Cambyzes went off to Egypt. When Cambyzes went to Egypt, then the people/army became aṛika and the Lie became great throughout the land/people — in Persia and Media and other lands/peoples.<sup>13</sup>*

Although there is much one can say about this passage, I will limit myself to three points, holding others for a fuller discussion in Chapter Twelve. First is the nature of the original sin from which all the other turbulent events described in DB ultimately follow. In this report of Bardiya's death, two different aspects must be recognized. On the one hand, the text describes an act of homicide (indeed, fratricide), which might be judged in different ways depending on the circumstances: a murder, an execution, an act of self-defense, a deranged error, or even an unfortunate accident. No details are given that clarify the deed or permit moral judgment.<sup>14</sup> It is the second aspect, then, that leads one to regard the homicide as guilty, for we are told that the killing was compounded by an act of deception, as Cambyzes concealed his crime from the people. This is the first hint the text gives that "the Lie" had entered the world, manifesting itself in the king. From his failure to speak the truth follow all the subsequent evils and falsehoods that are detailed in columns I-IV of the Bisitun inscription: those of "Gaumāta the Magus," who posed as Bardiya, rebelled against Cambyzes and usurped the empire (DB §§11-14), and the eight subsequent rebellions Darius had to quell after he overthrew Gaumāta and took the throne for himself (DB §§15-51).

My second point has to do with the sequence of events narrated in DB §10, which follows a temporal and a social order, as evil spreads outward

<sup>13</sup> DB §10: Kambūjiya nāma, Kuraṣṣ puça, amāxam taumāyā, haṣ paruvam idā xšāyaθiya āha, avahyā Kambūjiyahyā brātā Bṛdiyam nāma āha, hamātā hamapitā Kambūjiyahyā, pasāva Kambūjiya avam Bṛdiyam avāja, yaθā Kambūjiya Bṛdiyam avāja, kārahyā naṣ azdā abava, taya Bṛdiya avajata, pasāva Kambūjiya Mudrāyam ašiyava, yaθā Kambūjiya Mudrāyam ašiyava, pasāva kāra aṛika abava utā drauga dahyaṣvā vasaṣ abava, utā Pārsaṣ utā Mādaṣ utā aniyāṣvā dahyūṣvā.

<sup>14</sup> The Greek sources are much clearer on this point and portray Cambyzes as jealous and suspicious of his brother. Cf. Herodotus (where the Bardiya-figure is called "Smerdis") 3.30 and 3.64-65, Ctesias, *Persika*, as summarized in Photius §10 (where he bears the name "Tanyoxarkēs).

in expanding circles: 1) At court, Cambyses kills Bardiya and keeps the deed secret, then leaves Persia to invade Egypt; 2) In Persia, the people/army<sup>15</sup> become *arika*, whatever that means; 3) Throughout the lands/peoples of the empire, the Lie becomes ever greater. The second of these phases, the emergent state of *arika* thus occupies a mediating position, being both a consequence of the king's secret crime and a precondition for diffusion and growth of the Lie.

This brings us to the third point. The definitions conventionally offered for *arika* are not satisfactory: not so much wrong as inadequate and insufficiently nuanced. These include Bartholomae's translation of the term as "feindlich, gesinnt, feindselig;"<sup>16</sup> Meillet and Benveniste's as "ennemi;"<sup>17</sup> Herzfeld's as "ahrimanisch;"<sup>18</sup> Kent's as "evil, faithless;"<sup>19</sup> Asmussen's as "troløs;"<sup>20</sup> Brandenstein and Mayrhofer's as "abtrünnig, treulos, schlecht;"<sup>21</sup> Schmitt's as "disloyal;"<sup>22</sup> Lecoq's as "félon" (with the added gloss: "doit désigner celui qui trahit un engagement").<sup>23</sup> As always, interpretation rests on three bases: etymology; the way the term is rendered in the Babylonian and Elamite versions of the trilingual inscription; and the way it functions in the full range of its occurrences.

Regarding etymology, no consensus has been reached. Some, particularly those who most wish to see the Achaemenians as Zoroastrian, suggest comparison to Avestan *anra*, "evil," the adjective used for the archdemon of Zoroastrian theology (*Anra Mainiiu*, "the Evil Spirit," Pahlavi *Ahremen*).<sup>24</sup> Others favor connection to Sanskrit *ari* "enemy, foreigner;"<sup>25</sup>

<sup>15</sup> Like Greek *laos*, Old Persian *kāra* denotes a group of people who assume a different character under changing circumstances, specifically the free adult males who constitute civil society in times of peace and the army in times of war. One might also translate the term "nation-in-arms."

<sup>16</sup> Christian Bartholomae, *Altiranisches Wörterbuch* (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1904 [reprint ed., 1961]), col. 189.

<sup>17</sup> A. Meillet and E. Benveniste, *Grammaire de vieux-perse* (Paris: Honoré Champion, 1931), p. 159.

<sup>18</sup> Ernst Herzfeld, *Altpersische Inschriften* (Berlin: Dietrich Reimer, 1938), pp. 66-69.

<sup>19</sup> Kent, *Old Persian*, p. 170.

<sup>20</sup> J.P. Asmussen, *Historiske tekster fra Achæmenide tiden* (Copenhagen: Munksgaard, 1960), p. 45 and note 109.

<sup>21</sup> Wilhelm Brandenstein and Manfred Mayrhofer, *Handbuch des Altpersischen* (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1964), p. 105.

<sup>22</sup> Rüdiger Schmitt, *The Bisitun Inscriptions of Darius the Great: Old Persian Text* (London: Corpus Inscriptionum Iranicarum, 1991), p. 50 and note 22.

<sup>23</sup> Lecoq, *Les inscriptions de la Perse*, p. 189.

<sup>24</sup> The suggestion originates with Bartholomae and has been adopted by Kent, also by Herzfeld, pp. 66-69.

<sup>25</sup> Thus Meillet and Benveniste, pp. 42 and 159, also H.H. Schaeder, *Das persische Weltreich* (Breslau: Korn, 1941), pp. 31 and 39n30.

others still, to Sanskrit *ālīka*, a term that means "untrue, false, pretended" when used adjectivally and "falsehood, untruth" as a neuter substantive.<sup>26</sup> This last view, introduced by Jacob Wackernagel in 1932 has gained acceptance by a majority in recent years, but its implications are not always consistently followed.<sup>27</sup>

The Elamite version of DB offers relatively little evidence, since it transliterates *arīka* rather than translates: thus, Elam. *ʰar-ri-k-ka*. Still, we may infer from this, as Herzfeld suggested, that the standard Elamite vocabulary for such concepts as "evil" or "disloyal" was considered inadequate to the more specialized sense of the Old Persian term.<sup>28</sup> The Babylonian version is rather more useful, as it renders *arīka* with the phrase *libbi bišu* "evil-hearted" or, more literally and more graphically, "malodorous of heart."<sup>29</sup> This helps sharpen our sense of what is implied in DB §10, where *arīka* denotes the state of the people after Cambyses killed his brother and left for Egypt, but before rebellion had yet raised its head. To anticipate what will be supported by other examples, let me suggest that *arika* denotes a mental and emotional condition in which people have not yet turned evil or disloyal, but manifest the potential to become so. To put it differently: a state of vulnerability to the Lie.

### III

In addition to DB §10, *arīka* occurs in four other passages. One of these, DB §8, has dominated most previous attempts at definition: "Proclaims Darius the King: Within these lands/peoples, that man who was *agriya*,

<sup>26</sup> Skt. *ālīka* occurs once in Vedic (AV 5.13.5), where it is used as a pejorative marker of certain snakes (perhaps as "devious creatures"?). For its occurrences and meaning, see M. Monier-Williams, *A Sanskrit-English Dictionary* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1899), p. 95 and Manfred Mayrhofer, *Kurzgefaßtes etymologisches Wörterbuch des Altindischen* (Heidelberg: Carl Winter, 1956-76) 1: 56.

<sup>27</sup> Jacob Wackernagel, "Indoiranica: 8. Altpersische *arika*," *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung* 59 (1932): 28-29, accepted by Mayrhofer, 1: 56 and regarded by Brandenstein and Mayrhofer as "wahrscheinlichsten," p. 105. Schmitt, *Bisitun Inscriptions*, p. 50 n22 also accepts the comparison to Skt. *ālīka*, although he renders the latter term "unfaithful, disloyal," a sense unattested in Indic texts, but rather reflecting his reliance on the semantics of DB §8.

<sup>28</sup> Herzfeld, *Altpersische Inschriften*, p. 69.

<sup>29</sup> Elizabeth N. von Voigtlander, *The Bisitun Inscription of Darius the Great: Babylonian Version* (London: Corpus Inscriptionum Iranicarum, 1978), pp. 54 and 61 translates timidly "of evil intent," but cf. *Assyrian Dictionary of the Oriental Institute* 2: 270-71, where the tertiary meaning "(morally) evil" can be understood as a generalizing extension of the primary sense "malodorous (describing leather, oil, perfume, clay, a palm tree, and the mouth)."

I treated him so he was well-treated; he who was *arika*, I punished/interrogated him so he was well-interrogated/punished.”<sup>30</sup> Here, *agriya* and *arika* are sharply contrasted and if we knew what the former term meant, it would help us with the latter. Often, the two are interpreted as “loyal” and “disloyal,” respectively,<sup>31</sup> but the fact of the matter is that *agriya* occurs nowhere else in the Old Persian corpus and is uncertain in both form and derivation.<sup>32</sup> The Babylonian equivalent, *pītqudu*, perhaps offers the best guide to its sense and means “prudent, trustworthy,” i.e., one whose state of mind is such that he avoids danger and does not become dangerous to others.<sup>33</sup> Presumably, *arika* marks someone who is the reverse.

Such a view is consistent with our interpretation of DB §10 and with the two formulaic occurrences of *arika* on DB’s fifth column, which Darius appended to his original inscription so he could narrate events during the second and third years of his reign (521-519 B.C.E.). Chief of these were his military actions against the Elamites (DB §§71-72) and against one of the numerous Scythian peoples, here called *Saka tigraxauda*, “Scythians who wear the pointed hat” (§§74-75).<sup>34</sup> These two campaigns are described in similar formulaic terms, but with some significant differences between them. Chief of these is the fact that nowhere does Darius

<sup>30</sup> DB §8: θāti Dārayavauš xšāyaθiya: antar imā dahyāva martiya, haya agriya āha, avam ubrtam abaram, haya arika āha, avam ufrastam aprsam.

<sup>31</sup> Thus, Kent, *Old Persian*, p. 119 (loyal/evil), Asmussen, *Historiske tekster fra Achæmenide tiden*, p. 45 (loyal/troløs), Schmitt, *Bisitun Inscriptions*, p. 50 (loyal/disloyal), and Lecoq, *Les inscriptions de la Perse achéménide*, p. 189 (loyal/félon).

<sup>32</sup> There is now general agreement that the cuneiform is to be read a-g-r-i-y, although there is disagreement about whether this should be interpreted as *agriya* or *āgariya*. At an earlier date, other options were also entertained. For various attempts at interpretation, see Herzfeld, *Altperersische Inschriften*, pp. 59-63; Émile Benveniste, “Études sur le vieux-perse,” *Bulletin de la Société de Linguistique de Paris* 47 (1951): 32-33, Jacques Duchesne-Guillemin, *Composés de l’Avesta* (Paris: E. Droz, 1936), p. 74; Kent, *Old Persian*, p. 165; Ilya Gershevitch, *The Avestan Hymn to Mithra* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1959), p. 226; Brandenstein and Mayrhofer, *Handbuch des Altperersischen*, p. 101; Manfred Mayrhofer, “Lingvističeskie rezul’taty izučenja persepolskoj nadpisi Kserksa, polučennye so vremeni ee otkrytia v 1967 godu,” *Voprosy Jazykoznanija* (1985, no. 3), pp. 30-31. The most attractive suggestion is that of Benveniste, who translated “consentant, bien disposé.”

<sup>33</sup> *Assyrian Dictionary of the Oriental Institute* 12: 441-42.

<sup>34</sup> The *Saka tigraxauda* should surely be differentiated from the unmarked Scythians (*Saka*) who are listed among Darius’s subjects in DB §6, since the two appear separately in the longer lists of later inscriptions, reflecting Darius’s subsequent conquests (thus DNā §3, DSe §3, XPh §3). See further J. Harmatta, “Darius’ expedition against the Sakā tigraxaudā,” *Acta Antiqua Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 24 (1976): 15-24, pace Jack Martin Balcer, “The Date of Herodotus 4.1: Darius’ Scythian Expedition,” *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* 76 (1970): 99-132.

charge the Scythians in question with having been in rebellion, an omission that can hardly be accidental. Rather, as M.A. Dandamaev recognized, these particular Scyths were previously unconquered.

*The Saka tigraxauda were independent until the advent of Darius, and the campaign against them was not a punitive expedition following an insurrection. This is clear from the following: it is stated in the Behistun text that all rebel leaders against Darius were executed. In addition, their death is generally described in detail. There is, however, in the Behistun text no reference to the execution of Skunxa [their king]. The minor inscriptions which contain information about the depictions of the pretenders, describe their crime, accusing them all of adhering to the Lie and of revolting against Darius. The minor inscription, however, which is the label to the depiction of Skunxa, shortly states: "Skunxa, the Saka." ... In addition, the Saka tigraxauda in the Behistun inscription are never described as rebellious, contrary to the Elamites, Babylonians and other peoples who revolted against Darius.<sup>35</sup>*

As DB §74 acknowledges, it was Darius who initiated hostilities, invading Scythian territory.<sup>36</sup> DB §75 justifies his aggression by describing the enemy as *arika*, something without precedent in columns I-IV. Rather, in all prior campaigns, Darius portrayed himself as restoring order to lands and peoples that were historically part of the Persian empire, but which became rebellious (*hamiçiya*) during the turbulence of 522-521. As he described it, rebellion was always provoked by the Lie, a view that let him define his acts as the restoration of truth and order.<sup>37</sup>

In contrast, when Darius recounts the events of 521-19 on column V, he labeled first the Elamites (§72), then the Saka tigraxauda (§75) as *arika*, and used this to legitimate his attacks on them. The Elamites were a transitional case that he used for rhetorical purposes, as is shown in Table 2.1. The real issue was the Scythians, whom he attacked *not* because they were rebellious, for no such argument was conceivable. Rather, Darius described them as "vulnerable to deception" (*arika*) and therefore dangerous, thereby justifying his attack as a preemptive strike.

<sup>35</sup> Dandamaev, *Political History of the Achaemenid Empire*, pp. 139-40; for the full discussion, see pp. 136-40.

<sup>36</sup> DB §74: "Proclaims Darius the King: After that, together with my army, I went to [the territory of] the Scythians. After that, the Scythians — those who wear the pointed hat — went against me." Ōāti Dārayavauš xšāyaθiya: pasāva hadā kāra adam ašiyavam abi Sakām, pasāva Sakā tayaj xaydām tigrām baranti, imaj patiš mām āiša. The Scythian action is thus depicted as a counterattack launched in response to a preceding Persian invasion.

<sup>37</sup> Thus also Jean Kellens, "DB V: un témoignage sur l'évolution de l'idéologie achéménide," in G. Gnoli and L. Lanciotti, eds., *Orientalia Iosephi Tucci Memoriae Dicata* (Rome: Istituto Italiano per il Medio ed Estremo Oriente, 1987), pp. 677-82.



	<i>hamiçiya</i> “rebellious”	<i>arika</i> “vulnerable to deception”
Persians and others under Gaumāta	+	-
Elamites under Āçina	+	-
Babylonians under Nidintu-Bēl	+	-
Elamites under Martiya	+	-
Medes under Fravarti	+	-
Sagartians under Tritantaxma	+	-
Margians under Frāda	+	-
Persians under Vahyazdāta	+	-
Babylonians under Araxa	+	-
Elamites under Aθamaita	+	+
Saka tigraxaṇda under Skunxa	-	+

Table 2.1 Legitimations given for Darius’s military action against various peoples according to DB §§52, 72, and 75.

#### IV

The most important occurrence of *arika*, however, is found in DB §63, where Darius explains why the Wise Lord chose him among all men for special favor.

*Proclaims Darius the King: For this reason the Wise Lord bore me aid, he and the other gods that are: Because I was not arika, I was not draujana, I was not a zūrakara, neither I nor my lineage.*<sup>38</sup>

Three statements constitute this “negative confession” as a coherent set. Given our analysis of *arika*, we can see that a person defined as not-*arika* was one whose disposition makes him invulnerable to deception: one who neither believes the lies of others, nor is tempted to lie himself. Similarly, one not-*draujana* is one who does not speak falsehoods, *draujana* being an adjective formed directly on *drauga*, like its Avestan counterpart *drəguuant* (“liar, follower of the Lie”), a key term of Zoroastrian ethics.<sup>39</sup>

<sup>38</sup> DB §63: θāti Dārayavauš xšāyaθiya: avahyarādīmaj Auramazdā upastām abara utā aniyāha bagāha, tayaj hanti, yaθā naj arika āham, naj draujana āham, naj zūrakara āham, naj adam najmaj taumā.

<sup>39</sup> For the morphology and phonology, see Kent, *Old Persian*, §§101 and 147.II.

Finally, one not *zūrakara* is someone who does nothing deceitful. Formally, this is a compound built on the verb *kar-*, "to make, to do," and an abstract noun derived from the verbal root *\*gh̥uel-* "to move in crooked fashion, go astray, deviate" (Avestan *zbar-*, which is used only of demonic beings; Sanskrit *hvārate*).<sup>40</sup> Many nominal and adjectival forms are built on the same root in various Indo-Iranian languages, including Avestan *zūrah* "deceit, deception" (in the compound *zūrō.jata* "killed by deceit," Yašt 9.18, Vd. 7.3), Pahlavi *zūr* "false, deceitful," Manichaean *z'wr* "false," New Persian *zūr* "lie," Skt. *hvāras* "crookedness, deceit, intrigue,"<sup>41</sup> and Old Persian *zūra*, which means "tromperie" — as Meillet and Benveniste rightly understood — while *zūrakara* is "qui pratique la tromperie."<sup>42</sup>

DB §63 thus employs the familiar Iranian triad of thought, word, and deed to make the point that Darius was not subject to the Lie at any of these interrelated levels.<sup>43</sup> In a once-perfect world now corrupted by the Lie grown strong, the Wise Lord made Darius king as his culminating and salvific act of creation (as Darius himself is good enough to inform us), precisely because he was the very antithesis of falsehood.<sup>44</sup>

<sup>40</sup> For the Indo-European root, see Julius Pokorny, *Indogermanisches etymologisches Wörterbuch* (Bern: Franke Verlag, 1959), pp. 489-90; on Avestan *zbar-*, Bartholomae, *Altiranisches Wörterbuch*, col. 1699.

<sup>41</sup> Mayrhofer, *Kurzgefasstes Wörterbuch des Altindisches* 3: 619-20. For details regarding the Avestan forms, see Bartholomae, *Altiranisches Wörterbuch*, col. 1699; for the Sanskrit, Monier-Williams, *Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, p. 1308. Herzfeld, *Altperische Inschriften*, pp. 69 and 140-41 rightly stressed the religious dimension of this terminology, but was mistaken in taking the initial *z-* of *zūrah* and *zūrakara* to indicate an Avestan, rather than a Median origin (p. 69). Regarding the phonology, see Meillet and Benveniste, §§9 and 16 or Kent, §§9 IV, 88, 91, 120.

<sup>42</sup> Meillet and Benveniste, *Grammaire de vieux perse*, pp. 7-8, 13, and 166. Kent, p. 211, gives two alternate meanings for *zūrah*: "deceit, wrong," while Brandenstein and Mayrhofer, p. 157 give only the vaguer, more general sense "Unbill, Böses, Übel." In this, they ignore the etymological evidence and the details of context, and base their interpretation on the Babylonian (*pir-ki*) and Elamite (*la-ik-ki-um-me*) renderings of the DB text. The latter give a more general sense of "evil deeds, wrongdoing," that — in contrast to the Old Persian — is not specifically grounded in falsehood or the imagery of crooked motion.

<sup>43</sup> On this well-attested triad, see Bernfried Schlerath, "Gedanke, Wort und Werk im Veda und im Awesta," in Manfred Mayrhofer, et al., eds., *Antiquitates Indogermanicae. Studien zur indogermanischen Altertumskunde und zur Sprach- und Kulturgeschichte der indogermanischen Völker. Gedenkschrift für Hermann Güntert* (Innsbruck: Innsbrucker Beiträge zur Sprachwissenschaft, 1974), pp. 201-21 and Philippe Gignoux, "Thought, Word and Deed: A Topic of Comparative Religion," in *K.R. Cama Oriental Institute International Congress Proceedings* (Bombay: K.R. Cama Oriental Institute, 1991), pp. 41-51.

<sup>44</sup> As was discussed in Chapter One, the creation account of DNā §1, DSe §1, DSf §1, DSr §1, DSab §1, DZc §1, DE §1, and DPg §1 has two stages, one in which the Wise Lord creates (*²dā-*) earth, sky, man, and happiness for man, the second in which he makes (*kar-*) Darius king (*haya Dārayavaum xšāyaθiyam akunauš*).

## V

Notwithstanding Darius's depiction of himself in DB §63, nowhere does he recode this assertion in positive terms and represent himself as an active champion of truth. Indeed, a discourse of truth is curiously lacking in all his inscriptions. Of the two terms for truth in Old Persian, the more elevated one — *ṛta* (= Sanskrit *ṛtá*, Avestan *aša*) — is not part of Darius's vocabulary.<sup>45</sup> The second, Old Persian *hašiya* (= Avestan *haiθiya*, Sanskrit *satyá*) occurs once only, in DB §57, a paragraph written with exquisite care and bearing enormous importance.<sup>46</sup>

Unfortunately, the first portion of this passage is physically difficult to read and several restorations have been offered.<sup>47</sup> Whatever the precise wording, the Elamite and Babylonian versions make certain that Darius is here swearing a solemn oath — the only such act of speech in DB or,

<sup>45</sup> The related adjective *ṛtāvan* does appear in the famous "daiva inscription" of Xerxes at Persepolis (XPh §4b and 4d) and the element *ṛta* is present in the name borne by one of Darius's generals, *Ṛta-vardiya*, mentioned at DB §§41-42 and in sixty eight names attested at Persepolis, on which see Manfred Mayrhofer, *Onomastica Persepolitana: Das altiranische Namengut der Persepolis-täfelchen* (Vienna: Verlag der österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1973), as summarized in the index, pp. 330-31. Translation of this complex term as "truth" generally follows from the analysis of Heinrich Lüders, *Varuṇa: II. Varuṇa und das Ṛta* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1959). See further, Chapter Twenty-four.

<sup>46</sup> A fragmentary Aramaic text was thought to contain reference to a deified Iranian \**haθya* "Truth," by Edward Lipinski, "Un culte de X'an et de Haθya à Éléphantine au V-siècle av. n.è.," *Folia Orientalia* 22 (1981/84): 5-11, but only the last two letters of the word in question are actually legible. This, plus other problems have led to rejection of Lipinski's argument by Shaul Shaked, "Aspects of Iranian Religion in the Achaemenian Period," in K.R. Cama Oriental Institute. *International Congress Proceedings* (Bombay: K.R. Cama Oriental Institute, 1991), pp. 93-94.

<sup>47</sup> Concerning the problems in transcription of the cuneiform text, see George Cameron, "The Old Persian Text of the Bisitun Inscription," *Journal of Cuneiform Studies* 5 (1951): 51 and idem, "The Elamite Version of the Bisitun Inscription," *Journal of Cuneiform Studies* 14 (1960): 67. For various attempts at interpretation: Kent, *Old Persian*, pp. 129 and 131 (*Auramazdāha ragam vartaiyaiy* "I turn myself quickly to Ahuramazda, that..."); Benveniste, "Études sur le vieux-perse," op cit., pp. 35-37 and 49-50 (*A[h] uramazdāhadugam vartaiyaiy* "J'énonce un serment mazdéen que... [= "Je jure sur AhuraMazdā que..."]); Gershevitch, *Avestan Hymn to Mithra*, p. 184 (*Aurmzdāhadugam vratiyaiy* "I vow, state my [good] faith by, a proclamation [made in the name] of AhuraMazdāh"); Asmussen, *Historiske texter fra Achæmenide tiden*, p. 62 and n. 145 (*aur<sup>m</sup>m<sup>z</sup>dā<sup>h</sup>ah<sup>z</sup>g<sup>m</sup>m<sup>z</sup> [v<sup>z</sup>]r<sup>z</sup>aiy<sup>z</sup>*), "Jeg henvender mig uden tøven til AhuraMazdāh"); Schmitt, *The Bisitun Inscriptions*, p. 69 and n. 44 (*Auramazdāha ragam vṛdiyaiy*, "I will take AuraMazdā's anger upon myself..."); Lecoq, *Les inscriptions de la Perse achéménide*, p. 209 ("J'invoque le jugement [?] d'Ahura Mazdā"). I am grateful to William Malandra for his help in understanding the difficulties and range of possibilities (personal communication, 6 June 2002). Briefly, I consider Gershevitch's analysis preferable to Schmitt's.

for that matter, in the Achaemenian corpus.<sup>48</sup> Regarding its content, we can be more certain.

*Proclaims Darius the King: I swear an oath of the Wise Lord that this is true, not lied: I did this in [one and] the same year.*<sup>49</sup>

The proposition to which Darius swears and which he refers to simply as "this" (*ima*) is spelled out in DB §52, where identical phrasing (here marked in boldface) is endowed with greater temporal specificity by the addition of a crucial phrase, here marked in italics: "Proclaims Darius the King: This is what I did by the Wise Lord's will in **[one and] the same year, after I became king.**"<sup>50</sup> As this passage continues, Darius spells out "Nineteen battles I made. By the Wise Lord's will I smote them and nine kings I seized,"<sup>51</sup> asserting that all this took place in the year after (*pasāva*) he overthrew Gaumāta and ascended to the throne.

Modern historians have paid close attention to the chronological sequence of the events narrated in DB §§10-51, which by all possible reckonings cover more than twelve months. Attempts to resolve this difficulty pursue one of two strategies.<sup>52</sup> If one accepts that all events from Darius's assassination of Gaumāta (Sept. 29, 522) to his last victory (over Araxa on Nov. 27, 521 according to some, or over Frāda on Dec. 10, 521 according

<sup>48</sup> The Babylonian thus has *ša 4u-ra-ma-az-da a-na-ku 4še-el-li* "I swear by Ahura Mazdā," on which formula, see *Assyrian Dictionary of the Oriental Institute* 4: 135. The Elamite version is similar: *4gi-ri-ir 4u-ra-maš-da-ra* "As one swearing by Ahura Mazdā," on which, see Walther Hinz, "Elams Vertrag mit Naram-Sin von Akkade," *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie* 58 (1967): 69. The Old Persian term with which Darius denotes the oath he swears recurs in DNB §2d: "A man who speaks against another man, that does not convince me until I hear the oath (*handugām*) of both" (*martiya taya pari martiyam θāti, ava mām naj vṇavataj yātā ubānām handugām āxšnavaj*).

<sup>49</sup> DB §57: *θāti Dārayavauš xšāyaθiya: Auramazdā handugam vratiyai, yaθā ima hašiyam, naj duruxtam adam akunavam hamahyāyā θarda*. For restoration of the verb, I have followed Gershevitch, *Avestan Hymn to Mithra*, p. 184; for its object, I favor the reading *handugam*, along with Benveniste, Gershevitch, Asmussen, and Brandenstein-Mayrhofer.

<sup>50</sup> DB §52: *θāti Dārayavauš xšāyaθiya: ima, taya adam akunavam vašnā Auramazdāha hamahyāyā θarda, pasāva yaθā xšāyaθiya abavam...* Cf. DB §§56, 59, and 62, where similar wording recurs.

<sup>51</sup> Ibid.: *... navadaθā hamaranā akunavam, vašnā Auramazdāha adamšiš ajanam utā navā xšāyaθiyā agrbāyam*.

<sup>52</sup> For studies and debates regarding this chronology, see Arno Poebel, "Chronology of Darius' First Year of Reign," *American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures* 55 (1938): 142-65, 285-314, R.T. Hallock, "The 'One Year' of Darius I," *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 19 (1960): 36-39, A. S. Shahbazi, "The 'One Year' of Darius Re-examined," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 35 (1972): 609-14, Wiesehöfer, *Der Aufstand Gaumātas*, pp. 213-20, R. Borger, "Die Chronologie des Darius-Denkmal am Behistun Felsen," *Nachrichten der Akademie der Wissenschaften des Göttingen, Philosophisch-historisch Klasse* (1982): 105-31, and Willem Vogelsang, "Four Short Notes on the Bisitun Text and Monument," *Iranica Antiqua* 21 (1986): 121-31.

to others) should be included, the period is well more than one year. Accordingly, Darius lied in his oath or — to put it more charitably — exaggerated by several months. Alternatively, if one understands that the story of Darius’s accession (DB §§10-14) treats events from the period before he was king and therefore should be excluded from consideration, the deeds he accomplished after assuming royal office (DB §§15-51) fall comfortably within the one-year period. These, however, number only eighteen battles and eight kings conquered. Apparently, Darius wanted to have it both ways: to calculate the length of time elapsed from the moment he was ritually installed as king, while calculating the number of his victories from the moment he overthrew Gaumāta. To this end, he blurred his account by using variants of the phrase with which he introduced his oath at three other moments of his discourse, with shifting temporal implications in each instance (Table 2.2).

	DB §10	DB §15	DB §52	DB §57
1. I swear an oath of the Wise Lord that this is true, not lied: <i>Auramazdā handugam vratiyai, yaθā ima hašiyam, naī duruxtam</i>				X
2.1. This is what was done by me <i>ima, taya manā kṛtam</i>	X			
2.1. This is what I did <i>ima, taya adam akunavam,</i>		X	X	
2.2. I did [this] <i>adam akunavam</i>				X
3. by the Wise Lord’s will <i>vašnā Auramazdāha</i>			X	
4. in [one and] the same year <i>hamahyāyā θarda</i>			X	X
5. after I became king. <i>pasāva yaθā xšāyaθiya abavam</i>	X	X	X	

Table 2.2 Differing, but interrelated accounts of what Darius claimed to have done “in [one and] the same year” and “after I became king.”\*

\* §§56, 59, and 62 also provide variant combinations of these same formulae, but they do not make direct or oblique reference to specific historic events such that dating is an

Recognition of this aporia alerts us to the fact that although the oath of DB §57 *seems* to vouch for the stories Darius told in the first part of his historic narrative (DB §§10-14), it does not actually do so. Slyly excluded from the oath are his description of Bardiya's murder (summer 525 or earlier, §10); Gaumāta's impersonation of the murdered prince (beginning in March 522, §11) and his usurpation of the kingdom (July 522, §§11-12); Darius's assassination of Gaumāta (29 September 522, §13); and his assumption of the throne (some time between September and December 522, §14), all of which fall outside the "one year" of battles (Dec. 522-Nov. or Dec. 521) and the period covered by the king's oath.

Darius's unwillingness to swear that his account of these events was "true, not lied" (*hašiyam, naī duruxtam*)<sup>53</sup> conveys a tacit admission of what critical historians from A.T. Olmstead to Pierre Briant have long suspected: that the narrative of DB §§10-14 is a product of Darius's propaganda, through which he sought to sanitize and justify his distinctly unorthodox accession to royal power.<sup>54</sup> Reading the Bisitun inscription against the grain, they suggest that in 522, Bardiya overthrew his brother Cambyses, only to be overthrown by Darius. The latter, having no legitimate claim to the throne, concealed his crimes of regicide and usurpation, and justified his ascent by denouncing his predecessor — who was, in fact, the real Bardiya — as having been an imposter. Whence was born the fiction of "Gaumāta the Magus."<sup>55</sup>

In DB §57, wishing to establish his extraordinary accomplishments as king, Darius swore a sacred oath to tell the truth and tell the truth he did, but only concerning that part of his historic narration that begins in

issue. Even so, the repetition they provide helps support the claim of veracity advanced in the oath of §57.

<sup>53</sup> Concerning interpretation of the past passive participle *duruxta* (from the verb *duruj-*, "to lie"), see Bo Utas, "Old Persian Miscellanea," *Orientalia Suecana* 14-15 (1965-66): 135-37.

<sup>54</sup> A.T. Olmstead, *History of the Persian Empire* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1948), pp. 107-13; E.J. Bickerman and H. Tadmor, "Darius I, Pseudo-Smerdis and the Magi," *Athenaeum* 56 (1978): 239-61; Balcer, *Herodotus and Bisotun*, op cit., Dandamaev, *Political History of the Achaemenid Empire*, pp. 83-94, and Briant, *Histoire de l'empire perse*, pp. 109-18. Those who take the other side of this debate include most notably Wiesehöfer, *Der Aufstand Gaumātas*, Ilya Gershevitch, "The False Smerdis," *Acta Antiqua Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 27 (1979): 337-52, and Josef Elfenbein, "The Oldest Detective Story in World History," *Orientalia Suecana* 51/52 (2002-3): 103-16.

<sup>55</sup> DB §§11-12, 52, and DBb. As a Magus, "Gaumāta" would have been ineligible for the kingship in two different fashions, first as a priest and second as a Mede. His ethnic alterity — which would have been transparent to a Persian audience — is rendered explicit in the Babylonian version of DB §11, where he is identified as "a certain Mede, Gaumāta, a Magus" (KUR ma-da-a-a "gu-ma-a-tú ma-gu-šu).

December 522, as narrated in DB §§15-51. His discreet silence concerning the earlier “events” narrated in §§10-14 might be explained in several different ways. Conceivably, Darius believed that before he became king he was not obligated to tell the truth or, alternatively, that he was not obliged to be truthful regarding the period prior to his elevation (Herodotus’s testimony, though unreliable, points in this direction).<sup>56</sup> Alternatively, he may have felt that the power of the Lie had grown so great during Bardiya’s reign that no one could tell the truth concerning events of that era. Whatever the explanation might be, his silence protected Darius against the equally unappealing alternatives of perjury and confession. Even so, his self-protective omissions constitute implicit acknowledgment of the crimes and falsehoods through which he made himself king.

## VI

One final lexeme has relevance for the theme of the king’s truth. This is the verb *θanh-*, which is cognate to Avestan *səṇhaite*, Sanskrit *śamsati*, and Latin *cēnseō*, but much more restricted in its semantics.<sup>57</sup> Normally used only for the speech of kings, it invests that which is said with the

<sup>56</sup> Herodotus narrates the overthrow of Pseudo-Smerdis (= Gaumāta-Bardiya) in a fashion that is favorable to Otanes, the most democratically-oriented of the conspirators, and rather hostile to Darius, whom he depicts as ruthless, reckless, and the champion of monarchy. A key moment in this contrast comes in 3.72, where the hesitating conspirators worry over the practical problem of how they can gain physical access to the imposter-king, whom they wish to assassinate. Darius suggests a strategy of deception and goes further to argue in favor of lying in general.

*When some lie needs to be told, tell it. For we strive after the same thing, those who are lying and those who are using the truth. Both those who lie when they are likely to gain something with lies, and those who tell the truth when they obtain an advantage with truth, appeal to that which is better for them. Practicing different means, we thus cling to the same goal. And if there were nothing to be gained, the truth-teller would just as well employ a lie and the liar employ the truth.*

ἐνθα γάρ τι δεῖ ψεύδος λέγεσθαι, λεγέσθω. τοῦ γάρ αὐτοῦ γλιχόμεθα οἱ τε ψεύδομενοι καὶ οἱ τῇ ἀληθείᾳ διαχρώμενοι. οἱ μὲν γε ψεύδονται τότε ἐπεὶ τὶ μέλλωσι τοῖσι ψεύδεσι πείσαντες κερδήσεσθαι, οἱ δ’ ἀληθίζονται ἵνα τῇ ἀληθείᾳ ἐπισπάσωνται κέρδος καὶ τὶ μᾶλλον σφι ἐπιτράπηται. οὕτω οὐ ταῦτ’ ἀσκεόντες τῶντοῦ περιεχόμεθα. εἰ δὲ μηδὲν κερδήσεσθαι μέλλοιεν, ὁμοίως ἂν ὁ τε ἀληθίζόμενος ψευδῆς εἴη καὶ ὁ ψευδόμενος ἀληθής.

<sup>57</sup> Gamkrelidze and Ivanov, *Indo-European and Indo-Europeans*, p. 705 have reaffirmed the traditional etymology, pace the doubts of Mayrhofer, *Kurzgefasstes etymologisches Wörterbuch des Altindisches* 3: 284-85, following Jacob Wackernagel, “Vergeßene Wortdeutung: 4. ai. *śams-*; got. *hazjan*: lat. *censere*,” *Indogermanische Forschungen* 45 (1927): 321-27 Also relevant is Calvert Watkins, *How to Kill a Dragon: aspects of Indo-European* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995), p. 90.

full dignity and authority of the royal office, commanding not just the respectful attention of its audience, but also their credence. As Émile Benveniste explained, *ṭanh-* means “affirmer avec autorité comme étant la vérité; dire ce qui est conforme à la nature des choses; énoncer la norme de conduite. Celui qui «parle» ainsi est en position souveraine; en déclarant ce qui est, il le fixe; il énonce solennellement ce qui s'impose, la vérité du fait ou du devoir.”<sup>58</sup>

In DB, Darius usually employs *ṭanh-* to mark his own assertive and directive acts of speech, to use John Searle's categories and terminology.<sup>59</sup> As Searle explains, assertives are the type of performative utterance through which speakers commit themselves to the truth of their propositions, pledging that their words accurately reflect the state of the world. And this Darius does with the formula that introduces every one of DB's seventy-six paragraphs: *ṭāti Dārayavauš xšāyaθiya*, “Proclaims Darius the King.” Directive speech works in the opposite direction, actively reshaping the world to fit the words that have been proclaimed. Thus, to describe the commands he gave his generals, Darius also used *ṭanh-*, which here conveys the understanding — indeed, the certainty — that his orders will be obeyed and will have real, transformative effects.<sup>60</sup> The same point is rendered explicit when Darius describes the relations of ruler and ruled.

*Proclaims Darius the King: These lands/peoples that came to me, by the Wise Lord's will they were subject to me. They bore me tribute. What was proclaimed (aṭanhya) to them by me, by night or by day, that was done.*<sup>61</sup>

Ordinarily, it is only kings who can make proclamations of this sort. It is thus surprising that in the historical narrative sections of DB (§§10-51), Darius uses the verb *ṭanh-* to denote the speech acts through which some of the men he defeated represented themselves as proper kings (assertive speech) and called on others to recognize them as such (directive speech). We should note, however, that in this section of the inscription, Darius

<sup>58</sup> Émile Benveniste, *Le vocabulaire des institutions indo-européennes* (Paris: Editions de Minuit, 1969), p. 147. Benveniste's discussion (pp. 143-48) builds on the earlier analysis of Georges Dumézil, *Servius et la fortune* (Paris: Gallimard, 1943), pp. 70-98.

<sup>59</sup> John R. Searle, *Expression and Meaning: Studies in the Theory of Speech Acts* (Cambridge: University Press, 1979), pp. 12-14.

<sup>60</sup> Thus DB §§25, 26, 29, 33, 38, 50.

<sup>61</sup> DB §7: *ṭāti Dārayavauš xšāyaθiya: imā dahyāva, tayā manā patiyāiša, vašnā Auramazdāha manā bandakā āhantā, manā bājim abarantā, tayašām hacāma aṭanhya xšapanvā raucativā, ava akunavayantā*. Cf. variants that occur at DB §8, DNa §§3 and 4, DSe §3, and XPh §3. See further, David Testen, “Old Persian <x-š-p-v<sup>(a)</sup> r<sup>(a-i)</sup>-u-c-p-t<sup>(a-i)</sup>-v<sup>(a)</sup>-a> ‘by night or by day’,” *Iranica Antiqua* 32 (1997): 145-50



carefully distinguishes among his adversaries. One of them — Frāda — made no claims on his own behalf, least of all did he claim to be king. Rather, his people elected him as their “chief” or “prince” (*maθišta*), seemingly without his having taken initiative. Of him, the verb *θanh-* is not employed.<sup>62</sup> Concerning three others, Darius says quite bluntly “he lied to the people/army thus” (*haṃ kārāhyā avaθā adurujiya*) and follows this phrase with the claim of lineage and identity through which these pretenders asserted their right to be king.<sup>63</sup> For the five remaining men, however, he employed a variant on this formula, replacing the verb *adurujiya* (“he lied”) with *aθanha* (“he proclaimed”), a change that implicitly granted the truth of what was said, thereby also acknowledging the legitimacy and royal identity of the speaker (Table 2.3).

	“He lied” <i>adurujiya</i>	“He proclaimed” <i>aθanha</i>
<i>Gaumāta</i> (§11)	+	-
<i>Āçina</i> (§16)	-	+
<i>Nidintu-Bel</i> (§16)	+	-
<i>Martiya</i> (§22)	-	+
<i>Fravartī</i> (§24)	-	+
<i>Tritantaxma</i> (§33)	-	+
<i>Frāda</i> (§38)	-	+
<i>Vahyazdāta</i> (§40)	-	+
<i>Araxa</i> (§49)	+	-

Table 2.3 Speech acts attributed to the nine rebels in DB §§10-51.

Quite apart from the judgments made about individuals, the distribution apparent in Table 2.3 reflects an ideological construct whereby a man who could speak a proclamation (*θanh-*) was understood to be a king, it being further understood that a king did not lie (*duruj-*). Conversely, one who told lies was no king, and could not properly proclaim. Or to put it differently, the capacity to proclaim was a prerogative, competence, and identifying characteristic of kingship, while the capacity to

<sup>62</sup> Frāda is treated in DB §§38-39. Significantly, he and Skunxa were the only adversaries Darius did not have executed, the latter because he was a rightful king, the former because he never claimed such status.

<sup>63</sup> Those said to have lied are Gaumāta (DB §11), Nidintu-Bel (§16), and Araxa (§49).

lie was antithetical to royal office. In §§10-51, the most detailed and nuanced sections of the inscription, Darius seems to say that in 522-521 he defeated three imposters, but also five kings and one elected sub-royal leader. While all his victories were glorious, to be sure, only in the case of the three imposters did he triumph over "the Lie." The proclamatory speech of five others was as true as his own, including the speech-acts in which they asserted that they were rightful kings.

In DB §52, however, Darius summarized his narrative of §§10-51, and also changed his story. Introducing those he vanquished as "nine kings" (*navā xšāyaθiyā*), he said of each one in turn: "This man lied. Thus he proclaimed..." (*haṣ adurujiya, avaθā aθanha*), followed by the claims this man advanced in support of his right to the throne.<sup>64</sup> While this novel phrasing clearly retracts any legitimacy that might have been granted by the title "king" or by details of the historic account, it also collapses categories the text previously held separate. The result is destabilizing in the extreme. For if the same man can both lie (*duruj-*) and proclaim (*aθanh-*), then no one can be fully trusted: not even the king who proclaims (*aθanh-*) that other kings have lied in their pronouncements. Indeed, we here encounter in its most politically acute form the classic paradox of truth-tellers and liars, who, disquietingly enough, both give the same answer when asked if they tell the truth.

## VII

In the crisis year of 522-521, following the death of Cambyses, ten different men claimed the title of king.<sup>65</sup> Some of them spoke to this end in assertive fashion, sincerely trying to make their words reflect underlying reality. Others spoke in more directive fashion, seeking to reshape reality in accord with their ambitions and desires. Finally, after countless proclamations, nineteen battles, and many deaths, one man sat unrivalled on the imperial throne, but in a world where falsehood had made dangerous

<sup>64</sup> A variant of the same formula recurs in the minor inscriptions that serve as captions to the Bisitun relief (DBb-DBj): "This X (= the rebel's name) lied. He proclaimed that..." (*iyam X adurujiya, avaθā aθanha*).

<sup>65</sup> It is tempting to compare the events of 522-21 B.C.E. to those of 69 C.E., the fabled "Year of Three Emperors" in Rome, which also set off apocalyptic speculation. Also relevant is the situation of the English Lancastrian kings, who deployed a much-enhanced line of religious propaganda in defense of their legitimacy after Henry IV (Bolingbroke) usurped Richard II. On the latter case, see the splendid study of Paul Strohm, *England's Empty Throne: Usurpation and the Language of Legitimation, 1399-1422* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998).

inroads on truth. In the Bisitun inscription, Darius set out to consolidate his victory by explicating how the world had fallen to so sorry a state and to represent his triumph as the beginning of its salvation, while undertaking certain steps to make it so. The story he told began with a king — Cambyzes — who committed an evil action and then failed to tell the truth. Following this initial moment of corruption, and in the power vacuum Cambyzes created when he departed for Egypt, people became *arika* (“vulnerable to deception”) and then “the Lie” grew great. Royal pretenders — a name richly ironic — arose throughout the empire. Some gave themselves false names, spurious genealogies, or fraudulent national identities as part of self-elevating “proclamations” that misled the credulous. Confusion was rife and bloodshed swiftly followed.

In the chaotic period between Cambyzes’ departure and the last of his nineteen battles, Darius — like others, but with more success — waged a ferocious campaign to win the throne. The final step of that campaign was the Bisitun inscription, where he tidied up the story of how he seized power, stigmatized his opponents as agents of the Lie, and laid the basis for a restabilized order. A crucial step in this last project was the restoration of truth or — to put it in a less idealizing vocabulary — the restoration of people’s confidence in royal speech after the distinction between proclamations and lies had collapsed.

The oath Darius swore in §57 was meant to mark the end of the Lie’s dominion and two details of this passage merit commentary. The first is the verb with which the new king identified his act of speech. By saying that he “swears” (*vratīyai*) these things to be “true, not false” (*hašiyam, naī duruxtam*), Darius employed an act of assertive speech more powerful than the act of proclamation (*θanh-*) that was so seriously compromised in the preceding turmoil. For a king to swear such an oath is unparalleled in the other Achaemenian inscriptions and is a mark of Darius’s seriousness and resourcefulness, perhaps also the desperate nature of his situation. Second, there is the relation between speech and action in his oath, for he does not swear that all he said here or elsewhere is true; rather, he swears that since becoming king, he has done all that he claimed to do. In subsequent paragraphs he dilates on this theme. In §58, he explains that the deeds of his first regnal year actually exceed his account, but he has modestly refrained from telling all, lest the reader be misled into thinking this true record to be false. In §59, he insists on the extraordinary nature of his accomplishments: no king before him has done such things all in one year. And in §§60-61, he

addresses his readers directly, imploring them to be convinced by all his testimony and to proclaim (*θanh-*) this solemn declaration — the Babylonian version says “this truth” — to others.<sup>66</sup> What we have here is an attempt to set in motion a three-step process of reconstituting truth: a process that begins with royal action and ends with popular speech.

- 1) Unprecedented royal action: Darius's nineteen victories in one year, which are represented as the result of the Wise Lord's favor and the decisive defeat of the Lie.
- 2) Unprecedented royal speech: Darius swears (*vratiyai*) an oath (*handugam*), making the most powerful act possible of assertive speech. He simultaneously warrants that the account of his victories is “true, not false” (*hašiyam, nai duruxtam*) and represents himself as a king who — like all proper kings — is a dependable speaker of truth.
- 3) Unprecedented act of general speech: All those who hear Darius's oath are enjoined to believe it and to proclaim (*θanh-*) it to others. This is the only time in the Old Persian corpus when non-royal speakers appear as subjects of the verb *θanh-*, and it marks an extraordinary moment in discursive history.<sup>67</sup>

Here, Darius seems to acknowledge that the power to proclaim has been (temporarily) debased, such that previously ineligible persons could speak in this fashion. As a means to reassert order and to reclaim proclamatory speech as a royal prerogative, he now seeks to appropriate and encompass the proclamations of others by filling them with his content: making those other speakers his heralds, in effect, who will proclaim *his* truth throughout the land: the story of his victory, verity, and power.

<sup>66</sup> DB §§60-61: “Proclaims Darius the King: Now let what was done by me convince you. Then proclaim it to the people, do not conceal it! If you do not conceal this declaration and you proclaim it to the people, may the Wise Lord become a friend to you, and may your progeny come into being at will, and may you live long! Proclaims Darius the King: If you conceal this declaration and do not tell the people, may the Wise Lord become your slayer and may your progeny not come into being.” *θāti Dārayavauš xšāyaθiya: nūram θuvām vṇavatām, taya manā kṛtam, avaθā kārahyā θādi, mā apagaūdaya, yadi imām handugām nai apagaūdayāhi, kārahyā θāhi, Auramazdā θuvām dauštā biyā, utātaī taumā vasaī biyā, utā dargam jīvā. θāti Dārayavauš xšāyaθiya: yadi imām handugām apagaūdayāhi, nai θāhi kārahyā, Auramazdātaī jantā biyā, utātaī taumā mā biyā.* In place of Old Persian *handugām* (“oath, solemn declaration,” on which see Brandenstein-Mayrhofer, p. 124, Emile Benveniste, “Persica IV. Handugā,” *Bulletin de la société de linguistique de Paris* 30 [1934], pp. 73-74), the Babylonian version has *kittu*, “truth,” on which see *Assyrian Dictionary of the Oriental Institute* 8: 468-72.

<sup>67</sup> The only other passage that contemplates the possibility that someone other than the king might make such a proclamation only serves to underscore the point. Thus, in DB §13, Darius says: “No one dared to proclaim anything about Gaumāta the Magus until I arose.” *kašci nai adṣṇauš cišci θanstanai pari Gaumātām tayam magum, yātā adam ārsam.*

In the Median myth of Deiokes, kingship is said to have been founded on truth in an age of "much anomie." Similar in the way it grants primacy to truth and makes kingship dependent on it is the Zoroastrian tradition that Yima, first king of myth, lost his royal charisma when he told the first lie.<sup>68</sup> The Bisitun text pursues this same topos, but adds a further wrinkle to make the relation dialectic. Not only is kingship said to be founded on truth, but truth is (re-)established through kingship. In both the unilinear and the dialectic versions, however, one perceives the attempt, first, to constitute royal speech as "truth" and second, to treat "truth" as a transcendent quality necessary for the sustenance of human life, but originating outside it. And here, one should recognize the circularity of the argument, for the "truth" through which royal power seeks to legitimate and ennoble itself is, in fact, nothing other than its own discursive aspect.

<sup>68</sup> The clearest Avestan articulation of this theme is found in Yašt 19.30-38, although there are those who believe it is already present in the obscure Gāthic verse, Yasna 32.8 (e.g. Helmut Humbach, "Zur altiranische Mythologie," *Zeitschrift der deutsche morgenlanischen Gesellschaft* 107 (1957): 366-67 and Wolfgang Lentz, "Yima and Khvarnah in the Avestan Gāthas," in *A Locust's Leg: Studies in Honour of S.H. Taqizādeh* (London: P. Lund, 1962), 131-34. It is further elaborated in many Pahlavi sources, e.g. *Dādestān ī Dēnīg* 39.16, *Pahlavi Rivāyat accompanying the Dādestān ī Dēnīg* 31a10. Most extensively, see Arthur Christensen, *Le premier homme et le premier roi dans l'histoire légendaire des iraniens. Vol. II: Jim* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1934).

## CHAPTER THREE

### SPACE, MOTION, AND CLIMATE IN THE ACHAEMENIAN IMAGINARY

#### I

Chapters One and Two focused primarily on the category of time, trying to demonstrate that Darius and his heirs entertained a view of cosmic history as divided into four distinct and qualitatively different phases. The first of these was the period of creation, when the Wise Lord brought a perfect world into existence. Second was a time of assault, when that creation was corrupted by powers of evil. Whereas the date of the first period remained indeterminate, if primordial, the time of assault was understood to coincide with the reign of Cambyses (530-522 B.C.E.), son and heir of Cyrus the Great. Third was the period that commenced when the Wise Lord made Darius king (September 522, if one dates this to the overthrow of Gaumāta/Bardiya; perhaps as late as December, if one dates it to his coronation). It is characterized by the salvific counter-attack Darius led, involving violent struggle against the forces of deception, disorder, rebellion and — more positively — the restoration of truth, righteousness, and proper cosmic/imperial order. While the third phase continued to the moment the system was articulated, its authors anticipated the arrival of a fourth age in the emergent future, when the Lie would be destroyed and worldly bliss restored, as per the Wise Lord's intention when he made "happiness for mankind" (*šiyāti... martiyahyā*) the crown of his creation.

This last, eagerly anticipated period amounts to nothing less than salvation of the cosmos, the end of history, and accomplishment of the divine will, also the fulfillment of imperial ambitions at their most euphemized and audacious. As I see it, those ambitions were fueled by a sense of soteriological mission that — depending on one's analytic stance and vocabulary — mystified, encompassed, transcended, or simply recoded a more mundane set of geopolitical and socioeconomic ambitions.

In its general pattern, this temporal sequence resembles what is found in late Zoroastrian texts like the Greater Bundahišn or Selections of

Zādspram, but differs from them in important specifics. Thus, although the Pahlavi texts also normally posit four world ages, they make these of equal length, each lasting 3,000 years, so that together they form a Great Year, every month of which represents a millennium.<sup>1</sup> As in the Achaemenian inscriptions, creation itself is attributed to the Wise Lord (Ohrmazd) and is entirely good until corrupted by the assault of evil. The agent responsible for that attack, however, is not "the Lie" (Old Persian *drauga*), but the "Evil Spirit" (Pahlavi *Ahremen* = Avestan *Agra Mainiiu*), while the counterattack is commenced by a religious, and not a royal leader: Zarathuštra, instead of Darius. Accordingly, the establishment of eschatological perfection is accomplished not only by martial conquest, but also involves the ultimate performance of ritual sacrifice.<sup>2</sup>

One can explain this situation, where general resemblance is mitigated by significant differences in detail, in two alternative fashions. Either one can imagine that the Achaemenian rulers adapted Zoroastrian tenets to suit their specific purposes and perspective or, conversely, that within a broad spectrum of Iranian beliefs, the Achaemenian and Zoroastrian systems were two variations alongside others (Median, Scythian, Zurvanite, Manichaean, etc.). Personally, I find the latter view more congenial, but see no evidence that is conclusive one way or the other. More interesting than the struggle to force closure on evidence likely to remain ambiguous is the question of why so many scholars have felt the need to wage this futile struggle.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> For different views of the chronology contained within the Pahlavi texts, which sometime describe a cosmic history of 12,000 years and sometimes 9,000, see Herman Lommel, *Die Religion Zarathustras nach dem Awesta dargestellt* (Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr, 1930), pp. 130-43, R.C. Zaehner, *Zurvan; A Zoroastrian Dilemma* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1955), pp. 96-100, Jacques Duchesne-Guillemin, *La religion de l'Iran ancien* (Paris: Presses universitaires de France, 1962), pp. 311-22, Molé, *Culte, mythe, et cosmologie dans l'Iran ancien*, op cit., pp. 395-406, and Mary Boyce, *Textual Sources for the Study of Zoroastrianism* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1984), pp. 20-22. The most important primary sources are Selections of Zādspram 1, Greater Bundahišn 1 and 36, Mēnōg ī Xrad 8.

<sup>2</sup> On the eschatological sacrifice, see Molé *Culte, mythe, et cosmologie*, pp. 85-100 et passim. Among primary sources, note in particular Selections of Zādspram 35 and Pahlavi Rivāyat accompanying the Dādestān ī Dēnīg 48.

<sup>3</sup> Thus, for example, in her attempts to please the Zoroastrian community, Mary Boyce has always taken pains to construe the Achaemenians as faithful Zoroastrians, as in Volume II of her *History of Zoroastrianism* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1982). In contrast, one might speculate that Emile Benveniste's drive to identify diversity in *The Persian Religion according to the Chief Greek Texts* (Paris: Paul Geuthner, 1929) may have had some relation to his own situation as a Levantine Jew in France of the III Republic. For more on Benveniste's life, see the forthcoming biographical account by Françoise Bader.

## II

In the present chapter, I want to consider the category of space, where much the same situation obtains. Once again, the Achaemenians exhibit general similarity and specific differences to other Iranian traditions in their tendency to plot spatial, ethnic, and political relations as a set of concentric circles surrounding a privileged center. Thus, as several scholars have recognized, a concentric pattern of this sort determined the serial order in which Achaemenian inscriptions listed the lands and peoples of the empire.<sup>4</sup> If we consider the earliest extant list, for example — that of DB §6, which reflects Darius's holdings in December 521 — it reduces the complexities of Asian geography to a neat schema of four concentric circles. The first of these consists of Persia itself, and the second of three core areas: Elam, Babylon, and Assyria, older empires that were geographically and culturally proximate, also economically and administratively indispensable to the Persian center.<sup>5</sup> The third circle is divided in four quadrants oriented to the cardinal points. Beginning in the south, the list moves from the land/people located closest to the center and moves toward the periphery. When it reaches the limits of the empire's expanse, it then shifts clockwise by ninety degrees, recommences with the innermost land/people of that quarter, then moves to the periphery again. Finally, the fourth circle contains two peripheral lands/peoples: Scythians to the north and Makans to the south (Figure 3.1).

A list compiled toward the end of Darius's reign (DNa §3, dated some years prior to 486) shows the interplay of this concentric pattern and changing circumstances. Comparing this to the list of DB §6, one finds Persia still situated at the absolute center, Media having displaced Babylon in the second circle, and a reorientation of the third circle to begin with the peoples of the north, rather than those of the south. Most striking, however, is expansion of the fourth circle to accommodate several peoples conquered since Darius's accession (Thracians, Libyans, Nubians), several who were objects of imperial ambition, i.e. claimed and attacked, but not yet subjugated ("Scythians beyond the sea," "Ionians

<sup>4</sup> Thus, Clarisse Herrenschildt, "Désignation de l'empire et concepts politiques de Darius I<sup>er</sup>", op cit., Peter Calmyer, "Zur Genese altiranischer Motive. VIII. Staatliche Landkarte des Perserreichs," *Archäologische Mitteilungen aus Iran* 15 (1982): 105-87, Briant, *Histoire de l'empire perse* 1: 191-98.

<sup>5</sup> As a mark of the importance accorded to these lands/peoples, note that most of the inscriptions were executed in Babylonian and Elamite, as well as Old Persian.



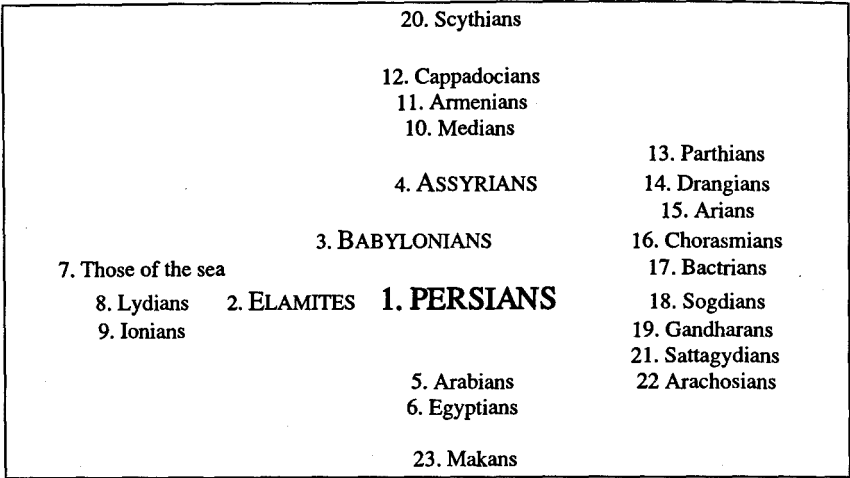


Fig. 3.1 Lands/peoples of the empire, as listed in DB §6 (521 B.C.E.)

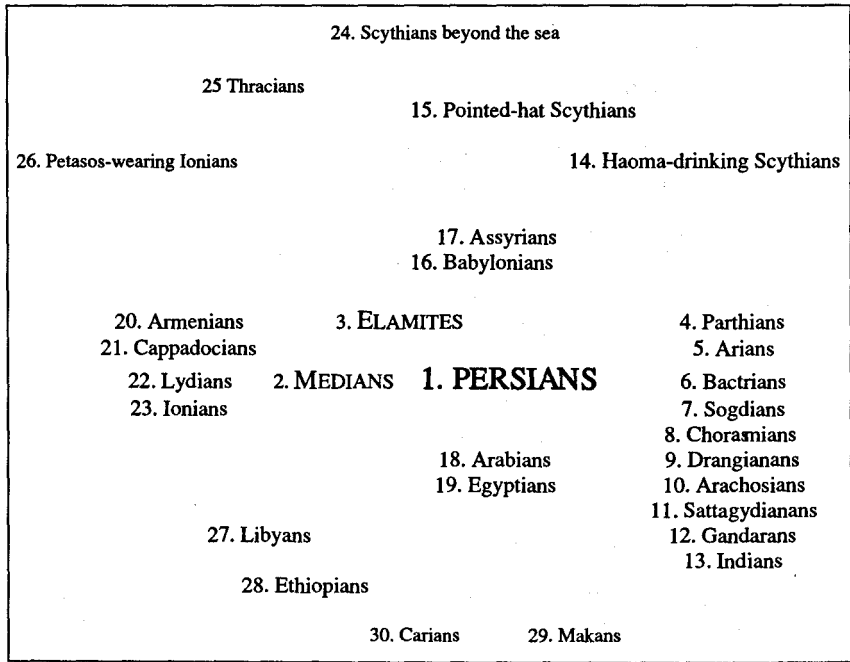


Fig. 3.2 Lands/peoples of the empire, as listed in DNa §3 (c. 490 B.C.E.)

who wear the petasos”), along with the Makans and Carians, located at the extremities (Figure 3.2).<sup>6</sup>

Similarly geometric models of world order are attested in the Avesta, which describes systems of five, seven, and sixteen concentric world-regions, while a plan of seven regions, with the one at the center equal to all others in size and importance is standard in Pahlavi texts.<sup>7</sup> A.H. Shahbazi has argued that the same seven-partite pattern can be seen in Achaemenian jewelry designs, but the evidence is too slim for any far-reaching conclusion.<sup>8</sup> Continuities between Median and Persian patterns of concentricity are much better attested, however, as in a famous passage from Herodotus that describes their moral and political logic.

*After themselves, [the Persians] give honor above all to those who dwell closest to themselves, and second to those who are second closest. And proceeding thus, they distribute honor proportionately. They treat with least honor those who dwell furthest away from themselves, considering themselves to be in all ways the best of people by far, while the others partake of excellence proportionately, such that those dwelling furthest from themselves are the worst. When the Medes were ruling, peoples ruled over each other, and the Medes ruled over all together, especially those dwelling nearest to them. The latter ruled their neighbors, and they in turn ruled those who came next. The Persians distribute honor following the same principle. For as their people extended their rule, they managed in this fashion.*<sup>9</sup>

<sup>6</sup> The Carians first appear in the list of DSe §3, where they are given the final position held by the Makans in earlier inscriptions (DB §6, DPe §2). Carians continue to occupy this spot during the reign of Artaxerxes II (404-359 B.C.E.) or III (359-331), as attested in A<sup>3</sup>P, although they were moved to penultimate position by Xerxes I (r. 486-65) in favor of the Nubians (XPh §3).

<sup>7</sup> The system with five regions appears at Yašt 13.143-145, that with seven at Vidēvdād 19.39, Vispered 10.1, and Yašt 10.89, that with sixteen at Vidēvdād 1. Note, however, that the most recent interpretation of the last text places the privileged Iranian region in the northern extremity, rather than in the center: Willem Vogelsang, “The Sixteen Lands of Videvdāt 1: Airyanam Vaejah and the Homeland of the Iranians,” *Persica* 16 (2001): 49-66. Pahlavi sources treating the seven *kišvars* include Selections of Zādspram 3.33-35, Greater Bundahišn 8, Dādestān ī Dēnīg 36.5-7, Bahman Yašt 3.47, and Dēnkard 3.29.

<sup>8</sup> A.S. Shahbazi, “Darius’ «Haft Kishvar»,” in H. Koch and D.N. MacKenzie, eds., *Kunst, Kultur und Geschichte der Achemenidenzeit* (Berlin: D. Reimer, 1983), pp. 239-46.

<sup>9</sup> Herodotus 1.134: τιμῶσι δὲ ἐκ πάντων τοὺς ἄγχιστα ἐσுτῶν οἰκέοντας μετὰ γε ἐσுτούς, δευτέρα δὲ τοὺς δευτέρους· μετὰ δὲ κατὰ λόγον προβαίνοντες τιμῶσι. ἥκιστα δὲ τοὺς ἐσுτῶν ἐκαστάτω οἰκημένους ἐν τιμῇ ἄγονται, νομίζοντες ἐσுτούς εἶναι ἀνθρώπων μακρῷ τὰ πάντα ἀρίστους, τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους κατὰ λόγον τῆς ἀρετῆς ἀντέχεσθαι, τοὺς δὲ ἐκαστάτω οἰκέοντας ἀπὸ ἐσுτῶν κακίστους εἶναι. ἐπὶ δὲ Μῆδων ἀρχόντων καὶ ἦρχε τὰ ἔθνεα ἀλλήλων, συναπάντων μὲν Μῆδοι καὶ τῶν ἄγχιστα οἰκεόντων σφίσι, οὗτοι δὲ καὶ τῶν ὁμοῦρων, οἱ δὲ μάλα τῶν ἐχομένων. κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν δὴ λόγον καὶ οἱ Πέρσαι τιμῶσι· προέβαινε γὰρ δὴ τὸ ἔθνος ἄρχον τε καὶ ἐπιτροπεύον.

As Herodotus tells it, this pattern of administration coincided with Deiokes's construction of Ecbatana, a spectacular city surrounded by seven ringed walls, each one higher than its outlying predecessor. The first five were painted white, black, purple, blue, and orange, respectively, while the sixth was coated in silver and the seventh in gold.<sup>10</sup> At the center of the Median realm, thus lay the capital; at its center, the palace; and at its center, the king, who withdrew into this innermost sanctum, broke all contact with his people and managed affairs of state through messengers bustling to and fro.<sup>11</sup> Palaces remained important for Achaemenian kings but, as we shall see, they used them much differently. Indeed, not only was the Achaemenian system less radically concentric than what Herodotus reported for the Medes, its ideology and symbology of the center were themselves rather different.

### III

Before turning to those issues, however, let us first consider the formulae the inscriptions use to introduce their lists of lands/peoples, which shed light on the nature of relations between inner and outer circles (Table 3.1). In the earliest (DB §6, dated shortly after December 521 B.C.E.), Darius simply asserts "These are the lands/peoples that came to me. By the Wise Lord's will I was king of them."<sup>12</sup> Slightly more elaborate is the version used at Persepolis, written some time after 515: "Proclaims Darius the King: By the Wise Lord's will, these are the lands/peoples that I took hold of with this Persian army, that feared me and bore me tribute."<sup>13</sup>

Although later versions add phrases to specify that the subject peoples took direction from the king, obeying his proclamations and submitting to his laws, the Persepolis version already provides a model of the reciprocal processes that define and maintain any imperial system. The first of these, through which the empire comes into being, is a centrifugal outflow of violence whereby the center conquers and dominates the outer circles: "These are the lands/peoples that I took hold of with this Persian army."<sup>14</sup> Similar is the phrasing used to introduce the lists at

<sup>10</sup> Herodotus, 1.98.

<sup>11</sup> Ibid. 1.99.

<sup>12</sup> DB §6: ima dahyāva, tayā manā patiyāiṣa, vašnā Auramazdāha adamšām xšāya-θiya āham.

<sup>13</sup> DPe §2: θāti Dārayavauš xšāyaθiya: vašnā Auramazdāhā imā dahyāva, tayā adam adarši hada anā Pārsā kārā, tayā hacāma atṛsa, manā bājim abara.

<sup>14</sup> Ibid: imā dahyāva, tayā adam adarši hadā anā Pārsā kārā.

	DB §6	DPe §2	DSe §3	DSm §2	DNa §3	XPh §3
1. The Wise Lord bestowed on me the kingship/kingdom, which is great, which has good people. He made me king in this earth/empire. <i>AMmaī xšačam frābara tya vazrkam taya umartiyam. mān xšāyaθiyam ahyāyā būmiyā akunauš</i>				X		
2. By the Wise Lord's will <i>vašnā Auramazdāhā</i>		X	X	X	X	X
3. these are the lands/peoples <i>imā dahyāva</i>	X	X	X	X	X	X
4.1. that came to me <i>tayā manā patiyāiyša</i>	X					
4.2. that I took hold of with this Persian people/army <i>tayā adam adarši hadā anā Pārsā kārā</i>		X				
4.3. that I seized far from Persia <i>tayā adam agrbāyam apataram hacā Pārsā</i>			X		X	
5. they feared me <i>tayā hacāma atrša</i>		X				
6.1. by the Wise Lord's will I am king over them <i>vašnā Auramazdāha adamšām xšāyaθiya āham</i>	X					
6.2.1 those far from Persia over which I was king <i>tayaišām adam xšāyaθiya āham apataram hacā Pārsā</i>						X
6.2.2. of whom I became king <i>tayaišām adam xšāyaθiya abavam</i>				X		
6.3. I ruled over them <i>adamšām patiyaxšayai</i>			X		X	X

	DB §6	DPe §2	DSe §3	DSm §2	DNa §3	XPh §3
7. they bore me tribute <i>manā bājim abara(ha)</i>		X	X		X	X
8. That which was proclaimed to them by me, that they did <i>tayašām hacāma aθanhya, ava akunava</i>			X		X	X
9. My law — that held them <i>dātam taya manā avadiš adāraya</i>			X		X	X

Table 3.1 Formulae introducing the lists of lands/peoples.

Susa and Naqš-ī Rostam: “These are the lands/peoples that I seized far from Persia.”<sup>15</sup> And immediately after presenting his list at the latter site, Darius reemphasizes this point.

*If you should wonder, “How many are the lands/peoples that King Darius held?”, look at the pictures of those who bear the throne [a reference to the accompanying relief sculpture, where thirty figures support the enthroned monarch]. Then you will learn, then it becomes known: “The spear of the Persian man went far.” Then it becomes known: “The Persian man has pushed back the enemy far from Persia.”*<sup>16</sup>

Balancing the outflow of force and making its continuation possible is the centripetal reflux of wealth extorted as tax or tribute (*bāji*). Persia itself was exempt from such payments, as Herodotus recorded.<sup>17</sup> As the innermost circle — that which receives, but pays no tribute — it was omitted from all lists that made mention of tribute in their introductory formulae, like that on the south retaining wall of Darius’s palace at

<sup>15</sup> DNa §3 and DSe §3: imā dahyāva tayā adam agrbāyam apataram hacā Pārsā.

<sup>16</sup> DNa §4: yadipati maniyāhai; ciyākaram avā dahyāva, tayā Dārayavauš xšāyaθiya adāraya, patikarā dīdi, tayaj gāθum baranti; adā xšnāsāhi, adataj azdā bavāti; Pārsahyā martiyahyā dūraj īštiš parāgmatā; adataj azdā bavāti; Pārsa martiya dūraj hacā Pārsā parataram patiyajātā. The fullest discussion of Achaemenian practices for extraction of tribute is found in Pierre Briant and Clarisse Herrens Schmidt, eds., *Le tribut dans l’empire Perse* (Paris: Peeters, 1989). On the religious and ideological significance of tribute, see below, Chapter Nine.

<sup>17</sup> Herodotus 3.97: “Persia is the only land known to me that is not obliged to pay tribute, for the Persians dwell in a land free of tax.” ἡ Περσίς δὲ χώρα μούνη μοι οὐκ εἴρηται δασμοφόρος· ἀτελέα γὰρ Πέρσαι νέμονται χώραν.

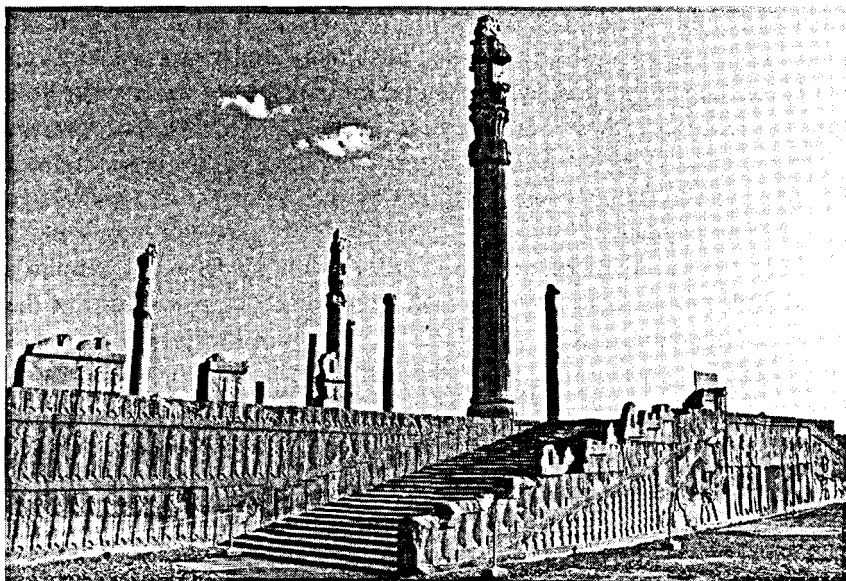


Fig. 3.3 Apadāna staircase at Persepolis, with relief sculpture of tributaries.

Persepolis: “These are the lands/peoples that... feared me and bore me tribute.”<sup>18</sup> The massive relief sculptures on the grand staircases to the north and east of the Persepolis Apadāna serve to underscore the point (Figures 3.3). There, hundreds of tribute bearers from every province stream toward the enthroned king, sitting immobile at the center of the composition and of the empire. Each party is identifiable by the ethnically distinctive costume they wear and each bears a specific form of wealth, normally that considered their most excellent product.<sup>19</sup>

Herodotus provides a detailed account of the tribute (*phoros*) required from each of the Persian satrapies, calculating each one’s obligations in

<sup>18</sup> DPe §2: *imā dahyāva... tayā hacāma atṛsa, manā bājim abara*. Persia heads the lists contained in DB §6, DSm §2, and A<sup>7</sup>P, where tribute goes unmentioned, but is omitted from DPe §2, DSe §3, DNa §3, and XPh §3. In the latter set, it remains implicitly present as recipient of the tribute paid by all the other lands/peoples who do appear by name.

<sup>19</sup> On representation of tributaries on the Persepolis staircase, see Erich Schmidt, *Persepolis. III: The Royal Tombs and Other Monuments* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1970), pp. 143–60, R.D. Burnett, “Persepolis,” *Iraq* 19 (1957): 55–77, esp. pp. 65–72, Gerold Walser, *Die Völkerschaften auf den Reliefs von Persepolis. Historische Studien über den sogenannten Tributzug an der Apadānatreppe* (Berlin: Deutsche archäologisches Institut, 1966), and Root, *King and Kingship in Achaemenid Art*, pp. 86–95 and 227–84.

talents of gold or silver.<sup>20</sup> According to him, such payments were an innovation of Darius, it having been customary under Cyrus and Cambyzes for the subject peoples of the empire to offer not tribute, but gifts (*dōra*). Traces of these remained, for example, in the white horses offered annually by the Cilicians, the ivory and ebony brought from Ethiopia, or the frankincense proffered by the Arabians over and above their tribute payments.<sup>21</sup>

The fullest account of tributary “gifts” flowing from the empire’s outer circles to its royal center is found, however, in a description of the palace Darius built at Susa (in Elam, note, and not Persia) between 518 and 512.<sup>22</sup> In considerable detail, the text describes the palace’s “ornamentation borne from afar” (*hacāci dūradaša arjanamšaj abariya*): lumber from Lebanon, Gandhara, and Carmania; gold from Lydia and Bactria; gems from Sogdiana and Chorasmia; silver and ebony from Egypt; ivory from Ethiopia, Sind, and Arachosia; stone from Elam; and unspecified ornaments from Ionia. The national identity of workmen also received considerable attention: transport by Assyrians, Carians, and Ionians; stonemasonry by Ionians and Lydians; goldsmithing by Medes and Egyptians; carpentry by Lydians and Egyptians; brickwork and excavation by Babylonians.<sup>23</sup> This catalogue of the various contributions lays the groundwork, as it were, for the text’s conclusion, where Darius announced how he meant this palace — simultaneously product and model of the empire as a whole, microcosmic concentration of all its best features — to be regarded and understood.

*Says Darius the King: In Susa a great wonder was measured out. A great wonder it was.*<sup>24</sup>

Old Persian *fraša* — here translated “wonder” — will be treated more fully in Chapter Twenty-one and there is no need to review the whole argument here. For the moment, suffice it to say that the Avestan and Pahlavi cognates are technical terms used to denote the “Renovation,”

<sup>20</sup> Herodotus 3.89-97.

<sup>21</sup> Herodotus 3.89: ἐπὶ γὰρ Κύρου ἄρχοντος καὶ αὐτὶς Καμβύσεω ἦν κατεστηκός οὐδὲν φόρου πέρι, ἀλλὰ δῶρα ἀγίνεον. The Cilician horses are mentioned at 3.90, the gifts from Ethiopia, Colchis, and Arabia at 3.97.

<sup>22</sup> On Susa and its importance, see Rémy Bouchard, “Suse et la Susiane à l’époque achéménide: Données archéologiques,” *Achaemenid History* 4 (1990): 149-175, Dandamaev and Lukonin, *Culture and Social Institutions of Ancient Iran*, pp. 256-259, and Walther Hinz, *Darius und die Perser: Eine Kulturgeschichte der Achämeniden* (Baden-Baden: Holle Verlag, 1976). pp. 177-182.

<sup>23</sup> DSf §§3f-3k.

<sup>24</sup> DSf §4: θᾶτι Dārayavauš XŠ: Čušāyā paru frašam framātam. paru frašam āha.

i.e. the final act of world history, including the defeat of Ahreman and his demonic powers, resurrection of the dead, last judgment, rituals of purification, and restoration of the Wise Lord's creation to its original state of perfection.<sup>25</sup> In Old Persian usage, however, the realization of the wondrous state denominated as *fraša* does not have to wait for the end of time. Of the eight times the word occurs, six refer to the palace Darius erected at Susa. The other two treat cosmogony.

*A great god is the Wise Lord, who makes a wonder (fraša) on this earth, who makes mankind on this earth, who makes happiness for mankind, who makes good horses and good chariots.*<sup>26</sup>

*A great god is the Wise Lord, who created this wonder (fraša) that is seen, who created happiness for mankind, who deposited wisdom and physical prowess in Darius the King.*<sup>27</sup>

The parallelism thus established between God's accomplishments during the first world-age and those of the king in the third serves to suggest a much broader homology.

Wise Lord	: Darius
Great God ( <i>baga vazrka</i> )	: Great King ( <i>xšāyaθiya vazrka</i> )
Creator of earth ( <i>būmī</i> )	: Creator of empire ( <i>būmī</i> )
Creation as a wonder ( <i>fraša</i> )	: Palace as a wonder ( <i>fraša</i> ) and microcosm of the empire
Creator of happiness for mankind	: Restorer of happiness for mankind.
Source of Darius's power	: Recipient of power derived from the Wise Lord and used to fulfill the latter's intentions

<sup>25</sup> Regarding the eschatological *frašō.kərēti* ("making-wonderful," Pahlavi *frašgird*), see the discussions of Lommel, *Die Religion Zarathustras*, pp. 224-225, Molé, *Culte, mythe, et cosmologie*, pp. 172-175, and Geo Widengren, *Die Religionen Irans* (Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer, 1965), p. 88. The best Avestan descriptions are found at Yasna 30.7-9 and Yašt 19.11. Pahlavi sources, including Greater Bundahišn 34, Pahlavi Rivāyat accompanying the Dādestān ī Dēnīg 25, 48, 49, 52, and 54, Dēnkard 3.208 provide more extended discussions.

<sup>26</sup> DSs: *baga vazrka Auramazdā, haya frašam ahyāyā būmīyā kunaṭti, haya martiyam ahyāyā būmīyā kunaṭti, haya šiyātim kunaṭti martiyahyā, haya uvaspā uraθācā kunaṭti.*

<sup>27</sup> DNb §1: *baga vazrka Auramazdā, haya adadā ima frašam taya vajnatai, haya adadā šiyātim martiyahyā, haya xraθum utā aruvastam upari Dārayavaum xšāyaθiyam niyasaya.*



## IV

The reciprocal exchange of outward bound violence for inbound wealth is typical of all imperial formations and can be understood as something akin to the political equivalent of Einstein's famous equation demonstrating the interchangeability of energy and matter  $\{E = mc^2\}$ . One ought not press the comparison, given the differences in technology and those in the rates of exchange. Still, once recognized, the family resemblance is striking.

To this universal pattern of centrifugal and centripetal motion in balance, which virtually defines the imperial mode of domination, the Achaemenians added a third form of motion that is much less common: indeed, most decidedly eccentric, and that in several senses. This is the annual circuit the king made inside the empire's inner circles, the ritualized royal progression Pierre Briant has somewhat whimsically called "le nomadisme du Grand Roi."<sup>28</sup>

Such motion is attested in a relatively large number of Greek texts. It has been largely confirmed, moreover, by Christopher Tuplin's painstaking examination of all evidence from the Persepolis Fortification Tablets that permits one to specify the king's physical locus on given dates of the year. Although that evidence is less extensive than one might wish, in all instances it places the king where the pattern described by the Greeks would have him.<sup>29</sup>

To speak of "the pattern" in the singular, however, is something of an oversimplification, since differences exist among the classical sources (Table 3.2). All agree on four points, however. 1) The king avoided the peripheral regions of the empire's outer circles, which were "uninhabitable, some due to heat, some due to cold, some due to moisture, and some due to dryness."<sup>30</sup> 2) Although he preferred to make his dwelling "in the middle of the regions,"<sup>31</sup> the king moved about the inner circles on a seasonal basis. 3) His summer residence was Ecbatana, "where the air is always coldest and the summer is like the winter around Babylon."<sup>32</sup>

<sup>28</sup> Pierre Briant, "Le nomadisme du grand roi," *Iranica Antiqua* 23 (1988): 253-73, idem, *Histoire de l'empire perse*, pp. 199-200.

<sup>29</sup> Christopher Tuplin, "The Seasonal Migration of Achaemenid Kings: A Report on Old and New Evidence," *Achaemenid History* 11 (1998): 63-114. Cf. Heidemarie Koch, *Achämeniden-Studien*, op cit., pp. 61-91.

<sup>30</sup> Xenophon, *Cyropaedia* 8.6.21: τούτων δὲ τὰ πέρατα τὰ μὲν διὰ θάλασσαν, τὰ δὲ διὰ ψῦχος, τὰ δὲ διὰ ὕδωρ, τὰ δὲ δι' ἀνδρίαν δυσσοίκετα.

<sup>31</sup> Ibid. 8.6.22: αὐτὸς δ' ἐν μέσῳ τούτων τὴν διαίταν ποιησάμενος.

<sup>32</sup> Dio Chrysostom, *Oration* 6.1: διήγεν... δὲ θεροῦς ἐν Ἐκβατάνοις τῆς Μηδικῆς, ὅπου ψυχρότατος ὁ ἀὴρ αἰεὶ ποτὲ ἐστὶ καὶ τῷ περὶ Βαβυλῶνα χειμῶνι τὸ θεροῦς ὁμοιον.

4) In winter, he passed his time in Susa or Babylon, possibly both, and Dio Chrysostom named Bactra as a third option. In all cases, however, the logic was the same, for these were “the mildest parts of Asia.”<sup>33</sup> Some authors treat the king’s alternation between a summer and a winter residence as the whole of the system, comparing this to the migration of birds.<sup>34</sup> Others, however, introduce a subdivision in the cold weather residence, setting the king in Susa for the spring and Babylon in the winter, or vice versa.<sup>35</sup>

	Spring	Summer	Fall	Winter
Xenophon, <i>Cyropaedia</i> 8.6.22	Susa	Ecbatana		Babylon
Dio Chrysostom, <i>Oration</i> 6.1		Ecbatana		Babylon, Susa, Bactra
Plutarch, <i>Moralia</i> 78d	Susa	Media		Babylon
Plutarch, <i>Moralia</i> 499ab		Media		Babylon
Plutarch, <i>Moralia</i> 604c	Susa	Media		Babylon
Athenaeus, <i>Deipnosophistae</i> 513ef	Babylon	Ecbatana	Persepolis	Susa
Aelian, <i>On Animals</i> 3.13		Ecbatana		Susa

Table 3.2 Greek sources treating the Achaemenian king’s annual rotation (presented in chronological order).

Most complex, thoroughgoing, and rigorous in its structural logic, however, is the four-point rotation reported by Athenaeus, where the king was said to have made a clockwise circuit through the primary cities in each of the empire’s four central regions, each one roughly associated to a cardinal point (Table 3.3). Here, motion through time and space were correlated, so the king’s rotation could offset the seasons, thereby avoiding extremities of heat, cold, moisture, and dryness.<sup>36</sup>

<sup>33</sup> Ibid: τοῖς εὐδαιμονοτάτοις τῆς Ἀσίας. Xenophon, *Cyropaedia* 8.6.22 also comments on the warmth of Babylon

<sup>34</sup> Thus Aelian, *On Animals* 3.13.

<sup>35</sup> Thus Xenophon, *Cyropaedia* 8.6.22 and Plutarch, *Moralia* 78d and 604c. Elsewhere, the latter author favors a bipartite division between Babylon in the winter and Ecbatana in the summer (*Moralia* 499ab).

<sup>36</sup> On the Babylonian climate as particularly dry, save during the Spring, see Dandamaev and Lukonin, *Culture and Social Institutions of ancient Iran*, p. 132.

Season	Spring	Summer	Fall	Winter
City	Babylon	Ecbatana	Persepolis	Susa
Region	Babylon	Media	Persia	Elam
Direction	West	North	East	South
Season climate	Moist	Hot	Dry	Cold
City climate	Dry	Cold	Moist	Hot

Table 3.3 The Achaemenian king's annual rotation, according to Athenaeus, *Deipnosophistae* 513ef.

Prior discussions of the royal circuit have generally stressed its pragmatic side, showing how it enabled the king to supervise local administration, collect tribute, and project symbolic power in core provinces of the empire.<sup>37</sup> While this is surely appropriate, an exclusively utilitarian perspective overlooks some intriguing features of the practice. As a starting point, one might note, for example, how these peregrinations destabilized the system of concentric circles by depriving it of an absolute center. Fuller consideration suggests, however, not that the empire was decentered, but that determination of its center did not depend on considerations of geometry alone. Rather, the center was relational, being defined by the king himself, and not by some administrative structure or fixed geographic locus. (Here, one may compare Xenophon's assertion that the Persian king always positioned himself at the center of his army).<sup>38</sup> Further, as a result of the king's seasonal rotation, the ever-moving imperial center always remained an ideal site, as indexed by the weather. Knowing how to achieve and maintain the perfect balance of heat and humidity amounted to a victory over time, change, and the elements, a veritable marvel (*thauma*, cf. Old Persian *fraša*),<sup>39</sup> for it ensured the king's happiness and well-being (*eudaimonia*;

<sup>37</sup> See esp. Briant, "Le nomadisme du grand roi." An exception is Bruce Lincoln "The Center of the World and the Origins of Life," *History of Religions* 40 (2001): 311-26," aspects of which I would now modify.

<sup>38</sup> Xenophon, *Anabasis* 1.8.22: καὶ γὰρ ᾗδει αὐτὸν (sc. ὁ βασιλεὺς) ὅτι μέσον ἔχοι τοῦ Περσικοῦ στρατεύματος. καὶ πάντες δ' οἱ τῶν βαρβάρων ἄρχοντες μέσον ἔχοντες τὸ αὐτῶν ἡγούνται, νομίζοντες οὕτω καὶ ἐν ἀσφαλεστάτῳ εἶναι. The explanation that the king positions himself at the center to secure his own safety reflects Greek opinion, not Persian ideology.

<sup>39</sup> Aelian, *On Animals* 3.13: σοφίαν δὲ ἡγῆνται ἄνθρωποι θαυμαστήν τοῦ Περσῶν βασιλέως ἐς ἐπιστήμην ἀέρων κράσεως.

cf. Old Persian *šiyāti*);<sup>40</sup> indeed, it could even be said to make him blessed (*makar*; cf. Old Persian *rtāvan*).<sup>41</sup>

All of which prompts us to ask: What significance had the hot and the cold, the dry and the moist in Achaemenian ideology?

## V

No Achaemenian evidence proper speaks to this question. The Greek reports give us a bit to go on, but the search for a point of moderation and balance between equally unwelcome extremes is probably a theme more Greek than Persian. Greek authors from the 5<sup>th</sup> century on used this construct to define their homeland as the perfect, central space of the globe, mediating the inclemencies of hot, cold, moist, and dry.<sup>42</sup> Consider, for instance, this Herodotean passage.

*Of all the people we know, the Ionians happened to situate their cities in places with the fairest sky and seasons. For neither the lands to the north, nor to the south, nor to the east, nor to the west produce as well as Ionia, some being gripped by cold and moisture, others by heat and drought.*<sup>43</sup>

Iranians also speculated about the same binary oppositions, as is seen in Avestan and Pahlavi sources.<sup>44</sup> As in the case of other materials we have

<sup>40</sup> Plutarch, *Moralia* 499b, Dio Chrysostom, *Oration* 6.7.

<sup>41</sup> Plutarch, *Moralia* 604c: καίτοι τοὺς γε Περσῶν βασιλείας ἐμακάριζον...

<sup>42</sup> Regarding this topos, see the splendid treatment by Maria Michaela Sassi, *The Greeks and the Science of Man* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2000; Italian original, 1988). I have also given it some attention in *Theorizing Myth: Narrative, Ideology, and Scholarship* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1999), pp. 110-18.

<sup>43</sup> Herodotus 1.142: Οἱ δὲ Ἴωνες οὗτοι, τῶν καὶ τὸ Πανιώνιον ἐστὶ, τοῦ μὲν οὐρανοῦ καὶ τῶν ὁρέων ἐν τῷ καλλίστῳ ἐτύγγανον ἰδρυσάμενοι πόλιας πάντων ἀνθρώπων τῶν ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν· οὔτε γὰρ τὰ ἄνω αὐτῆς χωρία τὰυτὸ ποιεῖ τῇ Ἰωνίῃ οὔτε τὰ κάτω, οὔτε τὰ πρὸς τὴν ἡῶ οὔτε τὰ πρὸς τὴν ἐσπέρην, τὰ μὲν ὑπὸ τοῦ ψυχροῦ τε καὶ ὕγρου πιεζόμενα, τὰ δὲ ὑπὸ τοῦ θερμοῦ τε καὶ αὐχμώδεος. Cf. Xenophon, *Anabasis* 1.7.6. The topos achieves its classic articulation in Aristotle, *Politics* 7.7.2-3 1327b, but is first introduced in the immediate aftermath of the Persian Wars, as in the Hippocratic treatise *On Airs, Waters, and Places* and Aeschylus, *Persians*, ll. 492-507. On the latter text, see Chapter Nineteen.

<sup>44</sup> The Avesta treats the topos of hot/cold and moist/dry primarily in the context of meteorology and, more specifically, within the mythology of the summer rains that put an end to drought (*apaoša*). See Yašt 8, 18, and the analysis of Bernard Forssman, "Apaoša, der Gegner des Tištria," *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung* 82 (1968): 37-61. Somewhat different is the way it figures in the geographical discussion of Vidēvdād 1, esp. vv. 2-3 and 17-19. Pahlavi texts introduce this theme in numerous contexts, including cosmology, embryology, humoral physiology, and sociology, as I have shown in *Death, War, and Sacrifice* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991), pp. 209-29. Note also Clarisse Herrenschildt's attempt to reverse conventional wisdom regarding the relations

considered, one cannot posit simple continuity between Achaemenian data and these texts, many of which were not committed to writing until after the Arab conquest. In a fashion simultaneously more broad and more modest, however, they can help us establish broad Iranian patterns, within which the Achaemenian was one variant. The first point to observe, then, is that Mazdaeans (of whatever sort) invested the physical qualities hot, cold, moist, and dry with profoundly moral significance by situating them within a dualistic system of classification. To that end, for example, the Greater Bundahišn pronounces: "The Ohrmazdean nature is made manifest as warm and moist and light and fragrant.... The nature of Ahreman is made manifest as cold and dry and demonic and dark and stinking."<sup>45</sup>

A prime mark of their inherent goodness is the way heat and moisture are associated with life, for living bodies are characterized by precisely these properties. Conversely, their demonic counterparts — cold and dryness — cause death and characterize dead matter. Pursuing this line of analysis, an important chapter of the Dēnkard contrasts the creative force associated with warmth and moisture to the sterile nature of the opposed Ahremanian qualities.<sup>46</sup>

*Spiritual (i.e., non-material) light, by the warm-moist power of its life-essence is able to change from plain spiritual being to composite being that is material. Even now, all material things are materially established out of that same (warm-moist) power. Spiritual darkness is not able to achieve composite material existence because of the cold-dry, lying quality of its death-nature. That (immaterial darkness) which becomes materially visible is not wearing its own substance, but a different substance.<sup>47</sup>*

of dependence between Greeks and Persians as regards these theories, "Entre Perses et Grecs, I. Démocrate et le mazdéisme. Religion, philosophie, science," *Transeuphratène* 11 (1996): 115-43, to which I responded with undue haste in "The Center of the World and the Origins of Life," op cit. n. 36. I would now give much fuller credence to Herrenschildt's proposal.

<sup>45</sup> Greater Bundahišn 26.127 and 27.52 (TD<sup>2</sup> MS. 181.6-7 and 188.11-12): gōhr ī ohrmazdīg garm ud xwēd ud rōšn ud hubōy ī sabuk andar frāz paydāg.... gōhr ī ahreman sard ud hušk ud dēwig ud tārig ud gandag andar frāz paydāg. Dēnkard 3.157.8 (Madan MS. 145.5-8 B MS. [Dresden] 110.7-10) similarly associates hot and moist with light, fragrance, purity, beauty, and good, while similarly associating cold and dry with dark, stench, filth, sin, illness, and evil.

<sup>46</sup> Whether cold and dryness ought to be understood as positive entities in their own right or as the absence of heat and moisture was a question subject to some debate. Dēnkard 3.142 (Madan MS. 144.20-146.21; B MS. [Dresden] 110.2-111.17) argues strenuously in favor of the former position, attributing the latter to heterodox sectarians (*kēšdārān*).

<sup>47</sup> Dēnkard 3.105 (Madan MS. 99.5-11, B MS. [Dresden] 72.3-6): ud rōšn mēnōg pad garm-xwēd nērōg zindag ud cihrīh az xām būd mēnōg bawišn ō ham-bawišn ān gētīg waštan ud šāyēd. ān ī nūn-iz hamāg gētīg gētīg pad gētīhā winirdīh az ham nērōg. ud tār

At issue here is a full theology of creation.<sup>48</sup> It posits first, that only the Wise Lord has the ability to create, i.e. to move things from a spiritual, immaterial state to fully embodied material existence; second, that he does this through the power of warmth and moisture, which constitute life's essence (*zīndag cihrih*); third, that cold and desiccation are qualities associated with the Evil Spirit and the Lie. As such, their powers have the nature of death (*marg gōhr*). They cannot create in any proper sense, although they can wreak material effects by attacking, debasing, deforming, corrupting, and perverting material entities that were initially products of the Wise Lord's creativity. "Thus, the Foul Spirit brings cold in adversarial fashion to the pure warmth and brings dryness in adversarial fashion to the pure moisture, evilly to repress warmth with cold and moisture with dryness, to render powerless the living creatures of the good existence, to impede the motion of creation."<sup>49</sup>

Following this logic, the theology of creation gives rise to a theory of disease, along with corollary theories of medicine and nutrition. "The reason healing of the body is necessary is the ceaseless evil assault of the cold-dry against the essential body's warm-moist blood."<sup>50</sup> So opens another chapter of the Dēnkard, which goes on to explain how the "elemental" (*āmēzišnīg*) heat and moisture present in food and drink help protect the body against damage inflicted by Ahreman's attack and the destructive qualities associated with him.<sup>51</sup>

Birth, growth, health, and the general flourishing of life thus depend on heat and moisture, while illness, suffering, and death follow when cold and dryness overwhelm their Ohrmazdean counterparts. This holds not only for humans and animals, but also for plants which, as the first form of life the Wise Lord created, are particularly vulnerable and also particularly important, for they provide the food on which all others depend. The Greater Bundahišn states that warmth and moisture (fire

mēnōg marg gōhr sard hušk druwandīh rāy im ō ham-bawīšnīg gētīg madan nē šāyēd. ān ī ō paydāg gētihā mad nē xwēš gōhr be jud gōhr \*paymōxiḡ.

<sup>48</sup> For a fuller explication of these tenets, see Shaul Shaked, "Some Notes on Ahreman, the Evil Spirit, and his Creation," in E.E. Urbach et al., eds., *Studies in Mysticism and Religion presented to Gershom G. Scholem* (Jerusalem: Magnes Press, 1967), pp. 227-34, reprinted in Shaked, *From Zoroastrian Iran to Islam* (Aldershot: Variorum, 1995).

<sup>49</sup> Dēnkard 3.162 (Madan MS. 175.12-15; B MS. [Dresden] 134.14-15): ciyōn ēd ī Gannāg Mēnōg pad hamēstārīg rasēnīdārīh sardīh ō abēzag garmīh ī huškīh ō abēzag xwēdīh garmīh pad sardīh ud xwēdīh pad huškīh wadōmandīhā ānāftan zīndagān ī weh bawīšn agārēnīdan dām rawāgīh pādīrānēnīdan.

<sup>50</sup> Dēnkard 3.157.18 (Madan MS. 167.20-21; B MS. [Dresden] 128.12-13): bēšāz niyāzīh ī tan cim adrang sard hušk ud ēbgatīg petyārag ī ō garm-xwēd xōn tan mādag.

<sup>51</sup> Dēnkard 3.157.18 (Madan MS. 167.20-169.11; B MS. [Dresden] 128.12-129.16).

and water) were initially created so they could provide support for the primordial plant.<sup>52</sup> When Ahreman attacked the good creation, however, he inflicted dryness on the plant and caused it to wither, after which the cold and the dry are the special enemies of vegetation, as of life itself.<sup>53</sup>

*The warm-moist, which is that which makes plants grow, is adversarial to the cold-dry, which is the destroyer, the terror of plants. And the cold-dry, which is the destroyer, the terror of plants, is adversarial to the warm-moist, which is that which makes plants grow.*<sup>54</sup>

These materials let us hypothesize that the annual circuit of the Achaemenian kings may have been designed to secure something more grand than the ruler's personal health or bodily comfort. By seeking to place and maintain himself in perennially warm and moist climates, the king centered his empire in the most Ohrmazdean spaces, whose physical qualities were uniquely conducive to the flourishing of life in all its forms: vegetative, animal, and human. Such an environment also mirrored the way things were at the dawn of time, when the world was fresh from the Wise Lord's hand, before the onslaught of evil introduced cold, dryness, death and disease into creation. In this way, vitality could be best maintained and that vitality could diffuse from the empire's mobile, but ever-perfect center to its less stable, salubrious, and moral peripheries. Once more, Achaemenian discourse and practice seem oriented toward the paradisal.

<sup>52</sup> According to Greater Bundahišn 1a.11 (TD MS. 20.11-12): "And for the help of the plant, he created water and fire." u-š dād ō ayārīh urwar ud āb ud ātaxs. Cf. Selections of Zādspram 34.50-51, which offers a somewhat different analysis.

<sup>53</sup> Greater Bundahišn 4.17, Selections of Zādspram 2.6-7.

<sup>54</sup> Dēnkard 3.390 (Madan MS. 369.5-8; B MS. [Dresden] 285.19-21): ciyōn garmōg xwēd tā urwar waxšēnidār hambadīgīh sard hušk sahm ī urwarān ošēnidār sard hušk sahm ī urwar ošēnidār hambadīgīh. garmōg xwēd tā urwar waxšēnidār.

## CHAPTER FOUR

### IL FAUT CULTIVER NOTRE JARDIN: ON ACHAEMENIAN HORTICULTURE AND IMPERIALISM

#### I

Although no Persian description of the Achaemenian pleasure parks survives, the etymology of Median *\*pairi.daiza*, Old Persian *pairi.daida*, and the host of loanwords derived therefrom lets us infer that these structures were marked by a wall (*daiza*, *daida*, etc.), separating the environment inside from that which lay beyond.<sup>1</sup> Such walls could serve a military function, securing select spaces against violence from the outside, as when Old Persian *didā* (most literally “wall”) is used to denote a defensive bastion or fortress.<sup>2</sup> Walls could also serve to mark concentrations of wealth, power, and status, as when palace walls enclosed a treasury, temple, or royal complex.<sup>3</sup> Walls of this type could also become objects of rich decoration and symbolic adornment, as at Susa and Ecbatana, the latter of which offered a model of the cosmos itself.<sup>4</sup> And when walls of either sort fell into disrepair, the king was obliged to restore them, thereby renewing the order they both preserved and created.<sup>5</sup>

Although the inside was usually valorized in contradistinction to a lesser outside, the opposite relation could also obtain, as in the use of encircling walls to create a distinctly unpleasant type of “paradise.” Thus, Avestan *pairi.daēzā*, precisely cognate to the Median and Persian forms, occurs only twice in the Avesta, in formulaic passages that take

<sup>1</sup> The term is a compound, cognate with Greek περι-τείχος and, like the latter, it denotes an “encircling wall.” Walls are mentioned in some of the Greco-Roman descriptions of *paradeisoi*, but are not a consistent feature, perhaps being taken for granted. See, for instance, Xenophon, *Hellenica* 4.1.15, Curtius Rufus 8.1.12, and Achilles Tatius 1.15.

<sup>2</sup> Thus DB §§13, 27, 28, 45, and 47.

<sup>3</sup> See, for instance, Herodotus’s description of Ecbatana (1.98): “There are seven circles [of walls] in all. Inside the last one are the royal chambers and the treasures.” κύκλων δ’ ἐόντων τῶν συναπάντων ἑπτά, ἐν δὲ τῷ τελευταίῳ τὰ βασιλῆα ἐνεσσι καὶ οἱ θησαυροί.

<sup>4</sup> The decorations on the walls at Susa are mentioned at DSf §§3i, 3k. The walls of Ecbatana are mentioned at DB §32 and are described by Herodotus 1.98.

<sup>5</sup> For examples of the king’s responsibility to restore walls, see CB §13 and DSe §5. The topos is well attested elsewhere in Mesopotamia.



up the question of where and how the most severe types of pollution should be treated. Among women, this would be the pollution of one who has produced a still-born infant; among men, one who has had sustained contact with corpses.<sup>6</sup> Both of these should be taken to "the place on this earth that is most waterless, most plantless, whose soil is most purified, driest, and where animals, small and large, traverse its paths in fewest numbers..."<sup>7</sup> In this barren terrain, pious Mazda-worshippers were enjoined to erect an encircling wall (*pairi.daēzā*),<sup>8</sup> inside of which the non-mother would pass twelve days of purification before she could return to her normal existence.<sup>9</sup> Less fortunate was the corpse-handler, who was condemned to pass the rest of his days inside the enclosure, until he becomes old and decrepit or literally "one whose fluid has dried up" (*pairištā.xšudro*).<sup>10</sup> Upon death, his skull should be flayed and his body fed to vultures, at which time only would he be released from the corruption afflicting his body.<sup>11</sup>

The space cut off from the rest of existence in this fashion is named and constituted as a "paradise," i.e. a walled enclosure. In pointed contrast to

<sup>6</sup> Vidēvdād 5.45 and 3.15, respectively. The title assigned to the man (*iristō.kaša*) is uncertain and Pahlavi commentaries take it to denote one who has transported a corpse by himself (a "corpse-leader" *nasā-sālār* or "one who has borne the dead alone" *rist kē-š ēwāz bar*). For these, see Bartholomae, *Altiranisches Wörterbuch*, col. 1530, James Darmesteter, *Le Zend Avesta* (Paris: Annales du Musée Guimet, 1892-93) 2: 38n26, and Helmut Humbach, "Bestattungsformen im Vidēvdāt," *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung* 77 (1961): 103-5." Surely the first element of the Avestan compound denotes the dead body of a righteous/truthful person, but the second element could derive from the verbs *kaš-* ("to teach"), *kar-* ("to make, to do"), or *kart-* ("to cut").

<sup>7</sup> Vidēvdād 3.15: āat mraot ahurō mazdā. yat aṇhat aṇhā zomō vī.āpō.təməmca vī.uruarō.təməmca yaoždātō.zəmətəməmca huškō.təməmca kambištəmca aēte paθā fraiiaṇ pasuuasca staorāca... Cf. Vidēvdād 5.46. On *yaoždā* see Georges Dumézil, "À propos de latin *ius*," *Revue de l'histoire des religions* 134 (1948): 95-99, which remains preferable to Jacques Duchesne-Guillemin, "Reflections on 'yaoždā', with a Digression on *x'aētvadaθa*," in Jaan Puhvel, ed., *Myth and Law among the Indo-Europeans* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1970), pp. 203-10.

<sup>8</sup> Vidēvdād 3.18 and 5.49: aētaḍa hē aēte mazdaiiasna aṇhā zomō pairi.daēzaṇ pairi.daēzaiiaṇ. The verb (*pairi.daēz-* "to erect an encircling wall") and its object (*pairi.daēzaṇ*, in the accusative) mirror one another.

<sup>9</sup> Vidēvdād 5.50-56.

<sup>10</sup> Vidēvdād 3.20. The Pahlavi translation of *pairištā.xšudrā* takes it to denote an impotent old man whose semen is exhausted: *padīrag šusr, gād nē tuwān* ("against the semen, not able to copulate"). The second element of the Avestan compound — *xšudrā* "fluid," rather than *taoxman* or *ciθra*, which more literally denote "semen, seed" — suggests that a more general process of drying out was intended, of which impotence was only a part.

<sup>11</sup> Vidēvdād 3.20-21. Exposure to birds is the normal fate of corpses among Zoroastrians. Flaying of the scalp, however, is a much more unusual practice. Conceivably, it may represent an attempt to separate one's hair, the microcosmic homologue of plants, from the rest of the body.

its Achaemenian counterpart, the environment within these walls is repeatedly marked as a space of desiccation, where the absence of moisture renders everything dead and sterile. In sequence, the text works its way through the order of creation, which mirrors the alimentary chain. Thus, the enclosure has no water (*vī.āpō.tāmamca*), no plants (*vī.uruuarō.tāmamca*), an earth that is purified (*yaoždātō.zāmamca*) and dried out (*huškō.zāma.tāmamca*), where animals make themselves scarce (*kambištāmca aēte paθā frayqn pasuuasca staorāca*), and is a space that no humans enter, save the man most tainted with death (*iristō.kašā*), whose bodily fluids have dried up (*pairišta.xšudrō*). In addition, it is specified that this miserable wretch must be kept at least thirty paces distant from fire, water, the grass strewn to consecrate ritual space (*Av. barāsmān*), and all righteous/truthful persons, lest he defile these four sacred objects.<sup>12</sup> The logic of this set is transparent, moreover, as the four items represent heat (fire), moisture (water), plants (*barāsmān*), and humans (the *ašavan*), which is to say the good, life-sustaining elements of the Wise Lord's original creation.

Whence our conclusion: In all Iranian sources, the wall that defines a "paradisaal" sphere serves to separate life from death, the moist from the dry, a space of flourishing and happiness from one of death and sorrow. In both the Achaemenian and the Avestan variants, the realm outside the walls is constituted as the existential norm, in contrast to which the space inside is highly marked. In the former case, however, the paradisaal inside represents an enhancement of everything that makes life thrive; in the latter, a diminution of the same qualities (Table 4.1).

	<i>Inside Walls</i>	<i>Outside Walls</i>
<i>Achaemenian paradeisos (as per Greek sources)</i>	<p>+</p> <p>Abundant water, plants, animals</p> <p>Perfect warmth</p> <p>Space of pleasure, reserved for the king and nobles</p>	<p>-</p> <p>Normal existence</p>
<i>Avestan pairi. daēza (Vidēvdād 3.15-21)</i>	<p>-</p> <p>Dry, without plants or animals</p> <p>Space of purification, reserved for the man most polluted by death</p>	<p>+</p> <p>Normal existence, marked by fire (warmth), water (moisture), sacred stew (plants), and righteous/truthful people</p>

Table 4.1 Conditions inside and outside different versions of "paradise."

<sup>12</sup> Vidēvdād 3.15-17.

## II

Photius defines the *paradeisos* as “a place for walking, with trees and water”<sup>13</sup> and Greek descriptions almost universally stress the moist climate within the walls that helped all creatures flourish.<sup>14</sup> Trees and plants were mentioned most often and most emphatically, but animals were also found, usually in special *paradeisoi* devoted to hunting. The ultimate beneficiaries of these structures, however, were righteous (i.e. noble) humans and above all, the king. As in Photius’s definition, particular emphasis was normally placed on plants and water — the lowest elements of the food chain, on which all others depend — and the texts regularly emphasize the abundance and variety of the latter. Xenophon, for instance, described one garden as “an extremely large and beautiful *paradeisos*, which had all that the seasons bring forth.”<sup>15</sup> and another as “a large and beautiful *paradeisos*, shaggy with all kinds of trees.”<sup>16</sup> His fullest statement on the subject, however, referred to “gardens, which are called *paradeisoi*, full of everything good and beautiful that the earth cares to grow.”<sup>17</sup> Other authors make the same point, as when Arrian describes Cyrus’s royal preserve (*basilikōi*) at Pasargadae as possessing “every sort of tree,”<sup>18</sup> or when Diodorus Siculus speaks of Persepolis as having “varied plantings of *paradeisoi*, with trees of every sort.”<sup>19</sup>

<sup>13</sup> Photius, *Lexicon* 383.2: Παράδεισος τὸ ἐνεστώς σημαίνει δὲ οἷον τὸ ἐμπεριπατεῖσθαι τεθειμένως διὰ τὴν ἀναισθησίαν· ὁ γὰρ παράδεισος ἐπὶ τοῦ περὶ αὐτοῦ δένδρα καὶ ὕδατα ἔχοντος·

<sup>14</sup> The abundant waters of a *paradeisos* are mentioned by Xenophon, *Anabasis* 1.2.7, Plutarch, *Alcibiades* 24.5, Diodorus Siculus 5.19.2 and 19.21.3, Curtius Rufus 8.1.12, Song of Solomon 4.12-15, Ecclesiastes 2.6, Septuagint Genesis 2.10-14, Numbers 24.6, Isaiah 1.30. Irrigation is specifically mentioned by Ctesias, 688F34 in Felix Jacoby, *Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker* (Berlin: Weidmann, 1923), Arrian, *Anabasis* 6.29.4 and Diodorus Siculus 5.19.2. Contrast to surrounding areas that are too hot and dry figures in Arrian, *Indica* 8.40.2-3, Diodorus Siculus 19.21.2-3, and Septuagint Isaiah 51: 3.

<sup>15</sup> Xenophon, *Anabasis* 1.4.10: παράδεισος πάνυ μέγας καὶ καλός, ἔχων πάντα ὅσα ὦραι φύουσι.

<sup>16</sup> Ibid. 2.4.14: παραδείσου μεγάλου καὶ καλοῦ καὶ δασέος παντοίων δένδρων.

<sup>17</sup> Xenophon, *Æconomicus* 4.13: κῆποι τε ἔσονται οἱ παράδεισοι καλούμενοι πάντων καλῶν τε κάγαθῶν μεστοί, ὅσα ἡ γῆ φύειν θέλει. Ibid 4.14: ἀνάγκη τοίνυν, ὦ Σώκρατες, ἐνθα γε διατρίβει αὐτός, καὶ ὅπως ὥς κάλλιστα κατεσκευασμένοι ἔσονται οἱ παράδεισοι ἐπιμελεῖσθαι δένδρεσι καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἅπασι καλοῖς, ὅσα ἡ γῆ φύει.

<sup>18</sup> Arrian, *Anabasis* 6.29.4: ἐν Πασαργάδαις ἐν τῷ βασιλικῷ Κύρου ἐκεῖνου τάφον, καὶ περὶ αὐτὸν ἄλλος πεφυτεῦσθαι δένδρων παντοίων.

<sup>19</sup> Diodorus Siculus 19.21.3: παραδείσων φυτείας ποικίλας, ἔτι δὲ παντοδαπῶν δένδρων. That *paradeisoi* contained trees or plants “of every sort” is also stated by Arrian, *Indica* 8.40.3-4, Diodorus Siculus 5.19.2, and Longus 4.2. Abundance of vegetation is signaled in more general terms by Xenophon, *Hellenica* 4.1.33, idem, *Æconomicus* 4.14, Diodorus Siculus 14.79.2, Achilles Tatius 1.15, and Song of Solomon 4.13-14.

Such descriptions are a commonplace in the Greek sources, and similar themes recur in all three passages of the Hebrew Bible where the term *pardēs* appears, a term normally — but quite inadequately — translated as “park” or “orchard.”<sup>20</sup> One of these comes in the Song of Solomon, roughly contemporary with Xenophon, which describes a royal garden in fabulously sensual language and images. Bubbling with waters and teeming with vegetation, it provides delight for all the senses. The profusion of exotic plants is particularly emphasized and, befitting this monarch’s reputation for luxury, the most expensive species — fruit-trees, spices, and aromatics — are given prominent mention.

*A garden locked is my sister, my bride, a garden locked, a fountain sealed.  
Your shoots are a pardēs of pomegranates  
with all choicest fruits,  
henna with nard,  
nard and saffron, calamus and cinnamon, with all trees of frankincense,  
myrrh and aloes,  
with all chief spices —  
a garden fountain, a well of living water, and flowing streams from Lebanon.  
Awake, O north wind,  
and come, O south wind!  
Blow upon my garden, let its fragrance be wafted abroad.  
Let my beloved come to his garden, and eat its choicest fruits.*<sup>21</sup>

The Edenic resonances of this highly charged text are as unmistakable as its erotic dimension. Allusions to Eden also figure in a passage from Ecclesiastes, written in the 3<sup>rd</sup> Century B.C.E. Here, the gloomy narrator tests himself to see if he can contemplate the greatest of goods (*tōv*) and the foremost of life’s pleasures (*simhā*) and still cling to his pessimism.<sup>22</sup> To that end, he conjures up the following image.

*I made myself gardens and pardēs and planted in them all kinds of fruit trees. I made myself pools from which to water the forest of growing trees.*<sup>23</sup>

<sup>20</sup> Thus, e.g., Francis Brown, *A Hebrew and English Lexicon of the Old Testament* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1906), p. 825: “preserve, park,” Franciscus Zorell, *Lexicon Hebraicum Veteris Testamenti* (Rome: Pontificium Institutum Biblicum, 1984), p. 666: “arboretum elegantius, saeptum,” Ernest Klein, *A Comprehensive Etymological Dictionary of the Hebrew Language* (New York: Macmillan, 1987), p. 523: “park, orchard.” Predictably, the Septuagint translates *pardēs* by *παράδεισος*; the Vulgate, by *viridarium* or *nemus*.

<sup>21</sup> Song of Solomon 4.12-16, Revised Standard Version, slightly modified.

<sup>22</sup> The thought-experiment is framed in Ecclesiastes 2.1-2: “I said to myself, ‘Come now, I will make a test of pleasure; enjoy yourself.’ But behold, this also was vanity. I said of laughter, ‘It is mad,’ and of pleasure, ‘What use is it?’”

<sup>23</sup> Ecclesiastes 2.5-6, Revised Standard Version, slightly modified.

As the text continues, the speaker adds slaves, herds, flocks, silver and gold, song, sexuality, and wisdom to his fantasy garden. Even so, he remains convinced "All is vanity," a point that holds more importance for theologians and the faithful than it does for us. By contrast, our attention falls on several details: 1) The text imagines that the greatest of human joys are to be found in a well-watered garden, rich in vegetation; 2) It specifies that this garden includes "all kinds of fruit trees" a phrase echoing descriptions of Eden, as commentators have regularly observed.<sup>24</sup> 3) To denote this plant-filled haven, where primordial bliss is recovered, the text chooses the relatively rare Persian loanword *pardēs*.

Finally, there is a passage narrating events in the twentieth year of Artaxerxes' reign (445 B.C.E.), when Nehemiah, cupbearer to the Persian king, obtained permission to rebuild the city of Jerusalem.<sup>25</sup> Written shortly thereafter, the book of Nehemiah tells how he asked the king to instruct Asaph, keeper of the "royal paradise" (*pardēs lammelek*) to provide the lumber needed for restoration of the gates to the Temple's fortress and the walls of the Holy City.<sup>26</sup> The other two occurrences of Hebrew *pardēs* suggest that Asaph would have had a rich and varied preserve from which to draw cedar, cypress, or other valued species, but the text does not make this explicit.<sup>27</sup> It does, however, indicate that the

<sup>24</sup> On the profusion of fruit trees in Eden, see Genesis 1.11-12, 1.29, 2.9, 3:1-3. These trees are explicitly intended for humanity, while other vegetation is shared with the animal species (Gen. 1.29-30). The prohibition on eating one type of fruit (Gen. 2.16-17, 3.1-3) establishes the following distribution.

God	: Tree of Knowledge of Good and Evil
Adam and Eve (= Humanity)	: All plants with seed, esp. fruit trees
Animals	: Green plants without seed

On the relation of Ecclesiastes to the Genesis account of Eden, see Arian J.C. Verheij, "Paradise Retried: On Qohelet 2: 4-6," *Journal for the Study of the Old Testament* 50 (1991): 113-15 and Martin Rose, "Je me suis aménagé des paradis...", *Cahiers protestants* (1997/3), pp. 5-11.

<sup>25</sup> Nehemiah 2.1-6. On the historical background, see Kenneth Hoglund, *Achaemenid Imperial Administration in Syria-Palestine and the Missions of Ezra and Nehemiah* (Atlanta: Scholars' Press, 1992).

<sup>26</sup> The text does not make clear where this *paradeisos* was located, although Lebanon and the area near Jericho seem the likeliest possibilities. The name Asaph is Hebrew and suggests a local *paradeisarios*, a title attested in Hesychius (s.v. ἐρνοκόμωv) which corresponds to Syriac *pardayspana*, Armenian *partizpan*, and New Persian *palezban*. On these titles, see Bremmer, "Paradise: From Persia, via Greece, into the Septuagint," *op cit.*, p. 4.

<sup>27</sup> According to DSf §3g, cedar and another prestigious hardwood (*yakā*, most probably cypress) were used in the construction of Darius's palace at Susa, the former transported from Lebanon, the latter from Gandhara and Carmania.

request was granted by the grace of God, who advanced the sacred task of restoration through Nehemiah, the king, and his paradise-keeper, in that order of importance.<sup>28</sup>

### III

The figure of Asaph suggests that maintenance of the *paradeisoi* was entrusted to local officials and Xenophon tells that satraps were charged to create such gardens in every province of the empire.<sup>29</sup> Similarly, the letter Darius is purported to have written to "his servant, Gadatas" includes high praise for the latter's botanical efforts.<sup>30</sup> "Insofar as you cultivate my land well, transplanting fruit trees from beyond the Euphrates to the regions of lower Asia, I propose to applaud you, and for these things great gratitude is bestowed upon you in the royal household."<sup>31</sup> While the authenticity of this text has recently been disputed, even were it a forgery, it would still reflect widespread understanding that the Achaemenian kings and their servants were interested in acquiring exotic trees from farflung parts of the empire for placement in their pleasure gardens.<sup>32</sup>

<sup>28</sup> Nehemiah 2.8.

<sup>29</sup> Xenophon, *Cyropaedia* 8.6.12.

<sup>30</sup> The text is available in in Brandenstein and Mayrhofer, *Handbuch des Altpersischen*, p. 91 or Russell Meiggs and David Lewis, eds., *A Selection of Greek Historical Inscriptions to the end of the Fifth Century B.C.* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1969), pp. 20-21. It begins with this salutation: "Darius, King of kings, son of Hystaspes, says these things to his servant, Gadatas" Βασιλεὺς βασιλέων Δαρεῖος ὁ Ὑστάσπεω Γαδάται δούλῳ τάδε λέγει· Greek δούλος has frequently been understood to be a translation of Old Persian *bandaka*.

<sup>31</sup> Ibid.: ὅτι μὲν γὰρ τὴν ἐμὴν ἐκπονεῖς γῆν, τοὺς πέραν Εὐφράτου καρποὺς ἐπὶ τὰ κάτω τῆς Ἀσίας μέρη καταφυτεύων, ἐπαινῶ σὴν πρόθεσιν καὶ διὰ ταῦτά σοι κείσεται μεγάλη χάρις ἐμ βασιλέως οἴκῳ. On Gadatas, see Jack Balcer, *A Prosopographical Study of the Ancient Persians Royal and Noble, C. 550-450 B.C.* (Lewiston, NY: Edwin Mellen, 1993), pp. 208-9 and 253.

<sup>32</sup> On the question of authenticity, the most recent discussion is Pierre Briant, "Histoire et archéologie d'un texte: La lettre de Darius à Gadatas," in Mauro Giorgieri, et al., eds., *Licia e Lidia prima dell'ellenizzazione* (Rome: Istituto di Studi sulle Civiltà dell'Egeo e del Vicino Oriente, 2003), pp. 107-44, also available at <http://www.achemenet.com/pdf/souspresse/briant/gadatas.pdf>. Less skeptical treatments include F. Lochner-Hüttenbach, "Brief des Königs Darius an den Satrapen Gadatas," in Brandenstein and Mayrhofer, *Handbuch des Altpersischen*, pp. 91-98, Laura Boffo, "La lettera di Dario I a Gadata: I privilegi del tempio di Apollo," *Bulletino dell'Istituto di Diritto Romano* 81 (1978): 267-303, Josef Wiesehöfer, "Zur Frage der Echtheit des Dareios-Briefes an Gadatas," *Rheinisches Museum* 130 (1987): 396-98, and Rüdiger Schmitt, "Bemerkungen zu dem sog. Gadatas-Brief," *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 112 (1996): 95-101.

While most of this work was surely delegated to lower level operatives, some texts indicate that at times the Achaemenian monarchs became personally involved. Thus, Herodotus recounts that Xerxes so admired the beauty of a plane tree that he placed gold ornaments on it and assigned one of his "immortals" as its guardian.<sup>33</sup> The topos of King-as-gardener, which is well attested for other civilizations of the Ancient Near East, also figures in a gloss the Vulgate adds to Esther 1.5, stating that Artaxerxes' palace garden "was planted by the royal hand."<sup>34</sup> The fullest and earliest application of this theme to the Achaemenians, however, appears in two passages of Xenophon.<sup>35</sup> The first of these speaks of Cyrus the Great, founder of the empire and dynasty; the second, of Cyrus the Younger, who rose in rebellion against his brother, Artaxerxes II, in 401 B.C.E. The two descriptions closely parallel each other and are meant to do so, for they are part of the discursive campaign the rebel waged to represent himself as embodying the same royal virtues as did his illustrious namesake. Xenophon, who served as a mercenary officer in the rebel army, simply repeats the propaganda to which he was exposed.

The first passage begins with a general description of the *paradeisos* as an exquisitely pleasant garden, filled with beautiful plants of every sort, where the king spends most of his time and tends the trees himself, the greatest of men being concerned with the largest and most imposing of plants. The text then goes on to assert that Cyrus the Great took equal pride in his agricultural and military excellence; further, that he understood these as interdependent pursuits, both equally necessary to the realm's well-being.

"Further," said Socrates, "In as many regions as he resides and to which he returns, [the king] takes care of them such that there are gardens, which are called *paradeisoi*, full of everything good and beautiful that the earth cares to grow, and in these he passes most of his time when the climate does not prevent it."

<sup>33</sup> Herodotus 7.31: ὁ Ξέρξης τὴν ὁδὸν εὔρε πλατάνιστον, τὴν κάλλεος εἶνεκα δωρησάμενος κόσμῳ χρυσεῶ καὶ μελεδωνῶ ἀθανάτῳ ἀνδρὶ ἐπιτρέψας... Aelian ridicules Xerxes for this incident *Varia Historia* 2.14 and 9.39. See further the discussion of Briant, *Histoire de l'empire perse*, pp. 246-48.

<sup>34</sup> Horti et nemoris quod regio cultu et manu consitum erat.

<sup>35</sup> On this theme, see Fauth, "Der königliche Gärtner und Jäger im *Paradeisos*," op cit., Pierre Briant, *Rois, tributs, et paysans: Études sur les formations tributaires du Moyen-Orient ancien* (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1982), pp. 176-88, 451-56, idem, "A propos du roi-jardinier: remarques sur l'histoire d'un dossier documentaire," *Achaemenid History* 13 (2003): 33-49.

*"By Zeus," said Critobulus, "It is then necessary, Socrates, that the paradeisoi where the king passes his time be equipped with trees for him to tend, and all the other fair things the earth grows."*

*"And some say, Critobulus, that when the king gives gifts, he first calls upon those who are good in war, since it is no use to have much territory to plow if there are not those who can defend it. Second, he gives to those who prepare the fields best and make them productive, saying that the valiant cannot live if there are not those who labor. It is told that Cyrus, who was the most seemly king, once said to those who had been called to receive gifts that rightly he should take the gifts of both (kinds of recipients). For he said he was the best at tending the fields and at protecting those who did the tending."*

*"Well, Socrates," said Critobulus, "If Cyrus said these things, then he gloried no less in tending the fields than he did in military matters."<sup>36</sup>*

Much the same case is made for Cyrus the Younger, for whom several further points are added. First, the text emphasizes his planning and managerial skills, as evidenced by the garden's well-ordered geometry and the perfect execution of his design. Second, the plants' visual appearance and their varied perfumes combine to produce synaesthetic pleasures, reminiscent of the beauty and fragrance of heavenly gardens, as described in Avestan and Pahlavi scriptures.<sup>37</sup> Finally, the prince himself mirrors the garden as a model of perfection. Like paradise itself, he is beautiful, fragrant, and richly ornamented: the image of things as the Wise Lord intended them to be.

<sup>36</sup> Xenophon, *Oeconomicus* 4.13-17: "Ἐτι δὲ πρὸς τούτοις, ἔφη ὁ Σωκράτης, ἐν πόσῃς τε χώραις ἐνοικεῖ καὶ εἰς ὅσας ἐπιστρέφεται, ἐπιμελεῖται τούτων, ὅπως κῆποι τε ἔσονται οἱ παράδεισοι καλούμενοι πάντων καλῶν τε κάγαθῶν μεστοί, ὅσα ἡ γῆ φύειν θέλει, καὶ ἐν τούτοις αὐτὸς τὰ πλεῖστα διατρίβει, ὅταν μὴ ἡ ὥρα τοῦ ἔτους ἐξείρη. Νῆ Δί', ἔφη ὁ Κριτόβουλος, ἀνάγκη τοῖνυν, ὃ Σώκρατες, ἐνθα γε διατρίβει αὐτός, καὶ ὅπως ὥς κάλλιστα κατασκευασμένοι ἔσονται οἱ παράδεισοι ἐπιμελεῖσθαι δένδρεσι καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἅπασι καλοῖς, ὅσα ἡ γῆ φύει. Φασὶ δέ τινες, ἔφη ὁ Σωκράτης, ὃ Κριτόβουλε, καὶ ὅταν δῶρα διδῶ ὁ βασιλεὺς, πρῶτον μὲν εἰσκαλεῖν τοὺς πολέμῳ ἀγαθοὺς γεγονότας, ὅτι οὐδὲν ὄφελος πολλὰ ἄρουν, εἰ μὴ εἶεν οἱ ἀρήξοντες· δευτέρον δὲ τοὺς κατασκευάζοντας τὰς χώρας ἄριστα καὶ ἐνεργοὺς ποιοῦντας λέγοντα, ὅτι οὐδ' ἂν οἱ ἄλκιμοι δύναιντο ζῆν, εἰ μὴ εἶεν οἱ ἐργαζόμενοι. Λέγεται δὲ καὶ Κῦρος ποτε, ὅσπερ εὐδοκίμωτατος δὴ βασιλεὺς γεγένηται, εἰπεῖν τοῖς ἐπὶ τὰ δῶρα κεκλημένοις, ὅτι αὐτὸς ἂν δικαίως τὰ ἀμφοτέρων δῶρα λαμβάνοι· κατασκευάζειν τε γὰρ ἄριστος εἶναι ἔφη χώραν καὶ ἀρήγειν τοῖς κατασκευασμένοις. Κῦρος μὲν τοῖνυν, ἔφη ὁ Κριτόβουλος, ὃ Σώκρατες, καὶ ἐπηγάλλετο οὐδὲν ἦττον, εἰ ταῦτα ἔλεγεν, ἐπὶ τῷ χώρας ἐνεργοὺς ποιεῖν καὶ κατασκευάζειν ἢ ἐπὶ τῷ πολεμικῷ εἶναι.

<sup>37</sup> Hadoxt Nask 2.7-8, *Ardā Wirāz Nāmag* 8.15-19 and 19.19-23 (Vahman), *Selections of Zādspram* 30.52-55, *Greater Bundahišn* 30.15 (TD<sup>2</sup> MS 201.6-8).



*He said that [Cyrus] showed him the paradeisos in Sardis. Lysander was amazed at the beautiful trees, their even growth, their straight rows, their fair angles beautifully laid out, and the many sweet smells that accompanied them as they strolled. Marveling at these things, he said "Cyrus, I truly marvel at the beauty of these things, and I especially am impressed at your measuring out and arranging each one of these so carefully in ranks."*

*Hearing these things, Cyrus was delighted and said "Truly, Lysander, all the measuring and arranging is mine, as is the planting."*

*And Lysander, having observed him and seeing the beauty of the robes he wore and perceiving the beauty of his fragrance and that of his necklaces, armlets, and other ornamentation, said "What are you saying, Cyrus? Have you planted some of these with your own hands?"*

*And Cyrus answered him: "Do you marvel, Lysander? I swear to you by Mithra. Whenever I am healthy, never yet have I dined without being sweaty, either from military or from agricultural labors, always seeking honor through strenuous exercises."<sup>38</sup>*

#### IV

For all that the Greek and Hebrew descriptions repeatedly state that the king's gardens included plants "of every species" they offer little explanation of why this was so. A hint may be gleaned, perhaps, from the name given to one of the "paradises" mentioned in the Persepolis Treasury Texts. This is *Vispa-šiyātiš*, which — as Emile Benveniste first recognized — is a compound meaning "All-happiness."<sup>39</sup> One can infer, moreover, that the project of assembling *all* (Old Persian *vispa*) plants

<sup>38</sup> Xenophon, *Œconomicus* 4.20-24: καὶ τὸν ἐν Σάρδεσι παράδεισον ἐπιδεικνύναι αὐτὸν ἔφη. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐθαύμαζεν αὐτὸν ὁ Λύσανδρος, ὥς καλὰ μὲν τὰ δένδρα εἶη, δι' ἴσου δὲ [τὰ] πεφυτευμένα, ὀρθοὶ δὲ οἱ στίχοι τῶν δένδρων, εὐγώνια δὲ πάντα καλῶς εἶη, ὅσμαι δὲ πολλαὶ καὶ ἡδεῖαι συμπαρομαρτοῖεν αὐτοῖς περιπατοῦσι, καὶ ταῦτα θαυμάζων εἶπεν· Ἄλλ', ἐγὼ τοι, ὦ Κῦρε, πάντα μὲν ταῦτα θαυμάζω ἐπὶ τῷ κάλλει, πολὺ δὲ μᾶλλον ἄγαμαι τοῦ καταμετρήσαντός σοι καὶ διατάξαντος ἕκαστα τούτων. ἀκουσάντα δὲ ταῦτα τὸν Κύρου ἡσθῆναι τε καὶ εἰπεῖν· Ταῦτα τοῖνον, ὦ Λύσανδρε, ἐγὼ πάντα καὶ διεμέτρησα καὶ διέταξα, ἔστι δ' αὐτῶν, φάναι, ἃ καὶ ἐφύτευσα αὐτός, καὶ, ὁ Λύσανδρος ἔφη, ἀποβλέψας εἰς αὐτὸν καὶ ἰδὼν τῶν τε ἱματίων τὸ κάλλος ὃν εἶχε καὶ τῆς ὁσμῆς αἰσθόμενος καὶ τῶν στρεπτῶν καὶ τῶν ψελίων [τὸ κάλλος] καὶ τοῦ ἄλλου κόσμου οὐ εἶχεν, εἰπεῖν, Τί λέγεις, φάναι, ὦ Κῦρε; ἢ γὰρ σὺ ταῖς σαῖς χερσὶ τούτων τε ἐφύτευσας; Καὶ τὸν Κύρον ἀποκρίνασθαι, θαυμάζεις τοῦτο, φάναι, ὦ Λύσανδρε; ὁμνυμί σοι τὸν Μίθρην, ὅταν περ ὑγιαίνω, μηπώποτε δειπνήσαι πρὶν ἰδρῶσαι ἢ τῶν πολεμικῶν τι ἢ τῶν γεωργικῶν ἔργων μελετῶν ἢ αἰεὶ ἐν γέ τι φιλοτιμούμενος.

<sup>39</sup> Émile Benveniste, "Notes sur les tablettes élamites de Persépolis," *Journal asiatique* 246 (1958): 57-58. More recently, the term has been discussed by Prods O. Skjærvø, "Achaemenid \*vispašiyātiš-, Sasanian wispšād," *Studia Iranica* 23 (1994):

(perhaps also all animals and waters) was tantamount to restoring all the happiness (*šiyāti*) God intended to be humanity's lot, for the latter term is the same one that in Achaemenian cosmogonies is used to designate the last of the Wise Lord's original creations: *šiyāti... martiyahyā*, "happiness for mankind."

Pursuing this suggestion that the desire to restore an original state of perfect happiness informed and animated the building and maintenance of the Achaemenian pleasure gardens thus leads us back to the myths of creation and issues considered in Chapter One. Of particular interest is the way original perfection was theorized, the way it was understood to have been lost through the assault of evil, the way it can be restored, and the king's role in advancing that project. Pursuing these themes, we were led to compare the Achaemenian cosmogonic account with that of certain Pahlavi texts, and we observed that where the former spoke of "happiness for mankind" (*šiyāti... martiyahyā*), the latter broke this down into three components: water, plants, and animals. Further discussions have let us understand why water — i.e. moisture, which sustains the life of all other creatures — was an essential condition for the king's residence and the royal pleasure-gardens. Our present concern is to explore why plants were so important to the latter and, more specifically, why it was important to include plants "of all species." Pierre Briant has rightly taken this detail to show how the *paradeisos* served as a microcosmic model of the imperial economy, where all manner of goods and resources flowed from the provinces to the center.<sup>40</sup> In addition, one may also perceive a complex and challenging religious dimension to the demand that all species be represented. Here, it is useful to consider Zoroastrian myths concerning the origin, nature, and destiny of plants, whose differences from the Achaemenian materials can be as revealing as their points of continuity.

Pahlavi texts offer the fullest forms of this myth and three sources will enter our discussion (see the Appendix to this chapter). Two of these — those found in the Selections of Zādspram and the other in the Greater Bundahišn — resemble each other so closely that we may treat them together, before turning to the variant found in the Pahlavi Rivāyat accompanying the Dādestān ī Dēnīg, which represents quite a different tradition and perspective.

79-80. The name appears in George G. Cameron, *Persepolis Treasury Tablets* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1948) Nos. 49 and 59 (pp. 160 and 172, respectively).

<sup>40</sup> Briant, *Histoire de l'empire perse*, pp. 214-16.

To speak of “plants,” however, is a misnomer, for these cosmogonic accounts consistently use the singular to describe the unique specimen that appeared at the dawn of time, a theme we will explore further in Chapter Five. The undifferentiated nature of this primordial *Urpflanze* is further accentuated in its physical form, for both texts describe it as without branches, i.e. having no ramificatory processes. Selections of *Zādspram* reemphasizes this point by saying the plant possessed but a single stalk.<sup>41</sup> Both texts note its innocent, defenseless quality by making it “without bark” (*a-pōstag* or *abē-pōst*) and the *Bundahišn* goes further, to depict it as thornless.<sup>42</sup> Like the other original creations, this plant remained in its pristine state for several millennia, until the Evil Spirit launched an attack against it.

*Then [Ahreman] came to the plant, which was as if it were one stalk that was one foot high, without branches, without bark, moist-sweet. And it had every sort of power of all the species of plants in its nature. It stood close to the middle of the earth, and at that moment [of his approach], it became dry.*<sup>43</sup>

In addition to its unity, goodness, and vulnerability, the primordial plant was characterized by its moisture, one of two qualities necessary for life according to Zoroastrian physiological theory.<sup>44</sup> The *Bundahišn* also attends to the other such quality, warmth, saying that Ohrmazd placed both moisture and fire inside the primordial plant.<sup>45</sup> Nowhere does either

<sup>41</sup> Selections of *Zādspram* 2.7. The same detail appears in the Pahlavi Rivāyat accompanying the *Dādestān ī Dēnīg* 46.13.

<sup>42</sup> Greater *Bundahišn* 1a.11. Greater *Bundahišn* 16.1 repeats the same statement, which it identifies as a quotation from Avestan scripture.

<sup>43</sup> Selections of *Zādspram* 2.6-7: *pas ō urwar mad. ciyōn ēk bun būd kē-š bālāy cand pāy-ē ud an-azg a-pōstag ud tarr ud širēn u-š wisp sardag zōr ī urwarān andar cihr dāšt ud pad nazdikīh ī mayānag ī zamīg būd ud pad ham \*zamān be hušk. Cf. Greater Bundahišn 1a.11. In the phrase, which appears verbatim in both texts, u-š wisp sardag zōr ī urwarān andar cihr dāšt, considerations of syntax would associate wisp sardag with zōr, while those of semantics would attach it to urwarān. I have repeated the phrase to maintain both associations: “every sort (wisp sardag) of power of all the species (wisp sardag) of plants.”*

<sup>44</sup> I have discussed the role of moisture and warmth in Zoroastrian physiology in Chapter Three and in *Death, War, and Sacrifice*, pp. 209-27, with citation of the most important primary sources. See also Philippe Gignoux, “Les bases de la philosophie mazdéenne,” *Compte rendu de l'Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres* (Jan.-Mar. 2001), esp. pp. 119-22.

<sup>45</sup> Greater *Bundahišn* 1a.11: “And for the help of the plant, he created water and fire, since every pressing of plants produces a drop of water at its top, and the fire is [at its base], four fingers away: in that, power always grows.” *u-š dād ō ayārīh urwar ud āb ud ātaxš. ce harw hāwan ī urwarān āb ēw srešk pad sar, ātaxš 4 angust pēš, pad ān zōr hamē rust. The presence of fire in plants accounts not only for their vitality, but also for wood’s ability to sustain combustion, as noted in Greater Bundahišn 18.4 and 7, Pahlavi Rivāyat accompanying the Dādestān ī Dēnīg 18d2.*

text state that Ahreman's assault turned the plant cold, however, an omission that might implicitly account for its survival. In other respects, the onslaught of evil produced drastic change, turning the plant from moist to dry, from sweet to varied in its flavors, from central to dispersed, and — consistent with the latter points — from unity to multiplicity of species.

The emergence of multiplicity, in truth, was not the straightforward result of Ahreman's assault, but the product of a dialectical process. Thus, where Ohrmazd created unity (thesis), and Ahreman attempted annihilation (antithesis), a third entity intervened to effect the synthetic move from the One to the Many. This was "Immortality" (Pahlavi *Amurdād*, Avestan *Amərətāt*), the personified abstraction that is the spiritual alter ego of plants according to Zoroastrian theology.<sup>46</sup> Taking up the withered *Urpfanze*, this divine being pounded it with a mortar and pestle, then restored its moisture and life by mixing its atomized bits with water drawn up from the earth by the star *Tištrya* (= Sirius). The latter deity then distributes the rehydrated pieces all over the world via the seasonal rains that his annual reappearance announces.<sup>47</sup>

*The Adversary struggled against that plant, so that the plant became dry. Immortality, to which the plant is the material counterpart, took it up. He pounded it small and mixed it with the water of the rainy star Sirius. Then from rain, all earthly growth appears. [Plants] grew as ten thousand essential species and a hundred thousand sub-species, as if from all the forms and types. He arranged it into ten thousand species for the prevention of ten thousand diseases. Then, from the hundred thousand species of plants, he took up the seeds.*<sup>48</sup>

<sup>46</sup> The fullest discussion of this topic is Joanna Narten, *Die Aməša Spəntas im Awesta* (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1982). More recently and economically, see Jean Kellens, *Essays on Zarathustra and Zoroastrianism*, trans. P.O. Skjærvø (Costa Mesa, CA: Mazda Publishers, 2000), pp. 48-62, and Michael Stausberg, *Die Religion Zarathustras: Geschichte—Gegenwart—Rituale*, Band I (Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer, 2002), pp. 117-23.

<sup>47</sup> Selections of *Zādspram* 3.37-38, Greater Bundahišn 6d.1-2. On the mythology of this star and its association with water, see Antonio Panaino, *Tištrya. I. The Avestan Hymn to Sirius. II. The Iranian Myth of the Star Sirius* (Rome: Seria Orientale, 1990-95) and Forssman, "Apaoša, der Gegner des Tištrya," op cit. An elaborate taxonomy of the various types of vegetation, noting their distinctive characteristics, is found in Greater Bundahišn 16.

<sup>48</sup> Selections of *Zādspram* 3.37-39: *ciyōn cāharom ō urwar mad. ān-iš pad ham urwar petyārag kōxšēd cē ān urwar be hušk. Amurdad kē-š urwar gētīg daxšag abar grift. u-š xwurd be kōst u-š abāg tištariḡ āb ī wārānīg be gumēxt. pas az wārān hamāg zamīg wax-šišnān paydāgihist: 10,000 sardag ī mādagwar ud 100,000 sardag abāg sardag andar sardag ōwōn waxšid hēnd, ciyōn az harw gōnag <ud> ēwēnag. u-š ān 10,000 sardag be ō abāz dārišnīh ī 10,000 wemārīh payrāst. pas az ān 100,000 sardag urwar tōhm abar grift.* Cf. Greater Bundahišn 6d.1-4.

Ahremen's attack thus caused Ohrmazd's vegetal creation to assume the form in which we know it. This new regime involves multiplication of the plant species, their dissemination throughout the globe by fructifying rains, their individually differentiated nutritive and healing powers, and a system of reproduction through seeds. In all these characteristics — reproduction, healing, nutrition, and multiplicity — plants mediate between the death the Evil Spirit meant to inflict and the life that was the Wise Lord's original intention.<sup>49</sup> Their capacity to sustain, restore, and reproduce life follows from their intimate relation to Immortality and from the latter's decisive intervention, which gave plants their continuity of species-existence as compensation for the death they suffer as individual organisms. Further, that same intervention provides the model for subsequent performance of the Yasna ritual, in which priests pound the haoma stalk and mix its fragments with pure water.<sup>50</sup> The libation they offer daily is understood to be universally vivifying, for it combines the essence of plants with that of water, which is to say Immortality and Wholeness/Health (Avestan *Haurvatāt*, Pahlavi *Hordād*), the latter of which is the spiritual counterpart of water and constant companion of Immortality.<sup>51</sup>

Many Zoroastrian texts, both Avestan and Pahlavi, imagine the restoration of vegetal unity in a mythical tree that combines the properties of other plants or surpasses them all, and absorbs moisture from the Frāxkard Sea that stands at the earth's center. Some name this fabulous specimen the

<sup>49</sup> A mediator of reverse directionality — i.e., from life to death — appears in Greater Bundahišn 4.17. where Ahremen is said to have poured poison over the primordial plant, causing it to dry and wither. This assault sets off an ambiguous process, in which some plants come to be poisonous, while others possess qualities of healing. Even the phonology of the term used for poison is suggestive, for in a place where one would expect Pahlavi *wiṣ*, the text uses *zahr*, a much less common word, but one that evokes others associated with good qualities of plants: *zōr* "power" (used of the primordial plant in Selections of Zādspram 2.7, Greater Bundahišn 1a.11) and *zōhr* "libation."

<sup>50</sup> On treatment of haoma and water in the Yasna sacrifice, see Firoze M. Kotwal and James W. Boyd, *A Persian Offering: The Yasna, A Zoroastrian High Liturgy* (Paris: Association pour l'avancement des études iraniennes, 1991). That haoma offerings were a mainstay of Achaemenian ritual is clear from a large body of inscribed mortars, pestles, and other implements found at Persepolis, on which see Raymond Bowman, *Aramaic Ritual Texts from Persepolis* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1970).

<sup>51</sup> Health/Wholeness and Immortality are constantly associated with one another already in the Older Avesta, where grammatical forms in the dual underscore the inseparable nature of their relation (Yasna 44.17, 45.5 and 10, 47.1, 51.7): the two are further associated with plants and water (Yasna 51.7), food and drink (Yasna 34.11), strength and vitality (Yasna 34.11, 45.10, 51.7). The ancient nature of these associations was recognized as early as James Darmesteter, *Haurvatāt et Ameretāt: essai sur la mythologie de l'Avesta* (Paris: A. Franck, 1875).

"Tree of All Seeds" and make it responsible for the growth of all species.<sup>52</sup> Others describe a fabled "White Haoma," greater than all other haomas (themselves greater than all other plants), which will be used in the world's last sacrifice and will bestow immortality on the risen dead.<sup>53</sup> Selections of Zādspram and the Greater Bundahišn seem to have been indecisive about which image of totality they preferred, for they combine these two traditions when narrating the plant species' return to original unity.<sup>54</sup>

## V

As numerous authors have noted, the account of creation given in the Pahlavi Rivāyat accompanying the Dādestān ī Dēnīg differs from that of most other sources in two important ways.<sup>55</sup> First, the Wise Lord is said

<sup>52</sup> Selections of Zādspram 3.39. This tree is also known as "All-Healing" (*vispō.biš*, Yašt 12.17), "Tree of Many Seeds" (*wan ī was tōhmag*, Greater Bundahišn 6d.5, 16.4, 24.8), "Tree of Anti-pain of Many Seeds" (*wan ī jud bēš ī wastōhmag*, Mēnōg ī Xrad 62.37), and "Tree of Anti-Pain" (*wan ī jud bēš*, Pahlavi Rivāyat accompanying the Dādestān ī Dēnīg 54.1).

<sup>53</sup> Selections of Zādspram 3.40, Greater Bundahišn 16.5, Pahlavi Rivāyat accompanying the Dādestān ī Dēnīg 46.14. The tree on which the White Haoma grows is sometimes given the name *Gaokarēna* in Avestan, Vidēvdād 20.3-4, Siroza 1.7 and 2.7), *Gōkaren* in Pahlavi (Greater Bundahišn 6d.6, 16.5, and 24.1, Dēnkard 8.44.80). The eschatological sacrifice is described in Selections of Zādspram 35.15 and Greater Bundahišn 34.23, on which see the discussion of Molé. *Mythe, culte, et cosmologie dans l'Iran ancien*, pp. 86-100.

<sup>54</sup> Selections of Zādspram 3.39-41: "Then, from the hundred thousand species of plants, he took up the seeds. From the union of these seeds, he created the Tree of All Seeds in the middle of the Frāxkard Sea, from which all the species of plants ever grow. The [mythic] Sēn bird has its nest there and when it flies forth, it scatters the dry seed into the water. In rain, it rains back to earth. Near that tree he created the White Haoma, antidote of old age, vivifier of the dead, and immortalizer of the living." *pas az ān 100,000 sardag urwar tōhm abar grift. az hamīh ī tōhm wan ī harwisp tōhmag mayān zrēh ī Frāxkard bē dād. kē-š hamāg sardag urwarān u-š hamē waxšēnd. u-š Sēn murw āšyān padīš dārēd. ka-š andar frāz parwāzēd ēg-iš tōhm ī hušk ō āb ōsānēd. pad wārān abāz ō zamīg wārānīhēd. u-š pad nazdikīh ī ān wan be dād hōm ī spēd hamēstārīh <1> zarmān zindakar ī murgagān anošakkar ī zīndagān.* Cf. Greater Bundahišn 6d.5-7. Note that the account of how seeds are distributed given in this passage contradicts that given just a few paragraphs earlier in Selections of Zādspram 3.37-38 and Greater Bundahišn 6d.1-2, which puts Immortality and Tištrya at the center of the narrative.

<sup>55</sup> On the cosmogonic account of Pahlavi Rivāyat accompanying the Dādestān ī Dēnīg 46, see H.W. Bailey, *Zoroastrian Problems in the Ninth Century Books* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1971), p. 121, R.C. Zaehner, *Zurvan: A Zoroastrian Dilemma*, pp. 136-40, idem, *Dawn and Twilight of Zoroastrianism* (New York: G.P. Putnam, 1961), p. 259, Molé, *Mythe, culte, et cosmologie*, pp. 409-10, Widengren, *Die Religionen Irans*, pp. 8-9, A.V. Williams, "A Strange Account of the World's Origin: PRDD XLVI," in A.D.H. Bivar and J.R. Hinnells, eds., *Papers in Honour of Professor Mary Boyce* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1985), pp. 683-97, idem, ed. and trans., *The Pahlavi Rivāyat accompanying the Dādestān ī Dēnīg* (Copenhagen: Munksgaard, 1990) 2: 202-6.

to have created the world from his own body or that of some primordial being, following well-established homologies between microcosm and macrocosm.<sup>56</sup> Second, the theme of Ahreman's assault is underdeveloped, and is virtually absent from this text's account of plants.<sup>57</sup> Consistent with this, it treats the move from unity to multiplicity not as a consequence of demonic action, but as a natural, eminently unthreatening development.

*[The Wise Lord] created the plant from his hair. At first, it was one stalk, a hand-span and two fingers in length, and all species of plants were in this one species only, and he created it in Iran. Then birds, water, and people carried it many places: to forests and into the sea.... That species which he created afterwards became fifty species.*<sup>58</sup>

The text subtly prepares the ground for this multiplication of species by deriving the *Urpflanze* from the Wise Lord's hair, which suggests a covert, but inherent identity of the one (plant) and the many (hairs). Compare, for example, the way the Greater Bundahišn uses the same homology to describe the effect of rain on the vegetal species: "So plants grew everywhere, like hair on people's heads."<sup>59</sup>

Elsewhere, the Pahlavi Rivāyat treats diversity as part of the Wise Lord's plan, and one with which he is pleased. Thus, among the twelve most difficult things Ohrmazd has accomplished, it lists "Seventh, when he created the form, fragrance, and taste of plants, family by family."<sup>60</sup> Further, at the end of time

<sup>56</sup> I have treated this system of homologies at length in *Myth, Cosmos, and Society: Indo-European Themes of Creation and Destruction* (Cambridge, MA.: Harvard University Press, 1986). See also Philippe Gignoux, "La doctrine du macrocosme-microcosme et ses origines gréco-gnostiques," in Petr Vavroušek, ed., *Iranian and Indo-European Studies. Memorial Volume of Otakar Klima* (Prague: Enigma, 1994), pp. 27-52, idem, *Man and Cosmos in Ancient Iran* (Rome: Istituto Italiano per l'Africa e l'Oriente, 2001), pp. 49-63, who offers quite a different account of how this system made its way to Iran.

<sup>57</sup> The only thing approximating an account of Ahreman's assault on plants is found in Pahlavi Rivāyat accompanying the Dādestān ī Dēnīg 35c.1-2, which states that a falling star is a "defilement of the Evil Spirit" (*āhōgenišn ī az Ahreman*) which can have the effect of causing the plants to wither (*ud ka ō urwarān ōftēd be hōšēnīd*). This, however, has no connection to the text's cosmogonic narrative, found in Chapter 46.

<sup>58</sup> Pahlavi Rivāyat accompanying the Dādestān ī Dēnīg 46.13-14: u-š urwar az mōy be brēhēnīd. ud nazdist ē bun ē widest 2 angust pad \*bālāy būd. u-š hamāg sardag ī urwarān andar būd be ē sardag. u-š pad Ērānwēz frāz dād. pas hast murwān hast ī pad āb ud hast ī mardōmān gyāg gyāg bē burd \*ō wēšag-iz ud andar zrēh.... ān sardag ī-š pas dād 50 sardag būd.

<sup>59</sup> Greater Bundahišn 6d.2: pad hamāg urwar ēdōn bē rust ciyōn mōy pad sar ī mardōmān.

<sup>60</sup> Pahlavi Rivāyat accompanying the Dādestān ī Dēnīg 52.1: Ohrmazd 12 tis dušx-wārtar būd kardan kū frašgird <ud> tan <ī> pasēn... haftom andar urwarīhā gōnag bōy ud mizag tōm tōm dād. Cf. Greater Bundahišn 34.5.

*All food and happiness and everything that gives men pleasure, comfort, and happiness will become again as the Wise Lord created it in the Original Creation. And there will be ten thousand times as many foods and tastes as there are now.*<sup>61</sup>

This passage is remarkable in two respects. On the one hand, its first sentence gives one of the closest approximations to the Old Persian cosmogonic formula "happiness for mankind" (*šiyāti... martiyahyā*) that is found in any Zoroastrian text, ("all food and happiness and everything that gives men pleasure," *hamāg xwarišn xwārīh ud hamāg tis kē-š mardōmān rāmišn*).<sup>62</sup> Second, for all that it theorizes eschatological perfection as a restoration of the Wise Lord's original creation, it does not imagine a return to primordial unity, but insists that diversity will actually increase.<sup>63</sup>

In the closing passage of its long, detailed eschatological account, the Pahlavi Rivāyat once again celebrates variety, here with explicit reference to plants.

*And the plant is restored in as many species as are essential and of them there is no diminution. At all times it is like spring, resembling a garden that has all plants and flowers in it. With worldly wisdom (only), one cannot know or obtain its wonder and worthiness, pleasure and purity.*<sup>64</sup>

Nowhere does the Pahlavi Rivāyat specify how many species of plant it regards as "essential" (*mādagwar*), and by leaving this detail unclear, it manages to finesse a serious disagreement in the other sources. Thus, where Selections of Zādspram lists the number of "essential" species as

<sup>61</sup> Pahlavi Rivāyat accompanying the Dādestān ī Dēnīg 48.58-59: *hamāg xwarišn xwārīh ud hamāg tis kē-š mardōmān rāmišn ud āsānīh ud xwārīh u-š ēdōn ciyōn Ohrmazd pad bundahišn dād abāz bawēd. xwarišn ud mizag 10,000 ān and cand ān ī nūn hast bawēd.*

<sup>62</sup> The problem of how animal food will be treated after the eschatological Renovation is given elaborate treatment at Pahlavi Rivāyat accompanying the Dādestān ī Dēnīg 48.103-5. In contrast to the continued multiplicity expected for plants, the text argues that all animals will merge back into the primordial bovine, which will then merge into the human body. As a result, people will be able to enjoy the taste of meat without having to inflict any violence on animals.

<sup>63</sup> Its closest equivalent is Selections of Zādspram 34.29, which also uses the example of vegetation to discuss the eschatological restoration of existence. Note, however, how thoroughly this text blurs the issue of unity vs. multiplicity. "For the sake of the reliability of the restored creation, all forms at the end become the likeness of what they were at the beginning, like people, who flow from their seed, or like plants, whose becoming is from seed and whose final completion is present in all seed." *ōstīgānīh abāz dahišnīh rāy harw cihrān frazām ō bun ham hangōšīdag bawēnd ciyōn mardōm kē-šān bawišn az tōhm tazēnd ciyōn urwarān kē-šān bawišn az tōhmag bowandag frazāmīh pad ham tōhmag.*

<sup>64</sup> Pahlavi Rivāyat accompanying the Dādestān ī Dēnīg 48.107: *ud urwar ān and sardag ī mādagwar abāz bawēd u-šān kāhišn nē bawēd. bē harw gāh \*wahār homānāg ciyōn bō(ye)stān-ē kē-š hamāg urwarīhā ud sprahmīhā andar u-š abdīh ud \*sahīgīh xwašīh pākīh pad xrad ī gētīgān ayāftan dānistan nē šāyēd.*



ten thousand, the Greater Bundahišn limits the “essential” species to one only: the original *Urpflanze*, from which all others developed.<sup>65</sup> This rather large ambiguity notwithstanding, the Pahlavi Rivāyat insists “there is no diminution” of the essential species at the endtime and offers as its culminating image of cosmic renovation “a garden that has all plants and flowers in it.”<sup>66</sup> This image of a garden in which diversity survives into eternity contrasts with the restoration of unity found in other sources, as is summarized in Table 4.2.

	<i>Selections of Zādspram and Greater Bundahišn</i>	<i>Pahlavi Rivāyat accompanying the Dādestān ī Dēnīg</i>
<b>Primordial Unity</b>	Perfect: Single <i>Urpflanze</i> created by the Wise Lord.	Ambiguous: Potential multiplicity implicit in the fact that the <i>Urpflanze</i> is created from the Wise Lord’s hair.
<b>Historic Multiplicity</b>	Morally ambiguous: Synthetic product of the Evil Spirit’s assault and rescue by Immortality.	Morally unproblematic: Result of natural processes.
<b>Eschatological Ideal</b>	Unity: Restoration of a single perfect plant that secures immortality for all.	Ambiguous: Restoration of all “essential” species, which may mean one (thus GBd) or ten thousand (thus ZS). Multiplicity: Garden with all species of plants and flowers.

Table 4.2 Zoroastrian mythology of plants in two variant traditions.

## VI

The Achaemenian *paradeisos* offers yet a third variant on the theme of vegetation in the Iranian religious imaginary. In contrast to the ideal of

<sup>65</sup> Selections of Zādspram 3.38, Greater Bundahišn 6d.3, 16.3.

<sup>66</sup> Pahlavi Rivāyat accompanying the Dādestān ī Dēnīg 48.107: *ciyōn bō(ye)stan-ē kē-š hamāg urwarīhā ud sprahmīhā andar*. By contrast, Greater Bundahišn 34.33 ends that text’s account of the eschatological Renovation with the restoration of the earth to its original perfection, envisioned as a smooth plain. I have discussed the significance of this image in *Discourse and the Construction of Society* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1989), pp. 38-50.

unity expressed in Selections of Zādspram and the Bundahišn, it enthusiastically embraces diversity. And in contrast to the Pahlavi Rivāyat, it makes such variety part of a soteriological project, not the mark of a realized eschatology, i.e. a process moving toward perfection through historic action, rather than the final embodiment of perfection achieved.

Among the most important actions on which the embellishment of these gardens depended was imperial expansion through military conquest. For as the empire grew, the *paradeisoī* became more numerous, richer, more elaborate, and more complete in the number of species they included, as new and exotic varieties were brought from afar, either as booty or tribute. Such expansion of the gardens, like the victories that made it possible, represented progress in the struggle to win the world back from the Lie and to restore its original beauty, benevolence, and pleasure. The ultimate horizon of Achaemenian ambitions thus seems to have involved three interrelated goals: 1) to restore human unity by bringing all people under imperial rule; 2) to restore plant unity by bringing vegetation “of every species” inside the royal gardens; 3) to restore “happiness for mankind” by extending the sensuous pleasures and life-nourishing environment of the gardens through all the earth/empire.

Such an interpretation grows out of the evidence we have considered thus far. I have reserved one datum for last, however: a curious passage from the seventh book of Herodotus’s *Histories* that is easily dismissed or overlooked. When given serious consideration, however, it reveals a rich, complex, unexpectedly profound universe of meaning. The text portrays Xerxes at the beginning of his reign, when he was “not at all eager” (*oudamōs prothymos*) to follow his father’s plans to make renewed war on the Greeks. As the young king wavered, his kinsman Mardonius, who “had greatest influence with him of all the Persians,” enters the discussion.<sup>67</sup> Alternately flattering Xerxes, reasoning with him, and shaming the new monarch, Mardonius urged him to seek justice against the Greeks, who had inflicted great evils on the Persian people.

<sup>67</sup> Herodotus 7.5: παρεὼν δὲ καὶ δυνάμενος παρ’ αὐτῷ μέγιστον Περσέων Μαρδόνιος ὁ Γοβρύεω, δὲς ἦν Ξέρξη μὲν ἀνεψιὸς Δαρείου δὲ ἀδελφεῆς παῖς. Mardonius, son of Gobryas, one of the six “Noble Persians” who helped Darius to the throne, was simultaneously the latter’s nephew and son-in-law, Xerxes’s brother-in-law and cousin. From 493 until his death at the battle of Plataea in 479, he directed Persian policy toward the Greeks. For a full collection of the evidence regarding his life, see Balcer, *Prosopographical Study of the Ancient Persians*, pp. 78–79. For a brief consideration of the channels through which Herodotus obtained his information regarding Mardonius, see D. Hegyi, “Historical Authenticity of Herodotus in the Persian «Logoi»,” *Acta Antiqua Scientiarum Hungaricae* 21 (1973): 85.

In addition to these familiar arguments, Mardonius introduced a much less predictable attempt at persuasion.

*His speech was for vengeance and he repeatedly made an addition to his argument, saying that Europe was a very beautiful place and bore cultivated trees of every sort, most excellent and worthy to be possessed by the king alone among mortals.*<sup>68</sup>

The iterative form of the verb *poieesketo* makes clear that Mardonius repeatedly returned to this theme, which may have been cast as an afterthought or parenthetical addition (*parenthēkēn*), but which held considerable importance. In its structure and intent, it reminds us of another incident recounted in a fragment preserved from Deinon's lost *Persika*, according to which the Achaemenian king's table regularly featured the finest dishes from each of the lands in his empire. On one occasion, however, a sly eunuch arranged to serve Athenian figs that had been purchased for the occasion. Learning that this was so, Xerxes refused them, saying he would prefer to eat such fruit only when it was no longer necessary to buy them and was thus reminded of the need to conquer Greece, precisely as the eunuch intended.<sup>69</sup>

Like the unnamed eunuch, Mardonius sought to advance the invasion of Greece by stimulating Xerxes' acquisitive desire for something that could be found in Europe, but not in Asia: something that would fill out a set that aspired to totality or comprehensive status. In the first instance, the set in question consisted of foods; in the second, species of vegetation. In both cases, constituent members of the set corresponded to provinces of the empire, and the set would become complete only when the empire encompassed the globe. From the preceding discussion, I hope it is clear that Mardonius and Xerxes both understood that the trees won in

<sup>68</sup> Herodotus 7.5: οὗτος μὲν οἱ ὁ λόγος ἦν τιμωρός· τοῦδε δὲ τοῦ λόγου παρενθήκην ποιέεσκετο τήνδε, ὥς ἡ Εὐρώπη περικαλλὴς εἴη χώρα, καὶ δένδρεα παντοῖα φέροι τὰ ἡμέρα, ἀρετὴν τε ἄκρη, βασιλείῃ τε μούνη θνητῶν ἀξίη ἐκτῆσθαι.

<sup>69</sup> Deinon, preserved in Athenaeus, *Deipnosophistae* 652b, listed in Felix Jacoby, *Die Fragmente der Griechischen Historiker* (Berlin: Weidmann, 1923) as 690 F.12a. The incident is also recounted by Plutarch, *Moralia* 173C, and has been discussed by Pierre Briant, "L'eau du Grand Roi," in Lucio Milano, ed., *Drinking in Ancient Societies* (Padua: Sargon srl, 1994), pp. 47-49. Although the fig itself may hold no particular importance in this narrative, where any Athenian delicacy could serve equally well, the polyspermic nature of this fruit could make its significance similar to that of the pomegranate and sycamore, as discussed in Chapter Five. The topos of the royal meal as one in which choice dishes from all parts of the empire appear is more fully developed in Polyaeus 4.3.32, which has been studied closely by David Lewis, "The King's Dinner (Polyaeus IV.3.32)," *Achaemenid History* 2 (1987): 79-87 and Suzanne Amigues, "Pour la table du grand roi," *Journal des Savants* (Jan.-June 2003), pp. 3-59.

Greece would (and should) be added to the paradisaal gardens, where Achaemenian kings pursued a religious goal and a mythic vision. For within such settings they sought to reconstitute the happiness and perfection that the Wise Lord originally intended for mankind, thereby putting an end to all evil, conflict, and history.

## VIII

The researches I have presented in the course of these first four chapters suggest we have generally underestimated the complexity, depth, and seriousness of the "paradise" theme in Achaemenian religion and politics, if, indeed, the two can be separated. In closing, I would like to set this theme alongside two others. Together, these form the core of Achaemenian theology or — to use a more contemporary and equally appropriate term — Achaemenian ideology, for in the ancient world, all ideology takes the form of religion. The discussion spills beyond antiquity, moreover, for one continues to find these same general themes in the rhetoric and ideology of other empires, including the most contemporary. Indeed, without belaboring the point, let me suggest, *sotto voce*, that they constitute the virtually ubiquitous animating and legitimating rhetoric of empire, which has been so thoroughly naturalized through repetition as to seem self-evident and unproblematic.

The first of these is dualism: the sense that the world is starkly divided between the forces of Good and those of Evil, while the world constitutes the battleground and the stake of victory between them. Further, one should note the tendency to identify one's political enemies and would-be prey with the forces of evil, against whom the exercise of force is not only justified, but enjoined as a sacred duty.

Second is the theme of election: the conviction that God intervenes in history through select human agents and the tendency to identify one's self, one's compatriots, coreligionists, and/or the military forces of one's nation as chosen saviors of this sort.

Third and most complex is the theme that has been at the center of these lectures: the pursuit of paradise, which begins with the sense that the world's current state represents a fall from perfection. Extant woes can be rectified through struggle, however, and the proper state intended by God can be recovered through the conquest, domination, and exploitation of others. In this fashion, the project of empire is systematically, even if sincerely, misperceived and misrepresented as nothing less than the work of cosmic salvation.

## APPENDIX TO CHAPTER FOUR

# ZOROASTRIAN MYTHOLOGY OF PLANTS

## SYNOPTIC TABLE

	Variant A <sup>1</sup> : Selections of Zādspram	Variant A <sup>2</sup> : Greater Bundahišn	Variant B: Pahlavi Rivāyat accompanying the Dādestān ī Dēnīg
1	2.6 Then [Ahreman] came to the plant, <i>pas ō urwar mad.</i>	1a.11 Fourth, [the Wise Lord] created the plant, <i>cahārōm urwar dād</i>	46.13 And [the Wise Lord] created the plant from his hair. <i>u-š urwar az mōy bē brēhēnīd.</i>
2	See A <sup>1</sup> 6	which grew up near to the middle of all the earth. <i>*nazdik ō mayān harw ēn zamīg abar rust.</i>	
3	2.7 which was as if it were one stalk that was one foot high, <i>ciyōn ēk bun būd kē-š bālāy cand pāy-ē</i>	One foot high, <i>cand pay-ē bālāy</i>	At first, it was one stalk, a hand-span and two fingers in height, <i>ud nazdist ē bun ē widest 2 angust pad *bālāy būd.</i>
4	without branches, without bark, moist and sweet. <i>ud an-azg a-pōstag ud tarr ud širēn</i>	without branches, without bark, without thorns and moist-sweet, <i>abē-azg abē-pōst abē-xār ud tarr širēn</i>	
5	And it had every sort of power of all the species of plants in its nature. <i>u-š wisp sardag zōr ī urwarān andar cihr dāšt</i>	And it had every sort of power of all the species of plants in its nature. <i>u-š wisp sardag zōr ī urwarān andar *cihr dāšt.</i>	and all species of plants were in this one species only, <i>u-š hamāg sardag ī urwarān andar būd be ē sardag.</i>
6	It was near to the middle of the earth, <i>ud pad nazdikīh ī mayānag ī zamīg būd</i>	See A <sup>2</sup> 2.	and he created it in Iran. <i>u-š pad Ērānwēz frāz dād.</i>

	Variant A <sup>1</sup> : Selections of Zādspram	Variant A <sup>2</sup> : Greater Bundahišn	Variant B: Pahlavi Rivāyat accompanying the Dādestān ī Dēnīg
7		And for the help of the plant, he created water and fire, since every pressing of plants produces a drop of water at its top, and the fire is [at its base], four fingers away: in that, power always grows. <i>u-š dād ō ayārīh &lt;ī&gt; urwar ud āb ud ataxš če harw hāwan ī urwarān āb ēw srešk pad sar, ataxš 4 angust pēš, pad ān zōr hamē rust.</i>	
8		4.17 And he bore poison over the plant. <i>u-š urwar zahr owōn abar burd</i>	
9	And all at once, it became dry. <i>ud pad ham *zamān be hušk.</i>	All at once it dried up. <i>ham zamān be hōšīd.</i>	
10	3.37 Fourth, he came to the plant. <i>ciyōn cāharōm ō urwar mad.</i>	6d.0 The fourth battle, the plant waged, <i>cahārom ardīg urwar kard</i>	
11	The Adversary struggled against that plant, so that the plant became dry. <i>ān-iš pad ham urwar petyarag kōxšēd cē ān urwar be hušk.</i>	when it became dry. <i>ān ka hušk be būd.</i>	
12	Immortality, to which the plant is the material counterpart, took it up. <i>Amurdad kē-š urwar gēfīg daxšag abar grift.</i>	6d.1 As the plant is like unto it, the Beneficent Immortal Immortality <i>Amurdād amahraspand ciyōn-iš urwar xwēš</i>	

	Variant A <sup>1</sup> : Selections of Zādspram	Variant A <sup>2</sup> : Greater Bundahišn	Variant B: Pahlavi Rivāyat accompanying the Dādestān ī Dēnīg
13	He pounded it small and mixed it with the water of the rainy star Sirius. <i>u-š xwurd be kōst u-š abāg tištarīg āb ī wārānīg bē gūmēxt.</i>	mixed that plant, pounded small, with the water that the star Sirius had taken. Sirius rained that water on all the earth. <i>ān urwar xwurdag kōst abāg āb ī Tištar stānēd be gūmēxt. Tištar ān āb pad hamāg zamīg bē wārānīd.</i>	
14	3.38 Then from rain, all earthly growth appears. <i>pas az wārān hamāg zamīg waxšīšnān paydāgihist:</i>	6D.2 So plants grew everywhere, like hair on people's heads. <i>pad hamāg urwar ēdōn be rust ciyōn mōy pad sar ī mardōmān.</i>	46.14 Then birds, water, and people carried it many places: to forests and into the sea. <i>pas hast murwān hast ī pad āb ud hast ī mardōmān gyāg gyāg be burd *ō wešag-iz &lt;ud&gt; andar zrēh.</i>
15	[Plants] grew as ten thousand essential species and a hundred thousand sub-species, as if from all the forms and types. <i>10,000 sardag ī mādagwar ud 100,000 sardag abāg sardag andar sardag ōwōn waxšīd hēnd, ciyōn az harw gōnag &lt;ud&gt; ēwēnag.</i> See A <sup>2</sup> 19.	6d.3 And ten thousand grew up from that one essential species <i>u-š 10,000 u-š ēk sardag mādagwar ī frāz rust hēnd.</i>	The White Haoma and other plants in the world came into being from it. <i>ud hōm ī spēd ud ābārīg urwar ī andar gēhān az ān be būd.</i>
16			Its comfort comes from bearing the pure Water Libation. Its discomfort comes when they cut or break it unjustly. <i>u-š āsānīh az āb zōhr burdan pāk. u-š dušxwārīh az ān ī ka adādestānīhā be brīnēnd āyab be škēnēnd.</i>

	Variant A <sup>1</sup> : Selections of Zādspram	Variant A <sup>2</sup> : Greater Bundahišn	Variant B: Pahlavi Rivāyat accompanying the Dādestān ī Dēnīg
17	He arranged it into ten thousand species <i>u-š ān 10,000 sardag</i>		That species which he created afterwards became fifty species. <i>ān sardag ī-š pas dād 50 sardag būd.</i>
18	for the prevention of ten thousand diseases. <i>be ō abāz dārišnīh ī 10,000 wēmārīh payrāst.</i>	for the prevention of ten thousand diseases the Foul Spirit created for living creatures. <i>pad abāz dārišnīh 10,000 wēmārīh Gannāg Mēnōg ō dāmān kirrēnīd.</i>	
19	3.39 Then, from the hundred thousand species of plants, he took up the seeds. <i>pas az ān 100,000 sardag urwar tōhm abar grift.</i>	6d.4 From that ten thousand, a hundred thirty thousand sub-species of plants grew forth. <i>az ān 10,000, 130,000 sardag andar sardag urwar frāz waxšīd hēnd.</i> See A <sup>1</sup> 15.	
20	From the union of these seeds, he created the Tree of All Seeds in the middle of the Frāxkard Sea, from which all species of plants ever grow. <i>az hamīh ī tōhm wan ī harwisp tōhmag mayān &lt;ī&gt; zrēh ī Frāxkard be dād kē-š hamāg sardag urwarān u-š hamē waxšēnd.</i>	6d.5 From all the seeds of those plants, he created the Tree of Many Seeds. In the Frāxkard Sea it grew, since all the plant species always grow in the seeds of that tree. <i>az ān hamāg tōhm ī urwarān wan ī was tōhmag frāz dād andar zrēh ī Frāxkard abar rust. ka hamāg sardag urwar pad tōhm ān wan u-š hamē waxšēnd.</i>	



	Variant A <sup>1</sup> : Selections of Zādspram	Variant A <sup>2</sup> : Greater Bundahišn	Variant B: Pahlavi Rivāyat accompanying the Dādestān ī Dēnīg
21	The Sēn bird has its nest there and when it flies forth, it scatters the dry seed into the water. In rain, it rains back to earth. <i>u-š Sēn murw ašyān paḍiš dārēd. ka-š andar frāz parwāzēd ēg-iš tōhm ī hušk ō āb ōsānēd. pad wārān abāz ō zamīg wārānīhēd.</i>		
22	3.40 Near that tree he created the white Haoma, antidote of old age, vivifier of the dead, and immortalizer of the living. <i>u-š pad nazdikīh ī ān wan be dād hōm ī spēd hamēstārīh &lt;ī&gt; zarmān zīndakkar ī murdagān anošakkar ī zīndagān.</i>	6d.6 Near to that tree, he created the Gōkaren Tree for the prevention of short-winded old age, and from it full help for the world came into being. <i>*nazdik ō wan ī Gōkaren draxt be dād pad abāz dārišnīh zarmān ī dujdaft u-š purr frayādišn ī gēhān u-š būd.</i>	
23	3.41 This was the fourth battle, concerning the plants. <i>ēn būd tasum ardīg ī abar urwarān.</i>	6d.7 This was the first battle the plant waged against the Foul Spirit. <i>ēn fradom ardīg urwar abāz Gannāg Mēnōg kard.</i>	
24			48.107 And the plant is restored in as many species as are essential and of them there is no diminution. <i>ud urwar ān and sardag ī mādagwar abāz bawēd u-šān kāhišn nē bawēd.</i>
25			At all times it is like spring, resembling a garden that has all plants and flowers in it. <i>bē harw gāh *wahār hōmānāg ciyōn bō(ye)stan-ē kē-š hamāg urwarīhā ud sprahmīhā andar</i>

	Variant A <sup>1</sup> : Selections of Zādspram	Variant A <sup>2</sup> : Greater Bundahišn	Variant B: Pahlavi Rivāyat accompanying the Dādestān ī Dēnīg
26			<p>With worldly wisdom (only), one cannot know or obtain its wonder and worthiness, pleasure and purity.</p> <p><i>u-š abdīh ud +sahīgīh xwašīh pākīh pad xrad ī gētīgān ayāftan dānistan nē šāyēd.</i></p>

## **ADDENDUM TO THE PARIS LECTURES**

## CHAPTER FIVE

### IMPLICATIONS OF GRAMMATICAL NUMBER IN THE MYTHOLOGY OF VEGETATION\*

#### I

On occasion, a grammatical peculiarity of apparently minor import harbors issues of unexpected interest, as in the case of an alternation between the singular and the plural in Iranian texts concerned with the mythology of vegetation.<sup>1</sup> The situation is relatively simple in the Older Avesta, where all four occurrences of the feminine substantive *uruuarā-* are in the plural. Each falls in a passage oriented toward cosmogonic themes, cataloguing the Wise Lord's creations (material and non-material).

No two of these lists are identical, although Yasna 44.3-6 and 37.1 agree closely on content, if not terminology. Thus, if one understands the former text's more detailed treatment of celestial phenomena ("the path of sun and stars," waxing and waning moon, wind and clouds) as corresponding to the latter's mention of heavenly lights, the two passages share five items: heavenly bodies, earth, waters, plants, and the primordial bovine, although listed in different orders. Yasna 48.5-6 and 51.7 offer more abbreviated catalogues, omitting heavens, earth, and — in the former instance — waters.

All four texts agree in their use of grammatical number. Heavenly phenomena, when mentioned, always appear in the plural, as do waters and plants. Further, when waters and plants both appear (all cases save Yasna 48.5-6), they are brought into conjunction by the particle *-cā*. Earth is in the singular whenever it appears and by whatever term it is named. Likewise, the bovine is consistently — and emphatically — singular, reflecting the Iranian mythic tendency to represent human and animal species as having initially been created in one prototypic individual, whose traumatic death produced fragmentation of this primordial unity.

\* This essay originally appeared in Éric Pirart, Philippe Swennen, and Xavier Tremblay, eds., *Zarathushtra entre l'Inde et l'Iran: Études indo-iraniennes et indo-européennes offertes à Jean Kellens* (Wiesbaden: Ludwig Reichert, 2009), pp. 177-88.

<sup>1</sup> See also Jean Kellens, "Remarques sur l'opposition de nombre en vieil-avestique," in Ronald E. Emmerick and Dieter Weber, eds., *Corolla Iranica. Papers in honour of Prof. Dr. David Neil MacKenzie* (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 1991), pp. 101-8 for some related issues.

Interestingly, humanity is not explicitly named in these texts, but the personal and interrogative pronouns that appear in three of the four passages (singular in Yasna 51.7, plural in 44.6 and 48.5-6) signal mankind's presence in the Wise Lord's creation. Only Yasna 37.1 lacks such pronouns, although it may compensate for this through a residual category ("all good things," *vīspācā vohū*) that could conceivably encompass the human.

These data can be summarized in schematic form, as in Table 5.1.

## II

The situation in the Younger Avesta is more varied and more complex. There, *uruuarā-* occurs a total of one hundred sixty seven times: fifty-five in the singular (33%), six in the dual (3.5%), and one hundred six in the plural (63.5%).<sup>2</sup> This distribution is reversed in passages whose content is most explicitly cosmogonic, a set of twelve verses, seven of which have *uruuarā-* in the singular (58.33%), and five in the plural (41.67%).<sup>3</sup> Data from these verses are presented in Table 5.2, on the basis of which one can advance a few generalizations. First, a relatively standard pattern has begun to emerge in verses where *uruuarā-* appears in the singular. Those where it is in the plural, however, show wider variation as regards the other material elements included and the order in which these are listed. Second, without exception, water always appears along with vegetation and the two agree in grammatical number. Third, when water and plant are in the singular, water is usually preceded by sky (*asan-*), and plant by earth (*zam-*), both of which are also in the singular.<sup>4</sup> When plants and waters are in the plural, the texts usually omit sky and earth. The sole verse in this set that retains these creations (Yasna 5.1, which seems to follow the model of Y 37.1) speaks of earth with a non-normative term (*būmi-*, rather than *zam-*)<sup>5</sup> and has heavenly lights in

<sup>2</sup> Tabulations are based on the listings in Raiomond Doctor, *The Avesta: A Lexico-Statistical Analysis* (Leuven and Paris: Peeters, 2004), pp. 85-86.

<sup>3</sup> Conceivably, one should also take note of the dual dvandva *āpa uruuairē* that occurs at Y 9.4, Yt 15.16 and 19.32, always with reference to the golden age when Yima ruled as king, a context that cannot be considered properly cosmogonic within Zoroastrian doctrine, but which bears traces of an older creation mythology.

<sup>4</sup> The sole deviation from this pattern is Vidēvdād 19.35, where earth is listed first, followed by water, plant, and sky is fourth. The plural coding of heaven — celestial lights (*raocā*) — is then introduced in fifth position.

<sup>5</sup> While Old Persian *būmi* is the standard term for "earth" or "land" in cosmogonic and other contexts, its Avestan cognate occurs only seven times. Two of these are in cosmogonic contexts (Yasna 5.1 and 37.1). Yasna 42.3 treats an offering, in which both *zqm* and *būmīm* appear, the former in conjunction with heaven, the latter with "all good things."

	<i>Heavenly phenomena</i>	<i>Earth</i>	<i>Waters</i>	<i>Plants</i>	<i>Animal</i>	<i>Human (implied)</i>	<i>Good things</i>
<b>Yasna 44.3-6</b>	1. x <sup>v</sup> ōṅg strēmčā... advānəm... 2. mǎ... 4. nabāscā... 7. vātāi duuqṇmaibiiascā	3. zqmčā	5. apō	6. uruuarāscā	9. gqm	8. kaēibiiō	
<b>Yasna 48.5-6</b>				3. uruuarā	1. gauuōi	2. and 4. nē	
<b>Yasna 51.7</b>			2. apascā	3. uruuarāscā	1. gqm	4. mōi	
<b>Yasna 37.1</b>	4 raocāscā	5. būmīmcā	2. apascā	3. uruuarāscā vaṇuhīš	1. gqmčā		6. vīspācā vohū

Table 5.1 Lists of the Wise Lord's material creations in four Older Avestan texts.  
Numbers indicate the order of the items' appearance in the texts, not necessarily their order of creation.

	<i>Heaven(ly bodies)</i>	<i>Water(s)</i>	<i>Earth</i>	<i>Plant(s)</i>
<b>Yasna 19.2-4</b>	1. <i>asməm</i>	2. <i>āpəm</i>	3. <i>zəm</i>	5. <i>uruuarəm</i>
<b>Yasna 19.8</b>	1. <i>ašnō</i> 7. <i>hū</i>	2. <i>āpō</i>	3. <i>zəmō</i>	4. <i>uruuarayā</i>
<b>Yašt 13.28</b>	1. <i>ašnō</i>	2. <i>apasca</i>	3. <i>zəmasca</i>	4. <i>uruuarayāasca</i>
<b>Yašt 13.86</b>	1. <i>ašnō</i>	2. <i>āpō</i>	3. <i>zəmō</i>	4. <i>uruuarayā</i>
<b>Videvdād 19.35</b>	4. <i>asmanəm</i> <i>xʷanuuantəm</i> 5. <i>anayra raocā</i> <i>xʷadātā</i>	2. <i>āpəm</i> <i>mazdadātəm</i>	1. <i>zəm</i> <i>ahuraδātəm</i>	3. <i>uruuarəm</i> <i>ašaonīm</i>
<b>Vispered 7.4</b>	1. <i>ašnāatca</i> 7. <i>asmanəm</i> <i>xʷanuuantəm</i>	2. <i>apāatca</i>	3. <i>zəmāatca</i>	4. <i>uruuaraiiātca</i>
<b>Yasna 5.1</b>	4. <i>raocāscā</i>	2. <i>apascā</i>	5. <i>būmīmcā</i>	3. <i>uruuarāscā</i> <i>vaṇuhiš</i>
<b>Yasna 6.11</b>		2. <i>vīspā āpō</i> <i>mazdadātā</i> <i>ašaonīš</i>		3. <i>vīspā uruuarā</i> <i>mazdadātā</i> <i>ašaonīš</i>
<b>Yasna 17.12</b>		1. <i>vīspā āpō</i> <i>mazdadātā</i> <i>ašaonīš</i>		2. <i>vīspā uruuarā</i> <i>mazdadātā</i> <i>ašaonīš</i>
<b>Yasna 18.1 and 65.15</b>		2. <i>apascā</i>		3. <i>uruuarāscā</i>

Table 5.2 Lists of the Wise Lord's material creations in eleven Younger Avestan texts.  
Numbers indicate the order of the items' appearance in the texts, not necessarily their order of creation.

<i>Animal</i>	<i>Human</i>	<i>Fire</i>	<i>Wind</i>	<i>Evil Beings</i>	<i>All Good Things</i>
4. <i>gqm</i>	7. <i>narəm</i> <i>ašauuanəm</i>	6. <i>ātrəm</i>		8. <i>daēu-</i> <i>uāišca</i> <i>xrafstrāiš</i> <i>mašiiāišca</i>	9. <i>vīspa</i> <i>vohu</i> <i>mazdaδāta</i> <i>ašaciθra</i>
5. <i>gəuš</i>	6. <i>narš</i> <i>ašaonō</i>				
5. <i>gəuš</i>	6. <i>gaiiehe ...</i> <i>staoiiō</i> <i>ašāuuaoiiō</i>				
5. <i>gaotca</i> <i>huδāŋhat</i>			6. <i>vātəm</i> <i>daršīm</i> <i>mazdaδātəm</i>		
1. <i>gqmcā</i>					6. <i>vīspācā</i> <i>vohū</i>
		1. <i>ātrəm</i>			
1. <i>gqm</i>					



	<i>Sky</i>	<i>Water</i>	<i>Earth</i>	<i>Plant</i>	<i>Animal</i>	<i>Human</i>	<i>Other</i>
GBd 1.54 (TD <sup>2</sup> MS. 15.2-7)	1. <i>asmān</i>	2. <i>āb</i>	3. <i>zamīg</i>	4. <i>urwar</i>	5. <i>gōspand</i>	6. <i>mardōm</i>	7. Wind ( <i>wāy</i> )
GBd 1A.4 (TD <sup>2</sup> MS. 17.7-18.3)	1. <i>asmān</i>	2. <i>āb</i>	3. <i>zamīg</i>	4. <i>urwar</i>	5. <i>gōspand</i>	6. <i>mard ī ahlaw</i>	7. Fire ( <i>ataxš</i> ) 8. Wind ( <i>wād</i> )
GBd 1A.6-21 (TD <sup>2</sup> MS. 18.3-24.7)	1. <i>asmān</i>	2. <i>āb</i>	3. <i>zamīg</i>	4. <i>urwar</i>	5. <i>gāw ī ēk-dād</i>	6. <i>Gayōmard</i>	
GBd 3.7 (TD <sup>2</sup> MS. 32.8-33.5)	1. <i>asmān</i>	2. <i>āb</i>	3. <i>zamīg</i>	4. <i>urwar</i>	5. <i>gōspand</i>	6. <i>mardōm</i>	7. Fire ( <i>ataxš</i> )
GBd 4.10 (TD <sup>2</sup> MS. 41.10-2.10)	1 <i>asmān</i>	2. <i>āb</i>	3. <i>zamīg</i>	4. <i>urwar</i>	5. <i>gāw</i>	6. <i>Gayōmard</i>	7. Fire ( <i>ataxš</i> )
PRDD 16a4		1. <i>āb</i>	2. <i>zamīg</i>	3. <i>urwar</i>	4. <i>gōspand</i>	5. <i>mardōm</i>	
PRDD 31a10	4. Sun ( <i>xwaršēd</i> ), 5. Moon ( <i>māh</i> ), 6. Star ( <i>star</i> ) 7. <i>asmān</i>	1. <i>āb</i>	2. <i>zamīg</i>	3. <i>urwar</i>	8. <i>gōspand</i>	9. <i>mardōm</i>	
PRDD 57.1	5. <i>rōšnīh</i>	3. <i>āb</i>	6. <i>būm</i>	4. <i>urwar ī weh</i>	1. <i>gōspand</i>	2. Truth/ Righteousness ( <i>ahlāyīh</i> )	7. All prosperity ( <i>harwisp ābādīh</i> )
ZS 1.4	1. <i>asmān</i>	2. <i>āb</i>	3. <i>zamīg</i>	4. <i>urwar</i>	5. <i>gōspand</i>	6. <i>mardōm</i>	7. Fire ( <i>ataxš</i> )
ZS 1.25	1. <i>asmān</i>	2. <i>āb</i>	3. <i>zamīg</i>	4. <i>urwar</i>	5. <i>gōspand</i>	6. <i>mardōm</i>	7. Fire ( <i>ataxš</i> )
ZS 2.18	1. <i>asmān</i>	2. <i>āb</i>	3. <i>zamīg</i>	4. <i>urwar</i>	5. <i>gāw</i>	6. <i>Gayōmard</i>	7. Fire ( <i>ataxš</i> )
ZS 3	1. <i>asmān</i>	2. <i>āb</i>	3. <i>zamīg</i>	4. <i>urwar</i>	5. <i>gōspand</i> <i>gāw ī ēk-dād</i>	6. <i>Gayōmard</i>	7. Fire ( <i>ataxš</i> )

Table 5.3 Lists of the Wise Lord's material creations in Pahlavi texts.  
Numbers indicate the order of the items' appearance in the texts, not necessarily their order of creation.

the plural (*raocās*). Fourth, whenever animate creations are mentioned, they appear in the singular and as gendered creatures: the first animal (a female bovine) and the first human (a male). When waters and plants are in the plural, the first human goes unmentioned, but the bovine remains in three of the five verses. Fifth, the passages where the singular prevails tend to be more elaborate and more consciously attuned to issues of creation, while those with the plural are shorter and more embedded in some other context, typically that of a sacrificial offering or a request for divine beneficence.<sup>6</sup> The following verses are typical of the two sets.

*Singular:* Zarathuštra asked the Wise Lord, "Wise Lord, Spirit, Most beneficent creator of corporeal creatures, Righteous/truthful One, what was the word you pronounced to me, Wise Lord, before (there was) sky, before water, before earth, before the cow, before the plant, before fire, son of the Wise Lord, before the righteous/truthful man; before evil gods, vermin, and evil men; before all corporeal being, before all good things created by the Wise One, which are manifestations of Truth?" (Yasna 19.1-2).<sup>7</sup>

*Plural:* We sacrifice to the good waters, to the best righteous/truthful (waters), created by the Wise One. We sacrifice to all righteous/truthful waters, created by the Wise One. We sacrifice to all righteous/truthful plants, created by the Wise One (Yasna 17.12).<sup>8</sup>

The transition from Older to Younger Avestan thus shows a trend toward assertions of primordial unity, as expressed through the singular forms that are introduced for sky, water, and plant. This process is taken further in the relevant Pahlavi literature.

### III

As is clear from Table 5.3, cosmogonic accounts in Pahlavi texts achieved near-uniformity as regards the identity of the Wise Lord's six original creations, all of which consistently appear in the singular and in the same

<sup>6</sup> Three out of five verses where waters and plants appear in the plural also use the adjectives *ašauuan*, *vohu*, or *mazdađāta* to modify these nouns, suggesting that there are some other, less admirable plants and waters that do not receive worship. Only one of the seven verses where the nouns are in the singular has them modified by these adjectives (Vidēvdād 19.35, which, as we saw, is also anomalous in other ways).

<sup>7</sup> *pərəsat zaraθuštrō ahurēm mazdām ahura.mazda mainyō sponišta datarə gaēθanām astuuaitinām ašāum. cit auuat vacō ās ahura.mazda yat mē frāuuacō. para asmēm para āpēm para zām para gām para uruuarām para ātrēm ahurahe mazdā puθrēm para narēm ašauuanēm para daēuuāišca xrafstrāiš mašiiāišca para vīspēm ahūm astuuantēm para vīspa vohu mazdađāta ašaciθra.*

<sup>8</sup> *āpō vanuhiš vahištā mazdađātā ašaonīš yazamaide. vīspā āpō mazdađātā ašaonīš yazamaide. vīspā uruuarā mazdađātā ašaonīš yazamaide.*

standard order.<sup>9</sup> Although the singular sometimes does service for the plural in Pahlavi, that is not the case here, and the texts treating the primordial plant are careful to emphasize its unique nature. At the beginning, they say, there was one plant only, which contained in itself all the characteristics later distributed among the myriad species of vegetation.<sup>10</sup> Further stressing its original unity, the texts describe an *Urpflanze* with only one root, branch, or stalk,<sup>11</sup> and they locate it at the center of the earth, alongside the equally singular primordial bovine and human.<sup>12</sup>

As a further mark of the first plant's perfection (also indexing the primordial era's perfect peace), the *Urpflanze* had no bark or thorns,<sup>13</sup> nor any

<sup>9</sup> There are two notable exceptions to this rule, both of which adopt the same alternate system, which has twelve (and not six or seven) creations.

	<i>Sky</i>	<i>Earth</i>	<i>Sun</i>	<i>Moon</i>	<i>Star</i>	<i>Grain</i>
PRDD 52.1	1. <i>asmān</i>	2. <i>zamīg</i>	3. <i>xwaršēd</i>	4. <i>māh</i>	5. <i>star</i>	6. <i>jōrdā hōšag</i>
ZS 34.20	1. <i>asmān</i>	2. <i>zamīg</i>	3. <i>xwaršēd</i>	4. <i>māh</i>	5. <i>star</i>	8. <i>hōšag</i>
	<i>Differentiation of Plants</i>	<i>Fire in Plants</i>	<i>Child in Mother</i>	<i>Bird[s] in Air</i>	<i>Moving Water</i>	<i>Water-bearing Cloud</i>
PRDD 52.1	7. color, smell and taste in plants, species by species <i>andar urwarihā gōnag bōy ud mizag tōm tōm</i>	8. <i>andar urwar ātaxš</i>	9. <i>andar aškamb ī mādarān pus</i>	10. <i>murw pad wād</i>	11. <i>āb pad rawišn</i>	12. <i>abr kē-š tan mēnōg ān ī gētiḡ āb barēd</i>
ZS 34.20	6. many sorts of color and adornment in plants <i>andar urwarān was gōnag rang ud *pēšišn</i>	7. <i>andar urwar ātaxš</i>	9. <i>andar mādagān zahag</i>	10. <i>murwān pad parr andarwāy</i>	11. <i>āb pāy hasiṭh *homānāḡiḡhā frāz-raftār</i>	12. <i>abr ul abar burdār ī āb ī wārānēnidār ī wārān</i>

Note the close attention this system gives to the creation of plants, which it breaks into three different items or phases: the creation of grain (named in the singular), the differentiation of vegetative species (named in the plural) according to specific qualities like color, and the placement of fire within certain plant species, presumably accounting for the flammability of wood. The sequence in which these three items are listed is also the only major point on which the two texts differ.

<sup>10</sup> Greater Bundahišn 1a.11 (TD<sup>2</sup> MS. 20.10-11): "it had every sort of power of all the species of plants in its nature" (u-š wisp sardag zōr ī urwarān andar cihr dāšt). Cf. Selections of Zādspram 2.7, Pahlavi Rivāyat accompanying the Dādestān ī Dēnīg 46.13.

<sup>11</sup> Selections of Zādspram 2.7: "the plant, which was as if it were one stalk that was one foot high" (urwar... ciyōn ēk bun būd kē-š bālāy cand pāy-ē). Cf. Greater Bundahišn 1a.11 (TD<sup>2</sup> MS. 20.8-9), Pahlavi Rivāyat accompanying the Dādestān ī Dēnīg 46.13.

<sup>12</sup> Selections of Zādspram 2.7: "it was near to the middle of the earth" (pad nazdīkīh ī mayānag ī zamīg būd). Cf. Greater Bundahišn 1a.11 (TD<sup>2</sup> MS. 20.8-9), Pahlavi Rivāyat accompanying the Dādestān ī Dēnīg 46.13.

<sup>13</sup> Greater Bundahišn 16.1 (TD<sup>2</sup> MS. 115.3-5): "It is said in the Religion: Before the coming of the Assault, there was no thorn or bark on the plant. After the Assault, it became possessed of bark and thorns, because the Adversary mixed all things." gōwēd pad dēn kū pēš az madan ān ī ēbgat urwar xār ud pōst padiš nē bawēd. kē pas andar ēbgatiḡ pōstōmand xārōmand būd. cē petyārag ō harw tis gumēxt. Cf. Greater Bundahišn 1a.11 (TD<sup>2</sup> MS. 20.9-10), Selections of Zādspram 2.7.

toxic aspects,<sup>14</sup> a state of affairs that rendered it vulnerable to the Evil Spirit's attack. As we have seen in Chapter Four, that assault — and steps taken in response — resulted in the differentiation of all vegetative species and the introduction of reproduction by seeds, each of which now bears distinctive qualities (shape, color, fragrance, taste, etc.) that distinguish one plant from all others.<sup>15</sup>

In all these details, the Pahlavi texts seem to be elaborating the shift from singular to plural by developing a line of narrative and a set of mythic images that contrast the perfection of primordial unity to the later fallen (or "mixed") state characterized by multiplicity.

The Pahlavi texts also explore the ways unity might be restored, drawing once again on materials from the Younger Avesta.<sup>16</sup> To this end, they describe how seeds from all vegetative species are reunited to form two master-plants of miraculous properties. One of these (the Tree of All Seeds, also known by other names) has two life-sustaining functions necessary for survival in the present age. Thus, it secures reproduction of plant species<sup>17</sup> and heals the illnesses of humans and animals.<sup>18</sup>

<sup>14</sup> Greater Bundahišn 16.2 (TD<sup>2</sup> MS. 115.5-8): "[The Adversary] mixed poison with the plant, and for that reason, some plants are more mixed with poison, like the Bēš ("Suffering") and Bradōn ("Rival"?), and these are venomous. People and cattle who eat these die." *bē ō ī urwar wiš gumēxt az ān cim urwar cand hast ī wiš gumēxttar ciyōn bēš ud brādōn kū zahrōmand ud mardōm ud gōspand kē u-š xwarēd mirēd.*

<sup>15</sup> See the discussion in Chapter Four. The most relevant primary sources are Selections of Zādspram 3.37-38, Greater Bundahišn 6d.0-4 (TD<sup>2</sup> MS. 67.1-10) and 16.0-4 (TD<sup>2</sup> MS. 115.2-11).

<sup>16</sup> The relevant texts are Yašt 12.17, Vidēvdād 5.19-20 and 20.3-4.

<sup>17</sup> Selections of Zādspram 3.39: "Then, from the hundred thousand species of plants, he took up the seed. From the union of these seeds, he created the Tree of All Seeds in the middle of the Frāxkard Sea, from which all species of plants ever grow. The Sēn bird has its nest there and when it flies forth, it scatters the dry seed into the water. In rain, it rains back to earth." *pas az ān 100,000 sardag urwar tōhm abar grift. az hamīh ī tōhm wan ī harwisp tōhmag mayān <ī> zrēh ī Frāxkard bē dād. kē-š hamāg sardag urwarān u-š hamē waxšēnd. u-š Sēn murw ašyān padīš dārēd. ka-š andar frāz parwāzēd ēg-iš tōhm ī hušk ō āb ōsānēd.* Cf. Greater Bundahišn 6d.5 (TD<sup>2</sup> MS. 67.10-12) and 16.4 (TD<sup>2</sup> MS. 115.11-116.1), Mēnōg ī Xrad 62.37-42, Pahlavi Rivāyat accompanying the Dādestān ī Dēnīg 46.14.

<sup>18</sup> Greater Bundahišn 24.8 (TD<sup>2</sup> MS. 150.15-151.3): "The Tree of Many Seeds has grown in the middle of the Frāxkard Sea. The seeds of all plants are on it. It is called 'Honest Healer' and 'Diligent Healer.' *wan ī was tōhmag mayān ī zrēh ī Frāxkard rust estēd. u-š tōhm ī harwispīn urwar padīš hast kē frārōn bizešk hast ī kē tuxšag bizešk hast kē hamāg bizešk gōwēd.* Cf. Yašt 12.17, Mēnōg ī Xrad 62.37-42. A complex narrative tells how twelve species of healing plants were born, not from the primordial plant, but from the primordial bovine, with the result that their ability to heal specific bodily parts reflects the part of the animal's body from which they originated. Thus Greater Bundahišn 16.3 (TD<sup>2</sup> MS. 115.8-14) tells that these plants, like all others, were joined together with the 130,000 types that originated from the primordial plant to form the Tree of Many Seeds, which thus possesses all powers of healing.

The second master-plant (the White Haoma) is equally supportive of life, but oriented to future time, for it is destined to bestow immortality on all resurrected souls at the time of cosmic Renovation (*Frašgird*).<sup>19</sup>

#### IV

Achaemenian cosmogonic texts are most formulaic of all, but also most abbreviated. Twenty different inscriptions present the same list of five creations in much the same order, with all items appearing in the singular. Three other texts reduce this list by introducing the term “wonder” (*fraša*, again in the singular) to encompass heaven, earth, and humanity. Nowhere, however, does a primordial plant or bovine appear (Table 5.4). Rather, it seems that vegetal and animal life were encompassed in the residual category “happiness for mankind” (*šiyāti... martiyahyā*), just as water was implicitly present in earth and sky.

	<i>Earth</i>	<i>Sky</i>	<i>Wonder</i>	<i>Mankind</i>	<i>Happiness</i>	<i>King</i>
DNa §1 and 18 others	1. <i>būmīm</i>	2. <i>asmānam</i>		3. <i>martiyam</i>	4. <i>šiyātim... martiyahyā</i>	5. <i>xšāyaθiyam</i>
DZc §1 and DPg §1	2. <i>būmīm</i>	1. <i>asmānam</i>		3. <i>martiyam</i>	4. <i>šiyātim... martiyahyā</i>	5. <i>Xšyam</i>
DSs §1			1. <i>frašam</i>	2. <i>martiyam</i>	3. <i>šiyātim... martiyahyā</i>	
DNb §1 and XPI §1			1. <i>frašam</i>		2. <i>šiyātim... martiyahyā</i>	3. wisdom and physical prowess in the king ( <i>xraθum utā aruvastam upari... xšāyaθiyam</i> )

Table 5.4 Lists of the Wise Lord's material creations in the Achaemenian inscriptions. Numbers indicate the order of the items' appearance in the texts, not necessarily their order of creation.

<sup>19</sup> On the eschatological role of this plant, see Selections of Zādspram 35.4 and 35.15, Dādestān ī Dēnīg 36.86, Pahlavi Rivāyat accompanying the Dādestān ī Dēnīg 54.1, Mēnōg ī Xrad 62.28, and Greater Bundahišn 17A.1 (TD<sup>2</sup> MS. 122.9), 24.1 (TD<sup>2</sup> MS.149.10-13), 34.23 (TD<sup>2</sup> MS. 226.4-6).

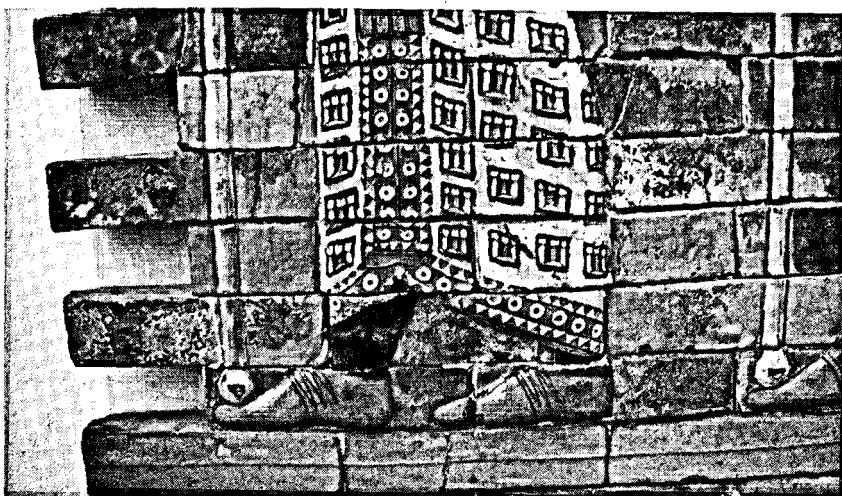


Fig. 5.1 Colored tile relief from Susa, detail showing golden pomegranates on the butt end of spears carried by elite troops. The raised triangular field represents the stem of the fruit (cf. Fig. 5.2).

Although these texts make no explicit mention of plant or plants, other pieces of Achaemenian evidence show a tendency to theorize perfection in terms of the lost (but recoverable) unity of vegetative species. Most important in this regard was the institution of the paradise garden, as treated in Chapters One and Four. Three other data also suggest Achaemenian interest in a mythic Tree of All Seeds and/or Tree of All Healing. Taken individually, these items may seem random curiosities, which is how Greek authors construed them. Taken as a set, they have a striking coherence.

First is use of the pomegranate as an emblem of the elite Persian troops known as “Immortals.” According to Herodotus, this company consisted of ten thousand choice warriors, all of whom carried spears with a pomegranate on them, which was gold for the thousand finest soldiers of all, and silver for the other nine thousand,<sup>20</sup> a usage evident in iconographic representations (Figure 5.1).

<sup>20</sup> Herodotus 7.41: καὶ τούτων χίλιοι μὲν ἐπὶ τοῖσι δόρασι ἀντὶ τῶν σαρωατῆρων βοῖας εἶχον χρυσέας καὶ περίξ συνεκλήμιον τοὺς ἄλλους, οἱ δὲ εἰνακισχίλιοι ἐντὸς τούτων ἔόντες ἀργυρέας βοῖας εἶχον. Herodotus reports that members of this group bore the name “Immortals” (*athanatoi*) at 7.83.

Although some think Herodotus misconstrued the term he translated as "Immortals," more recent studies have confirmed his usage.<sup>21</sup> His understanding of Mazdaean ideology and myth also appears to have been subtle. Thus, Zoroastrian texts make clear that after the Evil Spirit's initial assault, individual immortality — like other aspects of primordial perfection — was not so much lost as corrupted, compromised, fragmented, and recombined with its opposite to form a confused and disquieting mixture. In the ambiguous world we now inhabit, the loss of individual immortality, also the entry of disease, death, and suffering, are compensated by the possibility of healing and sexual reproduction, the latter of which secures a potentially infinite renewal of the species. In the Pahlavi texts, these life-sustaining gifts were embodied in the Tree of All Seeds, also known as "Honest Healer" (*frārōn bizešk*).<sup>22</sup> Among the Achaemenians, similar powers for collective renewal were found among those who were therefore named "Immortals."

*Hydarnes, son of Hydarnes, commanded the ten thousand chosen from among the Persians, whom the Persians called "the Immortals." If some one of them departed from their number, being constrained either by death or illness, another man took his place and they never become more, nor less than ten thousand.*<sup>23</sup>

Members of this group were understood to possess strength, health, beauty, courage, virtue, and human excellence in their highest degree. More than that, as a group they embodied a collective life-force that was virtually inextinguishable, and the emblem of this was the pomegranate, a fruit characterized by its rich abundance of seeds (Figure 5.2).<sup>24</sup>

<sup>21</sup> Thus Gherardo Gnoli, "Antico-Persiano *Anušya*- e gli immortali di Erodoto," *Monumentum Georg Morgenstierne I* 21 (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1981), pp. 266-80, *pace* Antonio Pagliaro, "Riflessi di etimologie iraniche nella tradizione storiografica greca," *Rendiconti dell' Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei*, Classe di Scienze morali, storiche e filologiche, Serie VIII, Vol. 9, fasc. 5-6 (1954), pp. 133-53. Gnoli's association of the Immortals with the Avestan *fravašis* strikes me as less satisfying, "Le fravashi e l'immortalità," in G. Gnoli and J.-P. Vernant, eds., *La mort, les morts dans les sociétés anciennes* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982), pp. 339-47.

<sup>22</sup> Greater Bundahišn 24.8 (TD<sup>2</sup> MS. 151.2), where it is also called "Diligent-Healer" (*tuxšag bizešk*, GBd).

<sup>23</sup> Herodotus 7.83: τῶν δὲ μυρίων τούτων Περσέων τῶν ἀπολελεγμένων ἐστρατήγεε μὲν Ὑδάρνης δ' Ὑδάρνεος, ἐκαλέοντο δὲ ἀθάνατοι οἱ Πέρσαι οὗτοι ἐπὶ τούδῃ· εἰ τις αὐτῶν ἐξέλιπε τὸν ἀριθμὸν ἢ θανάτῳ βιηθεὶς ἢ νόσῳ, ἄλλος ἀνὴρ ἀραίρητο, καὶ ἐγίνοντο οὐδ' αὖτε οὐδ' αὖτε πλευνέες μυρίων οὐτε ἐλάσσονες.

<sup>24</sup> Explicit Persian interest in the polyspermia of the pomegranate is attested at Herodotus 4.143. One should also note the special reverence accorded this fruit by Parsi Zoroastrians, who call it simply "the plant" (*urwarām*) and regard it as the representative of all vegetation. They also identify it with the plant Avestan texts call *haḍa.naēpata*, which is combined with

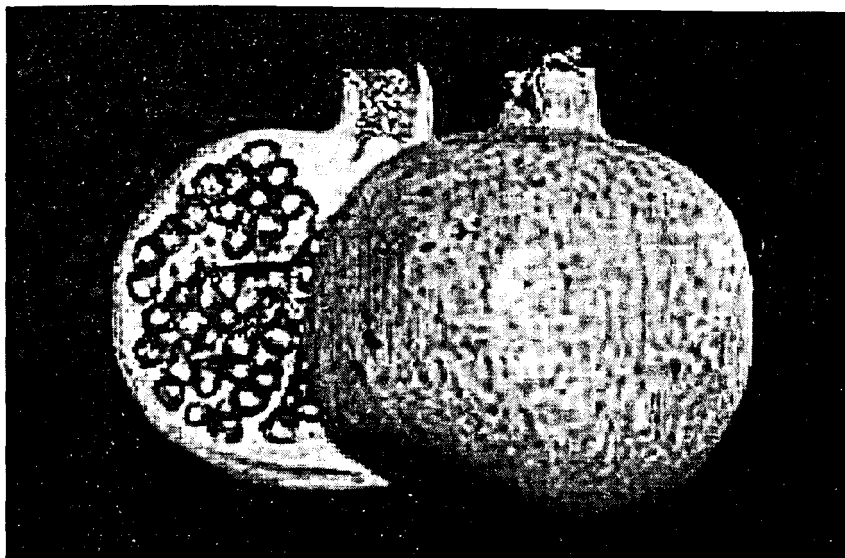


Fig. 5.2 Pomegranate fruit, with seeds.

Second, there is royal interest in the plane tree or sycamore (*Platanus orientalis* L., Greek *platanos*). According to Phylarchus and others, Achaemenian kings often held court while sitting under a golden image of a plane tree<sup>25</sup> and Herodotus tells how Xerxes halted his march to Greece so he could admire a particularly superb example of this species.

*Going on this road, Xerxes came upon a plane tree and having presented it with golden ornamentation because of its beauty, and having consigned it to one of his "Immortals" as its keeper, on the next day he arrived at the town of the Lydians.*<sup>26</sup>

haoma, water, and milk in libation rituals. Beyond this, they use wood of the pomegranate in sacred fires, its smoke as incense, its leaves as a purifying agent, its fruit as an offering and food fit for feasts. See further Jivanji Jamshedji Modi, *The Religious Ceremonies and Customs of the Parsees*, 2d ed. (Bombay: Jehangir B. Karani's Sons, 1937), pp. 90-93, 276-79, Mary Boyce, *A Persian Stronghold of Zoroastrianism* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1977), pp. 52, 137-38, 170, et passim, Kotwal and Boyd, *A Persian Offering. The Yasna*, op cit., pp. 7, 10-11, 18-20, 66, 72-74, 106, 122. Also of interest are the rituals and accompanying legends discussed by Molé, *Mythe, culte, et cosmologie dans l'Iran ancien*, pp. 256 and 381.

<sup>25</sup> Phylarchus, preserved in Athenaeus, *Deipnosophistae* 539d: τὰς δὲ χρυσᾶς πλατάνους καὶ τὴν χρυσὴν ἄμπελον ὅφ' ἦν οἱ Περσῶν βασιλεῖς ἐχρημάτιζον πολλάκις καθήμενοι. Cf. Herodotus 7.27, Xenophon, *Hellenica* 7.1.38 and the discussion of Paul Jacobsthal, *Ornamente griechischer Vasen* (Berlin: Frankfurter Verlag, 1927), pp. 102-10, with full citation of the other relevant sources.

<sup>26</sup> Herodotus 7.31: ταύτην ἰὼν ὁ Ξέρξης τὴν ὁδὸν εὗρε πλατάνιστον, τὴν κάλλεος εἵνεκα δωρησάμενος κόσμῳ χρυσέῳ καὶ μελεδωνῶ ἀθανάτῳ ἀνδρὶ ἐπιτρέψας δευτέρῃ ἡμέρῃ ἀπύκετο ἐς τῶν Λυδῶν τὸ ἄστυ.



Greek authors repeated this story for centuries as a prime example of Persian peculiarity, not to say perversity, as when Aelian made it a paradigm of misguided erotic desire.<sup>27</sup> Toward that end, he exaggerated certain details of the story, while simultaneously ignoring others. Thus, where Herodotus spoke of unspecified gold ornaments (gold being associated with immortality and perfection, given its invulnerability to rust), Aelian introduced jewelry fit for a lover. Similarly, where Herodotus had an "Immortal" detailed as a keeper or steward (*meledōnos*) of the tree (modeling the primordial conjunction of *Urmensch* and *Urpflanze*), Aelian made him a guard detailed to protect the King's beloved (*erōmenēi phylaka*).<sup>28</sup>

Elsewhere, Aelian describes Xerxes as having "marveled" (*ethaumaze*) at the tree, and it is worth asking why this was so.<sup>29</sup> Others who have pondered this question have emphasized aesthetic qualities: the plane tree's size, beauty, and the shade it provides.<sup>30</sup> Also noteworthy, however, are its spiky seed-pods, which grow up to four centimeters in diameter, densely packed with thousands of seeds, each with its own tuft of fibers that help it catch the wind (Figure 5.3).

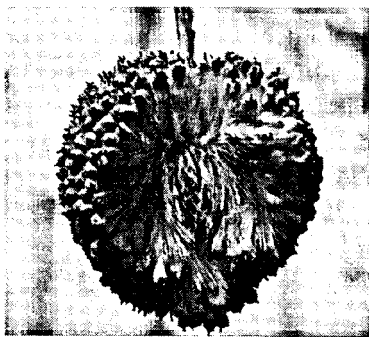


Fig. 5.3 Fruit of the plane tree, with seeds.

<sup>27</sup> Aelian, *Varia Historia* 9.39: Πῶς δὲ οὐκ ἂν φαίη τις γελοίους ἄμα καὶ παραδόξους τοῦσδε τοὺς ἔρωτας; τὸν μὲν Ξέρξου, ὅτι πλατάνου ἠράσθη. Regarding the persistence of this incident in the later history of European Orientalist discourse, see Heleen Sancisi-Weerdenburg, "Xerxes en de plataan: vier varieties op een motief," *Lampas* 27 (1994): 213-29 and Wolf-Hartmut Friedrich, "Die Platane des Großkönigs (Herodot 7,31)," in his *Gegenwärtige Vergangenheit. Studien zur antiken Literatur und ihrem Nachleben* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1998), pp. 139-45.

<sup>28</sup> Aelian, *Varia Historia* 2.14: ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐξῆψεν αὐτῆς κόσμον πολυτελεῖ, στρεπτοῖς καὶ ψελλίοις τιμῶν τοὺς κλάδους, καὶ μελεδωνὸν αὐτῇ κατέλιπεν, ὥσπερ ἐρωμένη φύλακα καὶ φρουρόν.

<sup>29</sup> Ibid.: ὁ Ξέρξης... δεδούλωτο δὲ πλατάνῳ καὶ ἐθαύμαζε τὸ δένδρον.

<sup>30</sup> The most sustained attempt remains that of Frank H. Stubbings, "Xerxes and the Plane-tree," *Greece and Rome* 15 (1946) 63-67.

One last piece of evidence speaks to the question of why Xerxes was taken with this particular tree. This is a testimony offered by Pliny: "when Xerxes arrived at Laodicia, a plane tree mutated into an olive."<sup>31</sup> What exactly the great student of Natural History meant to describe is hard to say, although he groups this occurrence with other instances of botanic mutation. From an Iranian perspective, and especially one informed by mythic traditions, it is hard not to understand that a Tree of All Seeds contains within it the qualities of all species and the conditions for their individual (re)production.

Persian interest in the pomegranate and plane tree both conjure up the Tree of All Seeds and its associations with reproduction and immortality. Another plant favored by the Achaemenians is equally rich in its mythic resonance, but more inclined toward issues of healing.

*The theombroton plant springs forth 30 schoeni [c. 5 mile] from the Choaspes. It resembles pictures of peacocks and is outstanding in its fragrance. It is drunk by the Kings of Persia as an antidote for all bodily troubles, also for instability of mind and of justice. It is also called semnion from the greatness of its power.*<sup>32</sup>

Everything about this plant announces its perfection. In the first place, both of its names mark it as sacred in nature, Latin *theombroton* apparently being derived from a Greek compound of *theos* plus *ambrosia* (thus, the divine drink of immortality) and *semnion* from *semnos*, "revered, august, holy." Second it is a panacea, fit for royal consumption and simultaneously able to ensure health of body, mind, and morality. Third, it is found near the Choaspes, the river that runs beside Susa, which provided the only water pure and sweet enough for Persian kings to drink.<sup>33</sup> One is tempted to imagine that the locus of that water and of

<sup>31</sup> Pliny, *Natural History* 17.242: aut ut Laodiciae Xerxis adventu platano in oleam mutata.

<sup>32</sup> Pliny, *Natural History* 24.162: Theombroton xxx schoenis a Choaspe nasci, pavonum picturis similem, odore eximio. Hanc a regibus Persarum bibi contra omnia corporum incommoda instabilitatemque mentis et iustitiae, eandem semnion a potentiae maiestate appellari.

<sup>33</sup> Herodotus 1.188. For the location of the river, see 1.186, Strabo 1.3.1 and 15.3.4. Regarding the royal preference for water from the Choaspes, neither the discussion of Pierre Briant, "L'eau du grand roi," op cit., pp. 45-65, nor the older treatment of Yves Bequignon, "Le breuvage du grand roi," *Révue des études anciennes* 42 (1940): 20-24 is entirely satisfactory. The former relates it to concerns of health, the latter to those of religion. In truth, the two were inseparable. Bequignon's interpretation of this practice as a taboo imposed on a priest-king is particularly inappropriate. At issue, rather, was the king's association with — and responsibility for — the Ohrmazdian project of making life flourish.

that plant most supremely sustaining of life was viewed as the earth's center, the original locus of creation (a question to which we will return in Chapter Eleven). Fourth, the plant's sweet fragrance establishes its Ohrmazdian nature and its resemblance to the peacock makes clear that all colors (which is to say, all multiplicity, elsewhere coded as a profusion of seeds, species, and natures) were united — or re-united — in this miraculous plant.

These three data confirm that the Achaemenians possessed a body of mythology concerned with plants, their origins, nature, and cosmic history, which closely resembles that attested in Zoroastrian sources. One can be more specific, however, for it is now apparent that the Persian kings and their subjects theorized creation — that of vegetation, as of all else — in terms of a primordial unity that was lost, but may still be preserved in certain privileged phenomena and locations.

## II

# HUMAN UNITY AND THE DIVERSITY OF PEOPLES IN ACHAEMENIAN MYTH, ART, AND IDEOLOGY (THE SIENA LECTURES)\*

\* Chapters Six-Eight were originally presented in Italian as a series of seminars at the Centro per la Studia antropologica della Civiltà Antica of the Università degli Studi di Siena in November 2006, at the invitation of Maurizio Bettini.

## CHAPTER SIX

### BISITUN AND PERSEPOLIS

#### I

While preparing this paper, I realized — with warm nostalgia and a certain shock — that it is nearly a quarter century since I first visited Siena to participate in a set of meetings organized by Pier Giorgio Solinas, Cristiano Grottanelli and others, devoted to the theme “Divisione delle carni, organizzazione del cosmo, e dinamica sociale.” Since then, it has been my good fortune to return repeatedly as Professore al contratto, an occasional lecturer, an informal researcher, and a semi-regular participant in the Dottorati of Professors Solinas and Bettini. In truth, Siena remains my favorite place to visit, not simply because of the city’s spectacular beauty, rich history, excellent food and wine. More important are the warm friendships and collegial relations nurtured over this quarter century, which have brought great personal satisfaction and have contributed significantly to my ongoing education.

Such reminiscence leads me to reflect on how much I have benefited from discussions here in Siena, how much I have learned from my Sienese friends and colleagues, and how much my work has changed over this quarter century as a result of their good influence. And yet I realize, with some embarrassed bemusement, that I am still wrestling with the same issues I explored in the paper I presented on my first visit. There, I was concerned with the question of unity and diversity within the human species and, more specifically, with some of the ritual means through which various groups sought to establish solidarity, harmony, order, and a sense of common belonging among persons whose palpable differences — and whose consciousness, even pride, regarding those differences — always threatened to manifest themselves in competition, resentment, and conflict. In particular, I explored sacrificial rituals, ceremonial banquets, and such practices as the seating arrangement at royal tables and the distribution of varied cuts of meat (from the “champion’s portion” to the lowliest leftovers) that have been used to work the social magic announced in my country’s motto: *e pluribus unum*.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Proceedings of the conference were published in *Studi Storici* 25 (1984) and *L’Uomo* 9 (1985). My contribution, entitled “Sacrificio e Creazione, Macellai e Filosofi,” appeared in the former, pp. 859-74.

Today, I am still struggling to understand how human subjects manage social relations with others whose alterity they acknowledge, at the same time constituting those "others" as somehow "the same" as themselves, or — to put the problem somewhat differently — how actors imagine the alterity of others to be encompassed and dissolved at some higher level of social integration. The chief change in my approach and agenda — and one that I owe in large part to the salutary influence of my Sienese mentors — is that instead of focusing on ritual and ceremonial processes in such micro-events as banquets, today I will consider macro-systems: the political, military, and economic practices and discourse of a major world empire.

## II

Toward that end, I want to discuss some important words, themes, and images in Achaemenian royal discourse. The first of these is Old Persian *dahyu* (plural, *dahyāva*), a noun that sometimes seems to denote a territory and at others, a group of people. Details of scribal practice make clear that when used in the plural, it always included the latter sense.<sup>2</sup> Given this distribution, some translators have rendered the word differently according to context ("country" alternating with "district," for instance),<sup>3</sup> while others have tried to insist on one consistent translation, most often "people,"<sup>4</sup>

<sup>2</sup> The detail in question, first noted by George Cameron, "The Persian Satrapies and related Matters," *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 32 (1973): 47-56, appears in Elamite translations of *dahyāva*, which employ the plural suffix *-pe*, used only for animate beings: thus, *da-a-ia-ū-iš-pe*. Its importance has been emphasized by Pierre Lecoq, "Observations sur le sens du mot *dahyu* dans les inscriptions achéménides," *Transeuphratène* 3 (1990): 132-33. It is also significant that *dahyu* itself was transliterated, rather than translated, for this suggests the Elamite scribes regarded it as a dense technical term, for which they had no adequate equivalent in their own language.

<sup>3</sup> Thus, Schmitt, *The Bisitun Inscriptions*, passim. Similar alternations were advocated by Kent, *Old Persian*, p. 190 et passim ("land, province, district"), Asmussen, *Historiske tekster fra Achæmenide tiden*, passim ("land, by, område"), Brandenstein and Mayrhofer, *Handbuch des Altpersischen*, p. 114 ("Land, Gau, Provinz"), and Briant, *Histoire de l'empire perse*, passim ("pays, pays-peuple, ethnos"). The problem is most acute when *dahyu* occurs in the singular. Thus, when a named *dahyu* figures as the site of action (as in DB §§13, 25, 29, 30, 32, 40, 46), it seems to designate a territory; when it is the subject of an action (thus, DB §§38, 71, where a *dahyu* is said to rise in rebellion), it is the population, rather than the land itself, that seems to be at issue.

<sup>4</sup> Thus, most notably, Meillet, and Benveniste, *Grammaire du vieux perse*, passim ("province") and Lecoq, "Observations sur le sens du mot *dahyu*" ("peuple"), idem, *Les inscriptions de la Perse achéménide*, passim.

but for others, "land."<sup>5</sup> The best solution, however, is to recognize that Old Persian does not fully differentiate between a land and its resident population, but treats the two as so intimately connected as to be linguistically — and analytically — inseparable. What the term signals, then, is this indivisible conjunction of land and people, together with the shared characteristics that give each *dahyu* its distinct identity. Such factors might include the nature of its terrain and climate, phenotypic features of physiology, the minerals, plants, and animals native to the region. *Dahyāva* are also marked by distinctive items of culture, which range from the people's language, religion, and mores to their food, clothing, weapons, and hairstyles. The term *dahyu* thus denotes a land/people possessed of tangible and intangible goods (the latter including name, character, cultural integrity, homogeneity, etc.) that set it apart from all others. It is a term that points to human diversity and alterity, as does its Indic cognate, which bears a somewhat more hostile connotation: Sanskrit *dāsyu* "enemy, barbarian, foreigner."<sup>6</sup>

The plural *dahyāva* was used most frequently in two formulaic constructs that have great ideological importance: royal titles, which we will consider a bit later, and lists of imperial possessions. The full corpus of Achaemenian inscriptions contains several such lists, which reflect the growth of empire, not just by the number of *dahyāva* that appear, but also by the complexity of the formulae at the head of these lists.<sup>7</sup> Always, however, the term *dahyāva* ("lands/peoples") occupies a salient position and announces the enumeration to follow. Thus, the earliest and simplest variant, which Darius employed at Bisitun (520 B.C.E.) reads as follows.

<sup>5</sup> Thus, Rüdiger Schmitt, "Zur Bedeutung von altpers. */dahyu-/*," in Peter Anreiter and Erzsébet Jerem, eds., *Studia Celtica et Indogermanica. Festschrift für Wolfgang Meid* (Budapest: Archaeolingua, 1999), pp. 443-52.

<sup>6</sup> Manfred Mayrhofer, *Etymologisches Wörterbuch des Altindoirischen* (Heidelberg: Carl Winter Universitätsverlag, 1986-2001) 1: 711-12. Mayrhofer reconstructs two closely related Indo-Iranian terms, which differ in their accents and genders: *\*dāsyu-* (masc.) "Feind, Fremder, Fremdvolk," and *\*dasyú-* (fem.) "Land [*\*der* Fremden]." Mayrhofer's analysis of the relations between the Indo-Iranian cognates is preferable to that of Benveniste, *Vocabulaire des institutions indo-européennes*, 1: 318-19, which involves an appeal to imaginary conflicts between Indo-Aryans and Iranians to explain semantic differences between the language groups. On Sanskrit *dāsyu*, see the very thorough discussion of Wash Edward Hale, *Āsura- in Early Vedic Religion* (Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1986), pp. 146-58.

<sup>7</sup> In chronological order, lists of *dahyāva* appear at DB §6, DSm §2, DPe §2, DSe §3, DNa §3 and DNe, XPh §3, and A<sup>7</sup>P. The last of these has no introductory formula, while the others show increasing complexity and reflect historic developments. See further the literature cited in note 9.

*These are the lands/peoples(imā dahyāva) that came to me. By the Wise Lord's will I was king of them: Persia, Elam, Babylon, Assyria, Arabia, Egypt, those who dwell by the sea, Lydia, Ionia, Media, Armenia, Cappadocia, Parthia, Drangiana, Aria, Chorasmia, Bactria, Sogdiana, Gandhāra, Scythia, Sattagydia, Arachosia, and Maka, twenty-three lands/peoples in all.<sup>8</sup>*

Three points should be made with regard to this relatively simple passage. First, the new king — who gained the throne unexpectedly, as the result of violent struggle and dynastic disruption — is at pains to legitimate his rule.<sup>9</sup> As a consequence, he depicts his relation to the various lands/peoples in relatively passive terms that make them seem simultaneously an inheritance (they “came to” him, from the verb *pati-ay-*) and the result of divine election (they came “by the Wise Lord’s will,” *vašnā Auramazdāha*). Second, the list is meant to be long and impressive, demonstrating that Darius is a great king who holds a great many different *dahyāva*. Third, with a certain amount of distortion, the list transforms real geography into an elegant mandala that groups these lands/peoples in concentric circles, as we saw in Chapter Three. And, as Herodotus explained, distance from the center was construed not just as spatial, but also moral, as the Persians distributed honor to others based on their difference from themselves.<sup>10</sup>

This image of a Persocentric cosmos was no idle expression of national pride. More actively, it fueled imperial ambitions and stimulated a sense of global mission, while also reflecting certain practical realities. Thus, the *dahyāva* closest to Persia were first to be conquered, after which they were subjected to Persian influence more fully and for

<sup>8</sup> DB §6: imā dahyāva, tayā manā patiyāiša, vašnā Auramazdāha adamšām xšāyaθiya āham: Pārsa, Ūja, Bābiruš, Aθurā, Arbāya Mudrāya, tayaj drayahyā, Sparda, Yauna, Māda, Armina, Katpatuka, Parθava, Zranka, Haraiva, Uvārazmī, Bāxtriš, Suguda, Gandāra, Saka, Ōtaguš, Harauvatīš, Maka, fraharavam dahyāva tišraščā vīθaticā.

<sup>9</sup> The dramatic accession of Darius, as narrated by DB §§10-14 and Herodotus 3.61-88, has been much discussed and most are now inclined to view these accounts as propagandistic attempts to put the best face on a case of regicide and usurpation. See, inter alia, Muhammad A. Dandamaev, *Persien unter den ersten Achämeniden*, trans. Heinz-Dieter Pohl (Wiesbaden: Ludwig Reichert, 1976), idem, *A Political History of the Achaemenid Empire*, trans. W.J. Vogelsang. Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1989), pp. 83-113, E.J. Bickerman and H. Tadmor, “Darius I, Pseudo-Smerdis, and the Magi,” *Athenaeum* 56 (1978): 239-61, Clarisse Herrenschmidt, “Les historiens de l’empire achéménide et l’inscription de Bisotun,” *Annales ESC* 37 (1982): 813-23, Jack Martin Balcer, *Herodotus and Bisotun* (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1987), Stefan Zawadzki, “Bardiya, Darius and Babylonian Usurpers in the Light of the Bisitun Inscription and Babylonian Sources,” *Archaeologische Mitteilungen aus Iran* 27 (1994): 127-45, and Briant, *Histoire de l’empire perse*, pp. 109-27.

<sup>10</sup> Herodotus 1.134, cited above at p. 51.



a longer period of time than more distant others. The degree to which the Persians judged their subjects excellent or meritorious thus varied with the degree of their Persianization. The more alterity a given *dahyu* exhibited — that is, the greater its cultural and spatial distance from the imperial center — the less worthy it was considered and the more in need of Persian conquest, followed by civilizing influence.

In inscriptions from later years of his reign, Darius introduced lists of his possessions with longer, more assertive formulae that acknowledge the processes constitutive of empire. Thus, at Persepolis (between 515 and 512 B.C.E.), violent conquest and economic extraction were openly asserted: "By the Wise Lord's will, these are the lands/peoples (*imā dahyāva*) that I took hold of with this Persian army. They feared me. They bore me tribute."<sup>11</sup> At Naqš-e Rostam (after 512, perhaps as late as 500),<sup>12</sup> the demand for obedience and the imposition of law are added to the picture.

*By the Wise Lord's will, these are the lands/peoples (imā dahyāva) that I seized far from Persia. I ruled over them. They bore me tribute. That which was proclaimed to them by me, that they did. My law — that held them.*<sup>13</sup>

### III

The three processes described in these texts — violent conquest, economic extraction, and legal subordination — were also visually represented in relief sculptures accompanying the inscriptions I have cited, and each of these artworks helps advance our understanding of how *dahyu*-diversity figured within the imperial whole. The earliest of these reliefs, set on the lofty rock-face of Bisitun, depicts the enemies Darius defeated during the first two years of his reign (Figure 6.1). Fourteen figures appear and these are neatly organized in a set of binary oppositions. First, there is a vertical contrast between the deity in the above

<sup>11</sup> DPe §2: *vašnā Auramazdāhā imā dahyāva, tayā adam adarši hadā anā Pārsā kārā, tayā hacāma aṭṣa, manā bājim abara*. Placement of the inscription on the southern wall of the terrace shows that it was executed during the early phases of construction at Persepolis, which began about 520. See further, Lecoq, *Les inscriptions de la Perse achéménide*, pp. 97-98.

<sup>12</sup> As regards the dating of the lists of lands/peoples, I follow Bruno Jacobs, "Eine Planänderung an den Apadāna-Treppen und ihre Konsequenzen für die Datierung der Planungs- und Bebauungsphasen von Persepolis," *Archäologische Mitteilungen aus Iran und Turan* 29 (1997): 281-87.

<sup>13</sup> DNa §3: *vašnā Auramazdāhā imā dahyāva tayā adam aḡrbāyam apataram hacā Pārsā; adamšām patiyaxšayaj; manā bājim abaraha; tayašām hacāma aṭanhya, ava akunava; dātām taya manā avadiš adāraya*.

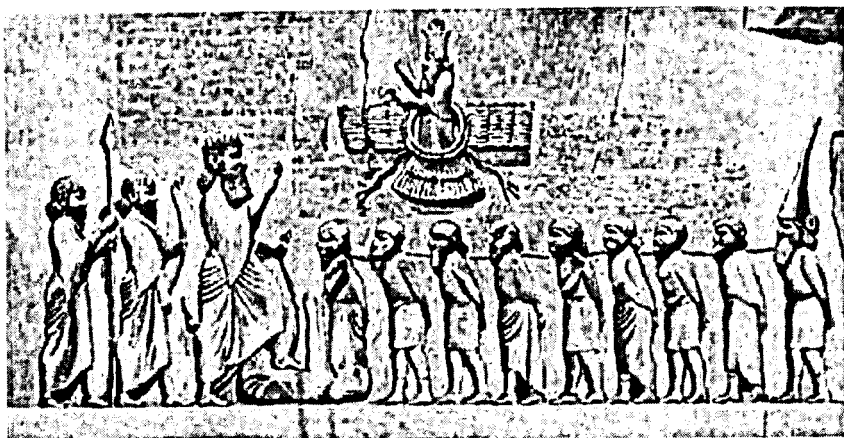


Fig. 6.1 Rock-cut relief from Bisitun. Phase one completed 520 B.C.E.  
Phase two (with addition of Skunxa, first figure on the right), 519.

(almost certainly the Wise Lord, Ahura Mazdā),<sup>14</sup> and the thirteen humans on the earth's surface. The humans are then divided horizontally into two groups: three Persians, who stand to the left, facing right, and ten foreigners, nine of whom stand to the right, facing left, while one of them lies prostrate. Each of these foreigners differs from the others and bears a caption identifying him by name. Still, these are not individual portraits in any sense. Rather, they use stereotyped features of physiognomy (hair, beard, shape of head, nose, and chin), plus sartorial detail (robes, shoes, and in one case, a hat) to establish identity associated with a *dahyu*.

The contrast between Persians and foreigners uses relative size and the presence or absence of weapons to encode a marked difference in dignity, status, and power. Not only do the Persians bear arms (two bows

<sup>14</sup> Standard Zoroastrian doctrine militates against iconic depiction of the Wise Lord, and those most committed to seeing the Achaemenian kings as orthodox Zoroastrians have argued that the winged figure represents the king's divinely-granted charisma (Old Persian *\*farnah*, Avestan *x'arənah*). Tracing the winged figure back to the Egyptian and Assyrian models from which it was adapted, however, makes it fairly certain that it is meant to be understood as the Wise Lord, who bestows legitimacy and charisma, in the form of the ring he holds in his left hand and proffers to the king below. For discussion of these issues, see Pierre Lecoq, "Un problème de religion achéménide: Ahura Mazda—ou Xvarenah?," *Acta Iranica* 23 (1984): 301-26, pace A. S. Shahbazi, "An Achaemenid Symbol: I. A Farewell to «Fravahr» and «Ahuramazda»," *Archaeologische Mitteilungen aus Iran* 7 (1974): 136-44, idem, "III. Farnah («(God Given) Fortune Symbolised»," *Archaeologische Mitteilungen aus Iran* 13 (1980): 119-47.

and a spear), which the foreigners lack, but the hands of the latter are tied behind their backs. Conquered subjects, they have been stripped of martial force and they are also bound at the neck as they march, with increasingly stooped postures as they approach the Persian king, the largest figure of all, who dominates the composition. The order in which the foreigners march, moreover, roughly mirrors the geography of their dispersion and the sequential order of their defeats.<sup>15</sup>

One could spend much time pointing out the iconographic details Achaemenian sculptors used to make each *dahyu* distinctive and recognizable, and an excellent literature treats this topic.<sup>16</sup> First in line, for instance, is Ācina, the Elamite, whose head is round and whose features are soft. Unbearded, he wears a long, lightly draped robe and his footgear are obscured by the figure who lies in front of him. In all these ways he can be differentiated from Nidintu-Bēl, the bearded, sharp-nosed jut-jawed

<sup>15</sup> There are some minor difficulties and the chronology of Darius's campaigns of 522-20, as narrated at Bisitun, remains much debated. For various attempts to establish the sequence, see Poebel, "Chronology of Darius' First Year of Reign," Hallock, "The 'One Year' of Darius I," Shahbazi "The 'One Year' of Darius Re-examined," and T. Cuyler Young, "Darius I, Commander-in-Chief: Bisitun I: 35 to III: 92 as Military History", in Grant Frame, ed., *From the Upper Sea to the Lower Sea: Studies on the History of Assyria and Babylonia in Honour of A.K. Grayson* (Leiden: Nederlands Instituut voor het Nabije Oosten, 2004), pp. 287-88. If one correlates the sites of activity described for the rebels in the Bisitun text with the order in which they are depicted on the relief (which differs slightly from their order of textual presentation), the results are as follows: 1) Gaumāta – Persia, 2) Ācina – Elam, 3) Nidintu-Bēl – Babylon, 4) Fravarti – Media, Armenia, Assyria, Parthia, and Hyrcania, 5) Martiya – Elam, 6) Tritantaxma – Sagartia, 7) Vahyazdāta – Persia and Arachosia, 8) Araxa – Babylon, 9) Frāda – Margiana, 10) Skunxa – Scythia. With the exception of Martiya and Araxa, the others all show a gradual motion outward from the center.

<sup>16</sup> Walser, *Die Völkerschaften auf den Reliefs von Persepolis*, Walther Hinz, *Altiranische Funde und Forschungen* (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1969), pp. 95-114, Schmidt, *Persepolis* 3: 108-20, Michael Roaf, "The Subject Peoples on the base of the statue of Darius," *Cahiers de la délégation archéologique française en Iran* 4 (1974): 73-160, Bernard Goldman, "Political Realia on Persepolitan Sculpture," *Orientalia Lovaniensia* 5 (1974): 31-45, Root, *King and Kingship in Achaemenid Art*, pp. 227-84, Bruno Jacobs, "Persepolisdelegationen und Satrapienordnung," *Acta Praehistorica et Archaeologica* 13-14 (1982): 75-84, Klaus Koch, "Die Völkerrepräsentanten auf den Reliefs von Persepolis und den achaimenidischen Gräbern," *Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenlandischen Gesellschaft* Supplement 5 (1983): 290-300, David Stronach, "The Apadāna: A signature of the line of Darius," in J.-L. Huot, et al., eds., *De l'Indus aux Balkans: recueil à la mémoire de Jean Deshayes* (Paris: Recherche sur les civilisations, 1985), pp. 433-45, Willem Vogelsang, *The Rise and Organisation of the Achaemenian Empire. The Eastern Iranian Evidence*. (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1992), pp. 94-119, 132-65, Parivash Jamzādeh, "The Apadāna Reliefs and the Metaphor of Conquest," *Iranica Antiqua* 27 (1992): 125-47, and Rolf Hachmann, "Die Völkerschaften auf den Bildwerken von Persepolis," in U. Finkbeiner, R. Dittmann, and H. Hauptmann, eds., *Beiträge zur Kulturgeschichte Vorderasiens. Festschrift für Michael Boehmer* (Mainz: Philipp von Zabern, 1995), pp. 195-223.



Fig. 6.2 Darius's crown, as depicted at Bisitun.

Babylonian standing to his right, wearing a short tunic and high boots. Usually, it is not one feature, but the whole ensemble of details that marks each figure as unique. Similarities in dress or physiognomy are then used to establish what might be called "family resemblances" among various *dahyāva* (as in the case of Medes and Persians, for example).

A few features are unique, however, like those the Bisitun relief places — with a keen sense of composition and drama — at opposite ends of the picture. Thus, to the left stands Darius, who is nearly twice the size of the foreigners. His beard and coiffure (squared off and beautifully dressed in tight rings), robes (long, with flowing sleeves and symmetric drapery), and weapon all mark him as a Persian and relate him to his countrymen, who stand behind him. The crenellated diadem he wears, however, mark him and him only as king (Figure 6.2).

At the opposite end of the composition stands Skunxa the Scythian (Figure 6.3), who is the most exoticized of the foreigners, reflecting the fact that his people were geographically furthest from Persia and most recently conquered.<sup>17</sup> The state of his hair and beard — largest among

<sup>17</sup> Darius's campaigns against the others depicted at Bisitun transpired from December 522-December 521 and are recounted in the first four columns of the inscription. After this text and a first version of the relief were complete, a fifth column was added to



Fig. 6.3 Skunxa the Scythian, as represented in the Bisitun relief.  
Figure added in Phase two of the carving (519 B.C.E.) to reflect  
Darius's conquests of the previous year.

the non-Persians, least subject to cultural control — reference his origins in the wilderness, but his most striking attribute is surely his enormous hat. Certain Scythians wore pointed hats, and the Persians treated this as their distinctive feature.<sup>18</sup> Even so, comparison with other Achaemenian reliefs (Figures 6.4 and 6.5) shows that Skunxa's hat — which seems virtually unwearable — was greatly exaggerated for effect. The effect in question was partly artistic, as the hat frames and balances the composition, but it is also ideological. Thus, like all the foreigners, Skunxa is depicted as short in comparison to the Persians, but he alone makes himself equal to Darius by a cultural affectation. This is the hat that he

describe campaigns of 521-520, when Darius put down a new rebellion in Elam (DB §§71-72) and conquered a previously independent group of Scythians "who wear the pointed cap" (*Sakā tayaī xaydām tigrām baranti*, DB §74). The figure of Skunxa, their king, was then added to the relief sculpture.

<sup>18</sup> The Persians knew several different types of Scythians, whom they regarded as being independent of each other. These included those known simply as "Scythians" (*Sakā*, DB §6), but also the "Scythians across the sea" (*Sakā tayaī paradraya*, DNā §3, A<sup>7</sup>P), "haoma-drinking Scythians" (*Sakā haumavargā*, DNā §3, DSe §3, XPh §3, A<sup>7</sup>P), and the "pointed-cap-wearing Scythians" (*Sakā tigraxaydā*, DNā §3, DSe §3, XPh §3, A<sup>7</sup>P). Skunxa is named as "chief" (*maθišta*, a title that grants leadership functions within the tribe, but denies properly royal status) of this last group at DB §74.

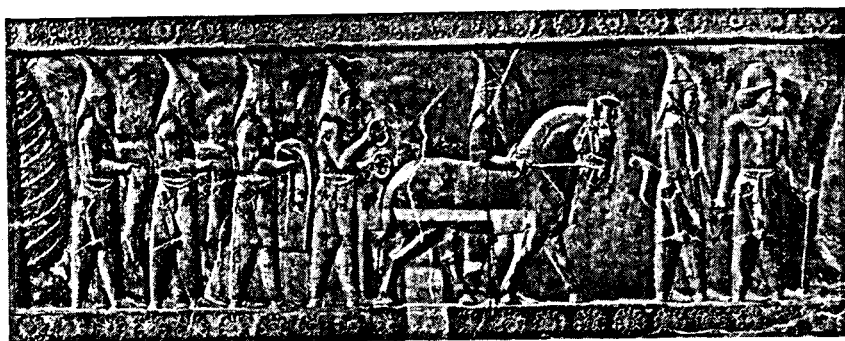


Fig. 6.4 Scythians wearing the pointed hat, as depicted on the Persepolis Apadāna.



Fig. 6.5 Scythian wearing the pointed hat, Darius's tomb at Naqš-e Rostam.

seemingly regards as a crown, an argument the relief entertains only to be dismissed with derision. The real crown, as presented here, is that worn by Darius, a man whose height needs no artificial enhancement. The relief thus frames a contrast between Truth and the Lie, nature and culture, proper kingship and a pretentious fraud, while also representing the Scythian as quite literally the most out-landish of all the foreigners: geographically, politically, aesthetically, and morally most distant from all that Persia represents. Like the lists of *dahyāva*, the Bisitun relief thus treats alterity as a function of distance from the center, with Skunxa as the limit point.

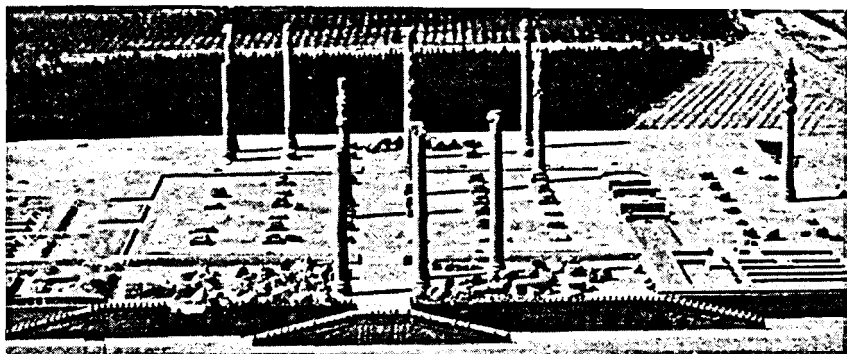


Fig. 6.6 Eastern staircase ascending to the Apadāna at Persepolis. Reliefs on the right-hand staircase depict the procession of Persian and Median officials. Those on the left-hand staircase depict the procession of tribute bearers from twenty-three lands and peoples. These relations are reversed on the northern staircase.

#### IV

If the Bisitun composition concentrates on the military side of empire, then the sprawling relief that fills the steps of the Persepolis Apadāna, an imposing reception hall capable of holding some 10,000 people, is equally focused on economics. Its construction was begun by Darius some time after 515 and completed by Xerxes (r. 486-65), probably early in his reign. Set above a wide terrace, the Apadāna is approached by four staircases, two paired on the north side and two paired on the east (Figure 6.6).<sup>19</sup> In each case, reliefs on the inner staircase (i.e. those closer to the northeast corner) depict a procession of guards, chariots, and nobles, all of whom can be identified as Persians or Medes, based on the details of their weapons and dress. On the outer staircases (north-west and southeast) are processions of tribute bearers. Here, representatives from twenty-three lands/peoples move toward the enthroned king

<sup>19</sup> On the form, function, and date of the Apadāna, see Erich Schmidt, *Persepolis. Vol. I: Structures, Reliefs, Inscriptions* (Chicago: Oriental Institute, 1953), pp. 70-106 and 162-69, Ann Britt Tilia, *Studies and Restorations at Persepolis and other sites of Fārs* (Rome: Istituto Italiano per il medio ed estremo Oriente, 1972), pp. 125-208, Root, *King and Kingship in Achaemenid Art*, pp. 86-95, Michael Roaf, *Sculptures and Sculptors at Persepolis* (= *Iran* 21) (London: British Institute of Persian Studies, 1983), Rüdiger Schmitt and David Stronach, "Apadāna," *Encyclopedia Iranica* II/2 (1986), pp. 145-58, Dandamaev and Lukonin, *Culture and Social Institutions of Ancient Iran*, pp. 250-51.

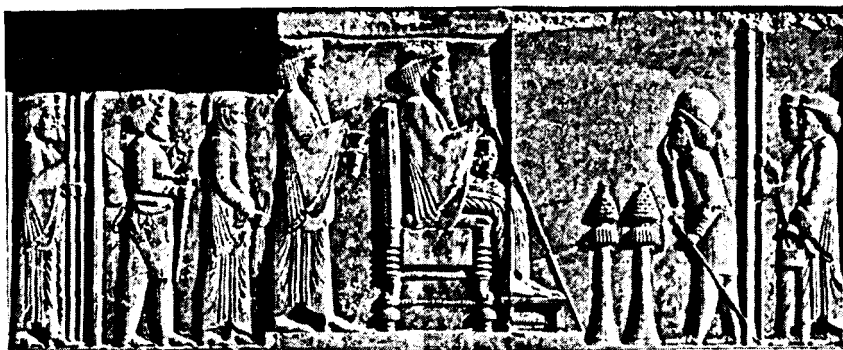


Fig. 6.7 Original center relief toward which the Apadāna staircase ascended. Seated at the center is Darius, with the crown prince behind him.

Various officials stand behind the royals, while a Median representative approaches the king from the right, making gestures of respect and submission.

(Figure 6.7),<sup>20</sup> each bearing gifts and led by a Persian or Median official. Within this procession, the Median delegation stands first in line, led by a Persian, but no Persians bear tribute, since they were exempt from such obligations.<sup>21</sup> While older scholarship saw these reliefs as evidence of elaborate New Year's rituals, such views proved untenable.<sup>22</sup> More

<sup>20</sup> The original center panel was removed from the Apadāna steps and relocated in the Treasury for reasons that remain unclear. See further Root, *King and Kingship in Achaemenian Art*, pp. 91-95.

<sup>21</sup> Persians always appear first in those *dahyāva*-lists in which they are mentioned (DB §6, DSm §2, A'P), but are omitted from any list that makes reference to tribute (DPe §2, DSe §3, DNa §3, XPh §3). The inference that Persians were not subject to tribute is confirmed by Herodotus 3.97. See further Josef Wiesehöfer, "*Tauta gar en atelea*. Beobachtungen zur Abgabefreiheit im Achaimenidenreich," in Pierre Briant and Clarisse Herrenschmidt, eds., *Le tribut dans l'empire Perse* (Paris: Peeters, 1989), pp. 183-92.

<sup>22</sup> For the older views, see Arthur Upham Pope, "Persepolis as a ritual city," *Archaeology* 10 (1957): 123-30, idem, "Persepolis considered as a ritual city," *Proceedings of the 22nd Congress of Orientalists. Vol. 2: Communications* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1957), pp. 58-66, Roland Ghirshman, "Notes iraniennes VII: à propos de Persépolis," *Artibus Asiae* 20 (1957): 265-78. The most telling critiques are Carl Nylander, "Al-Bērūnī and Persepolis," *Acta Iranica* 1 (1974): 137-50, and Heleen Sancisi-Weerdenburg, "Nowruz at Persepolis," *Achaemenid History* 7 (1991): 173-201. See also Peter Calmeyer, "Textual Sources for the Interpretation of Achaemenian Palace Decoration," *Iran* 18 (1980): 55-63 and Mohammad T. Imanpour, "The Function of Persepolis: Was Norooz celebrated at Persepolis during the Achaemenid Period?," in Antonio Panaino and Andrea Piras, eds. *Proceedings of the 5th Conference of the Societas Iranologica Europaea* (Milan: Mimesis, 2006), pp. 115-21.



plausibly, this is an ideologically-inflected representation of the ceremonial — but normal — presentation of tribute.<sup>23</sup>

Here again, details of dress and physiology served to establish the identity of each *dahyu*, with such precise attention to detail that, in the words of Muhammad Dandamaev and Vladimir Lukonin, "this is, in fact, an ethnographic museum."<sup>24</sup> Particularity does not stop at the level of the human, however. Rather, each *dahyu* also possessed its own distinctive plants and animals, sometimes also minerals (gold, ebony, ivory, e.g.) and manufactured goods (weapons, cloth, pottery, etc.). It is these that their representatives brought as *bāji*, a term conventionally translated as "tribute." Its etymology suggests, however, that *bāji* more precisely denoted the "portion" each *dahyu* gave as a contributing part of the imperial whole.<sup>25</sup>

The ability of a *dahyu* to *con*-tribute specific goods not only is a mark of its *part*-icipation and *part*-icularity, but seems to imply some notion of prior *dis*-tribution. Animals provide a convenient example. Thus, in a general fashion, peoples of the north and west tend to bring horses (Medes, Armenians, Cappadocians, Sagartians, Scythians, and Thracians); those of the east and south, camels (Bactrians, Parthians, Arians, and Arachosians give two-humped ["Bactrian"] camels; Arabians give one-humped dromedaries). Cattle come from every direction, albeit with some distinctive regional variations (Babylonians and Gandhārāns give zebus [*bos indicus*]; the Sattagydiāns [or Margians], an aurochs [*bos urus* or *bos primigenius*]; Egyptians give a bovine of indeterminate species [the relief is too damaged to tell]). In contrast, wilder and more exotic species normally come from *dahyāva* at a great distance from the Persian center:

<sup>23</sup> The most important works on tribute are Heidemarie Koch, "Steuern in der achämenidischen Persis," *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie* 70 (1980): 105-37 and those included in Briant and Herrenschildt, eds. *Le tribut dans l'empire Perse*, op cit. Two articles in the latter volume are most attuned to the symbolic and ideological side of the process: Briant, "Table du roi, tribut et redistribution chez les Achéménides" (pp. 35-44) and Heleen Sancisi-Weerdenburg, "Gifts in the Persian Empire" (pp. 129-46).

<sup>24</sup> Dandamaev and Lukonin, *Culture and Social Institutions of Ancient*, p. 251.

<sup>25</sup> The significance of Old Persian *bāji* has been discussed by Clarisse Herrenschildt, "Le tribut dans les inscriptions en vieux-perse et dans les tablettes élamites," in Briant and Herrenschildt, *Le tribut dans l'empire Perse*, pp. 107-20, and Heleen Sancisi-Weerdenburg, "Bāji," *Achaemenid History* 11 (1998): 23-34, both of whom emphasized its precise etymological sense as "part" or "portion." They were inclined to see it as "la part (du roi)," however, which may be a different way of conceiving the relation between the provincial part and the imperial whole. Regarding the derivation of this term, see Meillet and Benveniste, *Grammaire du vieux perse*, pp. 103 and 163, Kent, *Old Persian*, p. 199, Brandenstein and Mayrhofer, *Handbuch des Altpersischen*, p. 110.

giraffes from the Ethiopians and antelopes from the Libyans.<sup>26</sup> Similarly, the most technologically advanced of the animal prestations — horses with chariots and donkeys (the product of cross-breeding) — come from the Lydians and the Indians, respectively. All this helps one interpret the Apadāna's foundation inscription, which defines the empire as stretching from Scythia to Ethiopia and India to Lydia, spatial relations that may be graphed as in Figure 6.8.<sup>27</sup>

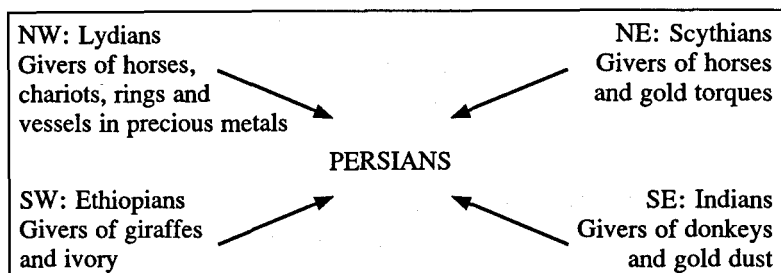


Fig. 6.8 Extent of the empire, as defined by DPh §2. Each of the four peoples named marks the outermost territory conquered to date in a different direction and each one brings exotic goods to the Persians, who stand at the center of these axial relations.

At both the northeast and southeast corners of the Apadāna, two copies of this text were buried. Each locus had one silver copy and one gold, for a total of four in all.<sup>28</sup> This number, the precious materials, and

<sup>26</sup> Some have interpreted the Ethiopian giraffe as an okapi. See further L. Sprague de Camp, "Xerxes' Okapi and Greek Geography," *Isis* 54 (1963): 123-25, Ahmad Afshar, "Giraffes at Persepolis," *Archeology* 27 (1974): 114-17, R. Valdez and R.G. Tuck, Jr., "On the Identification of the animals accompanying the 'Ethiopian' delegation in the bas-reliefs of the Apadāna at Persepolis," *Iran* 18 (1980): 156-57. Two apparent anomalies should also be noted: the Elamites bring a lioness and her cubs, while the Ionian delegation, alone among the tribute-bearers, brings no animals with it.

<sup>27</sup> DPh §2 (= DH §2): "Proclaims Darius the King: This is the kingdom/kingship that I hold, from the Scythians, those who are beyond Sogdiana, thence to Ethiopia; from India, thence to Lydia. The Wise Lord, who is greatest of the gods, bestowed this on me." *θāti Dārayavauš xšāyaθiya: ima xšačam, taya adam dārayāmi hacā Sakaibiš tayaj para Sugdam amata yātā ā Kūšā, hacā Hindaṇ amata yātā ā Spardā, tayamaj Auramazdā frābara, haya maθišta bagānām.* The gifts borne by these peoples are depicted on the Apadāna steps and further information is available from Herodotus and the foundation inscription at Susa, where we learn that the Indians contributed ivory (DSf §3i, DSz §10) and gold dust (Herodotus 3.94), the Lydians gold (DSf §3h, DSz §9), while the Ethiopians contributed ivory (DSf §3i, DSz §10, Herodotus 3.97), ebony and gold (Herodotus 3.97).

<sup>28</sup> On the material facts regarding this inscription, see Lecoq, *Les inscriptions de la Perse achéménide*, p. 99. With reference to the use of silver and gold, it is probably relevant that according to the taxation lists treated by Herodotus 3.90-97, the contributions

placement of the two paired texts on the two walls that held paired stairways, all suggest a certain homology to the building, its functions, and its symbolic importance at the heart of the empire. The passage's content also extends the homology, defining the empire by its extension to the four quarters, where the most exotic goods are found.

If its inscription points to the empire's periphery, the Apadāna's relief, like the *dahyāva* lists, delineates a hierarchic order leading from center to periphery. First is the king, the unmoved mover to whom all others are drawn. Second come Persians, who bear no tribute, but lead others and themselves mount the stair reserved for officials. Third are Medes, who also mount the stair reserved for officials and who march first in the procession of tribute-bearers. The sequence then moves outward to the west from the Elamites in second position (top register, second column) to the Lydians (or Ionians?), who stand twelfth (bottom register, fifth column). After this, it moves outward to the east, from the Parthians (13th position, top register, 6th column) to the Indians (18th, bottom register, 7th column). All the figures in these delegations are equal in height and they vary in number from four to nine in ways that sometimes reflect their relative importance, sometimes their population density.<sup>29</sup>

With the nineteenth delegation, however, the pattern of the relief changes to accommodate the descending stairs (Figure 6.9). Here, the figures are roughly 25% shorter than the others, the delegations have fewer members (three for all, save the Thracians with four), and their dress and gifts tend to be the most exotic. Relegated to this space are those who represent lands/peoples of the most distant west, whose territories lie outside the Asian continent. From the top to the bottom, these are the Thracians, bearing shields, spears, and a stallion (19th); Arabians, wearing an honorific torque and leading a dromedary (20th), the twenty-first delegation, whose identity is still disputed; Libyans, wearing a lion skin cloak, leading an antelope, as well as a team of horses with chariot (22nd); and the Ethiopians, with phenotypically African features, who bring a giraffe (or okapi?), as well as ivory and a box filled with spices (23rd).

of all peoples were calculated in silver, but gold came only from two distant provinces: India and Ethiopia, both of which are mentioned in DPh §2.

<sup>29</sup> The Median delegation has nine members, more than any other, and this is surely one more mark of its primacy. The delegations representing scarcely populated *dahyāva* of the east (Arians, Arachosians, Parthians, and Bactrians) all have four members, but it is difficult to draw conclusions regarding the other delegations occupying the first 18 positions, which have eight (Lydians or Ionians), seven (Cilicians [or Assyrians]), six (Elamites, Babylonians, Assyrians [or Lydians], Egyptians, Scythians, and Gandhārāns), five (Capadocians, Sagartians, Sogdians, Indians), and three (Armenians) members, respectively.

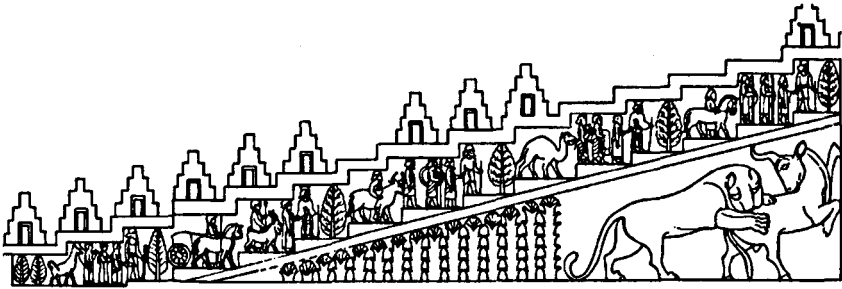


Fig. 6.9 Bottom of the east staircase at the Apadāna containing delegations from the western peoples most distant from Persia. Reading from top right to bottom left, these are: Thracians (#19, at the top of the stair, bringing a horse), Arabians (#20, bringing a dromedary), the twenty-first delegation, whose identity is still contested (bringing a bovine), Libyans (#22, bringing an antelope, horses and chariot), and Ethiopians (#23, at the bottom of the stair, bringing a giraffe).

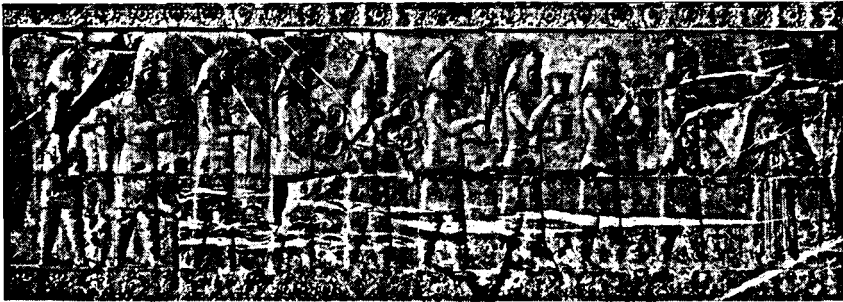


Fig. 6.10 Apadāna reliefs, Median delegation. Although the Medes are first in line, most numerous, and enjoy other marks of privilege, the gifts they bear are relatively unimpressive. Three of their number convey items of clothing, while others carry a sword, bracelets, and vessels whose contents cannot be determined. With one other exception (the Ionians, in twelfth position), they are the only delegation not to deliver any animals.

Sequence may have been a way to encode hierarchy, but this is far from certain. Here, one should note that members of all delegations stand fully upright, are equally well adorned and invested with equal dignity, there being no hint of caricature or condescension in any of the portraits. An instructive comparison may be drawn between the Medes, who were most numerous and occupied first position, but brought no animals and relatively modest gifts (Figure 6.10) and the Ethiopians, last in line and among the fewest in number, but whose gifts were among the richest and

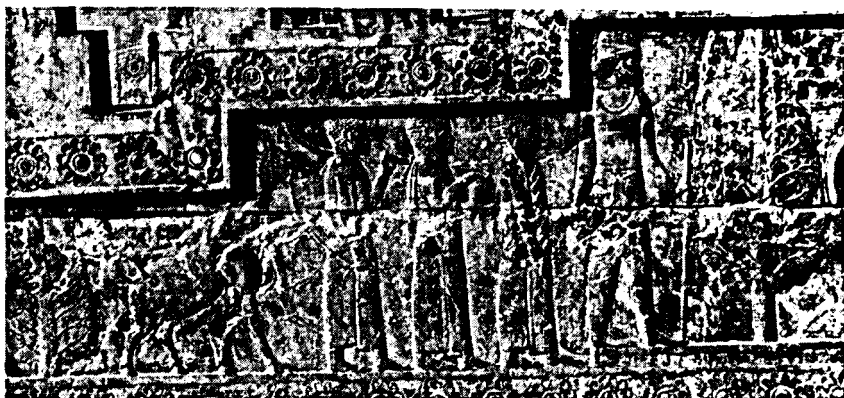


Fig. 6.11 Apadāna reliefs, Ethiopian delegation. Although the Ethiopians stand last in the entire procession and are among those fewest in numbers, the gifts they bring are particularly precious: spices (or perhaps perfumes) in a lidded metal box, ivory tusks (on the shoulder of the third man), and a giraffe (or okapi). Note that the Mede leading the delegation stands significantly taller than the Ethiopians.

most striking (Figure 6.11). All things considered, the composition seems to advance the argument that although each *dahyu* had its own particular gifts, all were equally valued, for like the lands/peoples themselves, only as a complete ensemble were these goods constitutive of empire.

Clearly, a distinction was drawn between the center and outlying lands/peoples, but it was possible to theorize this distinction in two different ways. If the center was understood as Persian, then {Center: Periphery:: Ruler: Ruled:: Self: Others}. Alternatively, were the center construed as a microcosm of the empire — the point of accumulation for all the good things and all the good people otherwise scattered throughout the lands — then {Center: Periphery:: Empire: *Dahyāva*:: Whole: Parts}. The first model emphasizes relations of domination; the second, relations of mutuality. The Apadāna relief deliberately confused the two models, seeking to have it both ways.<sup>30</sup>

<sup>30</sup> Walser, *Die Völkerschaften auf den Reliefs von Persepolis*, p. 26, also recognized two different ideological positions within the reliefs, although he interpreted this in diachronic fashion.

*Ohne Zweifel bedeutet der Apadanafries von Persepolis einen neuen Typus im Rahmen der altorientalischen Tributzugdarstellungen. Wie auch in andern Fällen hat zwar die achämenidische Hofkunst traditionelle Formen weitgeführt, aber einen neuen Geist in sie gegossen. Aus der Demonstration königlicher Macht über tributschleppende Unterworfenen — so mag assyrische Vorbild lauten — ist gleichsam eine patriarchalische Szene loyaler Untertanen geworden, die ihrem Herrn Geschenke und gute Wünsche zum Jahrestage bringen.*

## IV

For all that the concept of "empire" may strike us as obvious, in the early years of Darius's reign, the Persians had no word with which to name the huge (and growing) sociopolitical formation their armies and rule had created. At Bisitun, his earliest inscription, Darius used a four-part titulary.

*I am Darius, Great King, King of Kings, King in Persia, King of lands/peoples.*<sup>31</sup>

The first two of these titles were adopted from Babylonian and Assyrian antecedents. The third and fourth were coined to describe novel, historically-emergent relations. Originally *King of Persia*, the Achaemenian ruler had obtained new possessions by conquest. Although his realm was still centered *in Persia*, he had also become *King of other lands/peoples*, and presumably he aspired to be *King of all lands/peoples*.<sup>32</sup> After Bisitun, however, the title "King in Persia" was discarded, never to be used again. "King of lands/peoples" (*xšāyaθiya dahyūnām*) was retained and used in every subsequent titulary.

For a while, Darius contented himself with the three remaining titles, but ultimately his scribes developed a title of a higher order that let him move from the model of domination (Persians over others) to the model of mutuality (imperial whole and its constituent parts). In this new titulary, "King of lands/peoples" came to denote the parts, each with its own distinctive identity. What was needed, then, was a term for the whole: that higher level of sociopolitical integration in which the particularity of the *dahyāva* was harmoniously encompassed. The term selected for this purpose was truly audacious. As Clarisse Herrenschiidt demonstrated, it is Old Persian *būmi*, which previously denoted the earth itself.<sup>33</sup> Introduced at Susa, the new formulary read thus.

<sup>31</sup> DB §1 (= DBa §1): adam Dārayavauš, xšāyaθiya vazrka, xšāyaθiya xšāyaθiyānām, xšāyaθiya Pārsai, xšāyaθiya dahyūnām.

<sup>32</sup> This aspiration was announced by an adjective added to the title "King of lands/peoples" in several later inscriptions that described Darius as "King of lands/peoples of every race" (*xšāyaθiya dahyūnām vispa-zanānām*, DSe §2, DNa §2, DZc §2). Military defeat by the Greeks in 490 led Darius to revise this and call himself "King of lands/peoples of many races" (*xšāyaθiya dahyūnām paru-zanānām*) at DE §2. Xerxes, who was also defeated by the Greeks in 480-79, always used this more modest phrasing.

<sup>33</sup> Herrenschiidt, "Désignation de l'empire et concepts politiques de Darius," op cit., eadem, "La première royauté de Darius," op cit. For the etymology, with comparison to Vedic Sanskrit *bhūmi* and Avestan *būmi*, both of which mean "earth," see Mayrhofer, *Etymologisches Wörterbuch des Altindoarischen* 2: 268.

*I am Darius, Great King, King of Kings, King of lands/peoples, King in this earth/empire.*<sup>34</sup>

Subsequent forms of the titulary never went beyond this quadripartite formula, but continued to elaborate by adding modifiers. The fullest version is that which Darius had placed on his tomb at Naqš-e Rostam.

*I am Darius, Great King, King of Kings, King of lands/peoples of all races, King in this great, far-reaching earth/empire.*<sup>35</sup>

Implicit in this novel, imperial title was a political theology of considerable sophistication. Inter alia, it connected the empire and its projects to Persian myths of creation. As we saw in earlier chapters, post-Bisitun inscriptions repeatedly described the Wise Lord as having originally established four unambiguously good, absolutely unified things: first the earth (*būmi*), followed by sky, man, and happiness.<sup>36</sup> Like the other creations, "man" was named in the singular (*martiya*) and thus represented the prototype who embodied the totality of the species, following a pan-Iranian mythic pattern.<sup>37</sup> Although Zoroastrian texts spell this out in detail, the Achaemenian inscriptions leave one to infer that the assault of "the Lie" shattered primordial unity, with the result that the original earth and the primordial man gave way to multiple lands/peoples in the plural (*dahyāva*), all marked by differences that generated rivalry, hatred,

<sup>34</sup> DSd §1: adam Dārayavauš, Xš vazrka, Xš Xšyānām, Xš DHnām, Xš ahyāyā BUyā. The same formula occurs at DSf §2, DSg §1, DSi §1, Wb, Wc, and Wd. It was also employed by subsequent kings, including Darius II (D2Sb §1), Artaxerxes II (A2Sa §1, A2Sc §2, A2Ha §1, A2Hc §2), and Artaxerxes III (A3Pa §2).

<sup>35</sup> DNa §2: adam Dārayavauš, xšāyaθiya vazrka, xšāyaθiya xšāyaθiyānām, xšāyaθiya dahyūnām vispazanānām, xšāyaθiya ahyāyā būmiyā vazrkāyā dūraj api. The same formula appears at DSe §2 and DZc §2. On the historic development and semantic import of these titles, see Herrenschmidt, "Désignation de l'empire et concepts politiques," op cit., Burkhardt Kienast, "Zur Herkunft der Achämenidischen Königstitulatur," in Ulrich Haarmann and Peter Bachmann, eds., *Die Islamische Welt zwischen Mittelalter und Neuzeit: Festschrift für Hans Robert Roemer zum 65. Geburtstag* (Beirut: Franz Steiner, 1979), pp. 351-59, and Ahn, *Religiöse Herrscherlegitimation im Achaemenidischen Iran*, pp. 217-21, 259-65.

<sup>36</sup> On the cosmogonic account, see Chapters One, Five, Ten, Eleven, and Twenty-seven, along with Herrenschmidt, "Les créations d' Ahuramazda," op cit., eadem "Aspects universalistes de la religion et de l'idéologie de Darius I<sup>er</sup>," in G. Gnoli and L. Lanciotti, eds., *Orientalia Iosephi Tucci Memoriae Dicata* (Rome: Istituto Italiano per il Medio ed Estremo Oriente, 1987), pp. 617-25, and Jean Kellens, "Ahura Mazda n'est pas un dieu créateur," op cit., pp. 217-28.

<sup>37</sup> Most important are the Zoroastrian and Zurvanite myths of Gayōmard, on which the classic works remain Christensen, *Le premier homme et premier roi dans l'histoire légendaire des iraniens*, op cit., and H.H. Schaeder, *Studien zum antiken Synkretismus aus Iran und Griechenland* (Leipzig: B. G. Teubner, 1926).

and conflict. In similar fashion, primordial happiness (*šiyāti*) broke into the many good things distributed among the *dahyāva*, all of which prompt jealousy, envy, and greed.

The transition from primordial perfection to historic existence was thus characterized by loss, laceration, and fracture. In the face of this, the Wise Lord authorizes certain chosen actors — above all, the Achaemenian kings — to lead the struggle against evil and disunity, so that the paradisaal state might be restored. Seen from this perspective, conquering the various scattered lands/peoples (*dahyāva*) was the means to restore a unified humanity (*martiya*), and collecting from each *dahyu* the specific portion (*bāji*) of good things that it happened to possess was the means to restore total, undivided happiness (*šiyāti*). At first, that ideal state would appear at the center, where these portions-cum-tribute accumulated, but gradually goods and happiness would radiate from this micro-cosmic point of *con*-centration to ever more distant *dahyāva*. When all lands/peoples came to share perfect unity in peace and to enjoy perfect happiness in the possession of all good things, then the world (*būmi*) will have become whole once more and the empire (*būmi*) will have served its purpose.

At the end of history, so the Achaemenians told themselves, alterity will thus disappear, as the human race recaptures its original unity. In the meantime, ceaseless labor was necessary toward this goal of cosmic restoration: labor designed to rout evil, create harmony, and heal the world's wounds. During this period, alterity could not yet be erased, only contained and controlled (as at Bisitun), or controlled and mobilized to good purpose (as on the Apadāna steps). There is, however, one more part to the story, which is too long and too complex for us to consider at present. In the next chapter, I will pick up the narrative and look at the words and images Darius had placed on his tomb at Naqš-e Rostam, to see how they complicate the questions we have been discussing.



## CHAPTER SEVEN

### NAQŠ-Ī RUSTAM

#### I

In Chapter Six, I tried to show how Achaemenian discourse struggled to maintain two very different models of human alterity. On the one hand was a model that imagined hierarchy as a set of relations, in which moral status co-varied with proximity to the Persian center. On the other was a model that posited a utopian ideal of mutuality, in which the constituent parts of the empire were expected to dissolve in its whole, as human diversity yielded to commonality and conflict gave way to cooperation.

If the model of hierarchy was normally given spatial expression, that of mutuality drew on myths with a very distinct sense of time. In particular, these narratives treated history as a finite period of difficulty (marked by death, suffering, conflict, confusion, scarcity, misunderstanding, etc.) suspended between two periods of eternal duration. The first eternity stretches infinitely back from the moment history began. The second extends from history's end forever into the future. Both primordial and eschatological eternities are characterized by absolute perfection, but history is the in-between period when perfection is lost and struggles are waged for its recovery.

As we have repeatedly seen, Achaemenian variants of the creation story described humanity (*martiya*) as having been created in the singular, which is to say mankind was one and united, and this is part of its original perfection. When evil entered existence, however, in the form of "the Lie" (Old Persian *drauga*), it corrupted all creation. At the level of the human, this meant that the prior unity of the species was fractured, peoples dispersed, and antagonism became possible among them. At the material level of the cosmos, the primordial unity of all good things was similarly shattered and these were distributed such that each of the world's lands/peoples received a limited, particular, and distinctive portion of the good, along with some admixture of evil. As a result, jealousy, envy, and conflict over scarce resources became familiar, and competing groups use ever more unscrupulous tactics in order to prevail. History thus enters a downward spiral, as humanity becomes ever more

troubled, corrupted, and broken. To reverse this dismal trajectory, however, the Wise Lord chooses a few particularly gifted and noble individuals to set things right. These are the Achaemenian kings, who undertake the project of reunifying humanity, conquering evil, restoring happiness, and ushering in the final eternity, when all becomes — and thereafter remains — perfect, consistent with the Wise Lord's intentions.

This is the most idealized self-understanding of the Achaemenid empire: an inspiring and energizing, as well as a legitimating discourse that construed all imperial initiatives, even the most aggressive and avaricious, as divinely authorized labors of cosmic restoration, designed to roll back the forces of evil and recover the absolute good. Numerous words were used to express this idea, but among the most important was the notion of putting things “in place” (*gāθavā*, singular locative of *gāθu*). This could have a very concrete sense, as in the following passage.

*Proclaims Darius the King: By the Wise Lord's will, much handiwork that previously was not in place, that I made in place. In Susa, a wall had fallen down as a result of its old age. Formerly it was unrepaired. I made another wall (that will endure) from that time into the future.<sup>1</sup>*

Here, we have a fairly mundane instantiation of the three-part temporal pattern. Originally, one of the magnificently decorated walls at Susa (Figure 7.1) was well-made and “in place.” Then, as a result of senescence and entropy — the tendency to decay that is built into historic time ever since the end of the paradisaal primordium — that wall fell apart. This natural failing was then compounded by moral failings, as human sloth and irresponsibility (themselves hallmarks of the fallen condition, as well as forces that produce further decline) kept the wall from being repaired. Only when Darius intervened was the situation rectified, as he produced a new wall to take the place of the one that was ruined. Although at one level, this was simply repair of the city's infrastructure, such practical steps were invested with profound significance, as the inscription makes clear. By repairing the wall, Darius understood himself to have helped reverse processes of natural and moral decay, and to have restored things-as-they-once-were-and-forever-ought-be. Here, as in virtually all of his deeds, the Great King labored to (re)create an ideal world, and did so “by the Wise Lord's will” (*vašnā Auramazdāhā*, a phrase to be discussed in Chapter Twenty-one).

<sup>1</sup> DSe §5: θāti Dārayavauš XŠ: vašnā Auramazdāhā dastakṛtam vasaj taya paruvam naj gāθavā kṛtam ava adam gāθavā akunavam. ++++ nāma vṛdanam didā hanatāyā avagmatā paruvam akṛtā hacā avadaša ā pasāva didām aniyām akunavam.

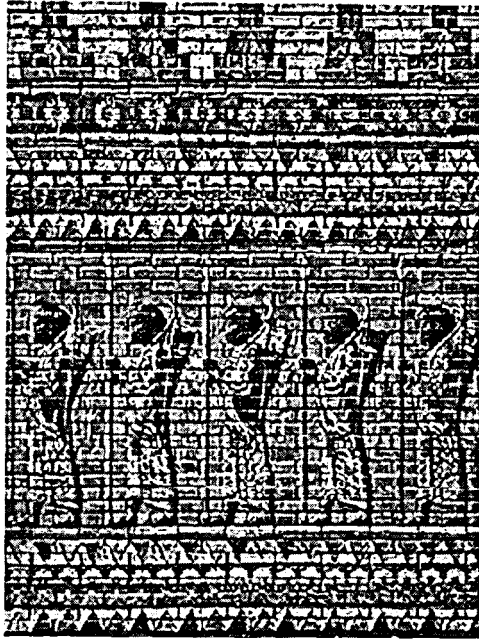


Fig. 7.1 Portion of a polychrome decorated wall at Susa.  
Procession of spear-bearers.

Darius also repeatedly claimed to have put things “in place” (*gāθavā*) in an important passage of the Bisitun inscription, where he detailed the actions he took immediately after wresting the kingship from his predecessor, whom he depicted as an imposter, usurper, and prime agent of “the Lie.”

*The kingship/kingdom that had been usurped from our lineage, I put it back on its proper footing. I set it back in place. Just as before, so I made built the temples that Gaumāta the Magus destroyed. I restored the pastures and livestock and servants and houses of the people/army, of which Gaumāta the Magus had deprived them. I set the people/army back in place, in Persia and Media, and in the other lands/peoples. Just as before, so I brought back that which had been carried off. By the Wise Lord's will I did this. I strove until I set our house back in place, just as before.*<sup>2</sup>

<sup>2</sup> DB §14: xšačam, taya hacā amāxam taumāyā parābṛtam āha, ava adam patipadam akunavam, adamšim gāθavā avāstāyām, yaθā paruvamci, avaθā adam akunavam āyadanā, tayā Gaumāta haya maguš viyaka, adam niyačārayam kārahyā ābicariš gaiθāmā māniy-amcā viθbišcā, tayādiš Gaumāta haya maguš adinā, adam kāram gāθavā avāstāyām Pār-samcā Mādamcā utā aniyā dahyāva, yaθā paruvamci, avaθā adam, taya parābṛtam, pati-yābaram. vašnā Auramazdāha ima adam akunavam, adam hamataxšaj, yātā viθam tayām amāxam gāθavā avāstāyām, yaθā paruvamci. On this passage, see further the discussion in Chapter Twenty-four.

None of the accomplishments Darius proudly lists can be understood as original or innovative. The ethic he advances here is one of fidelity, not innovation. To that end, he recounts numerous restorative acts, treating some from multiple perspectives. These include: 1) political restoration (restoration of the institution of kingship, return of the legitimate royal family); 2) religious restoration (rebuilding of temples, renewal of cults);<sup>3</sup> 3) economic restoration (return of confiscated pastures, live-stock, servants, and houses, restitution of stolen property); 4) social restoration (renewal of social, legal, and moral order throughout the *dahyāva*). In all cases, Darius represented himself as the ally of an older ideal and enemy of the unscrupulous individuals who temporarily overthrew it. Whatever changes the latter group introduced, he depicts as disruptive, unjust, and offensive, whereas his own actions were conservative in the extreme, his sole goal being to make things “just as before” (*paruvamci*).

Most of the expressions Darius used to describe these projects of restoration are found nowhere else in the corpus of Achaemenian inscriptions, but even so, their meaning is transparent. For the most part, they are quasi-synonymous, straightforward terms without hidden depth.<sup>4</sup> The sole phrase that reverberates elsewhere is the one that concerns us: the notion of putting things “in place” (*gāθavā*).<sup>5</sup>

<sup>3</sup> Based on nuances in the Elamite version of this passage, Pierre Lecoq, “Un aspect de la politique religieuse de Gaumata le mage,” in Rika Gyselened, *Au Carrefour des religions: Mélanges offerts à Philippe Gignoux* (= *Res Orientales* 7 [1995]), pp. 183-86, has argued that the text refers to restoration of cultic practice, not a cultic place. Although the linguistic data are not compelling, the argument has other attractions.

<sup>4</sup> Three of the expressions are *hapax legomenon*: “I put it back on its proper footing” (*ava adam patipadam akunavam*), “I restored” (*niyačārayam*), and “I brought back” (*patiyābaram*). The phrase “just as before” (*yaθā paruvamci*) is also unique to this passage, although it occurs three times here. Recently, Adriano Rossi, “Echoes of Religious Lexicon in the Achaemenid Inscriptions?,” in Carlo Cereti et al., eds., *Religious Themes and Texts of pre-Islamic Iran and Central Asia. Studies in honour of Professor Gherardo Gnoli* (Wiesbaden: Reichert, 2003), pp. 346-49, has suggested that the verb *ham-taxš-*, which occurs twice in this passage and only once elsewhere, has particular religious significance and ought not be translated “to strive,” but more emphatically as “to exert one’s religious zeal.”

<sup>5</sup> *gāθavā* occurs with a number of verbs: *ava-stā-* (“to set down, place, restore”), *stā-* (“to set, stand”), *ni-had-* (“to set down, establish”), *ah-* (“to be”), and *kar-* (“to make”). These expressions have been studied most fully by François de Blois, “‘Place’ and ‘Throne’ in Persian,” *Iran* 33 (1995): 61-65.

## II

In DSe §4, the paragraph that immediately precedes Darius's account of rebuilding the wall, the king employed this same expression — to be “in place” (*gāθavā*) — for reconstruction that was less concrete and more sociopolitical in nature.

*Much that was ill-done, that I made good. The lands/peoples were seething, one smote the other. This I did by the Wise Lord's will, so that one does not smite the other any more. Each one is in place (gāθavā). My law — of that they feel fear, so that he who is stronger does not smite, does not destroy him who is weak.*<sup>6</sup>

Just as DSe §5 frames an opposition between an improper past and a proper present through a discourse of being “in place” (*gāθavā*) or “not in place” (*naī gāθavā*), DSe §4 expands on this same binary structure. To that end, the text begins by contrasting all the things that were previously “ill-done” (*duš-kṛtam*) to the way Darius has now made them “good” (*naībam*, a term of deep religious significance).<sup>7</sup> The present state of good is further described as one in which all the lands/peoples are “in place,” although previously they were “boiling” or “seething.” The latter is a literal translation of the verb *yauδ-*, which denotes a state of overheated energy and violent, explosive, uncontrolled motion, it is used metaphorically in Old Persian, Avestan, and later Iranian languages to denounce insurrectionary disorder.<sup>8</sup>

Together, DSe §§4 and 5 advance the set of oppositions charted in Table 7.1 and suggest that suppressing rebels is a process comparable to rebuilding a wall, since both projects involve the defense of the way things once-were-and-ought-be against the forces of disorder (natural,

<sup>6</sup> DSe §4: *vasai taya duškṛtam āha, ava naībam akunavam. dahyāva ayaūda, aniya aniyam aja. ava adam akunavam vašnā Auramazdāhā yaθā aniya aniyam naī jati cinā, gāθavā kašci asti. dātam taya manā hacā avanā tṛsanti yaθā haya tauvīyā tayam skauθim naī jati naī vimṛdati.*

<sup>7</sup> Briefly, *naība* figures as the opposite of *duš-* “evil” and connotes a moral and religious good, which advances the interests and plan of the Wise Lord. See Kent, *Old Persian*, p. 9, Prods Oktor Skjærvø, “Avestan Quotations in Old Persian? Literary Sources of the Old Persian Inscriptions,” *Irano-Judaica* 4 (1999): 11. Note that of all the lands/peoples in the empire, only Persia is described as *naība* (DPd §2).

<sup>8</sup> The verb *yauδ-* is used in this sense at DSe §4, DNa §4, and XPh §4a, as is its Avestan cognate *yaoz-* at Yašt 13.95. This was noted already by Christian Bartholomae, “Arica XIV,” *Indogermainsche Forschungen* 12 (1901): 132-35, and more recently has been emphasized by Lecoq, *Les inscriptions de la Perse achéménide*, p. 220, Skjærvø, “Avestan Quotations in Old Persian?,” pp. 43-44, and Jean Kellens, “L'idéologie religieuse des inscriptions achéménides,” *Journal asiatique* 290 (2002): 443. Regarding the Elamite translation of this term, J. Harmatta, “Elamica II,” *Acta Linguistica Hungarica* 5 (1955): 285-91 holds interest.

moral, and sociopolitical) that threaten to tear them asunder. If one pursues the comparison, however, some crucial differences appear. Thus, Darius says little about how he fixed the wall and presumably he had little need to do so, for the instruments and techniques his workmen employed — bricks, mortar, etc. — were so familiar as to need no comment. The instruments and techniques he used to defeat rebels, consolidate control, and ensure stability were less obvious, however, and these required some explication.

	DSe §4	DSe §4	DSe §5	DSe §5
<b>Past fallen state</b> (disordered, unstable, multiple and dissonant)	Much that was ill-done ( <i>duš-kṛtam</i> ),	The lands/ peoples were seething ( <i>ayauda</i> )...	Much handiwork that previously was not in place ( <i>naḥ gāθavā</i> ),	A wall had fallen down... Formerly it was unrepaired ( <i>a-kṛtā</i> )...
<b>Present rectified state</b> (ordered, stable, unified and harmonious)	that I made good ( <i>naḥbā</i> ).	each one is in place ( <i>gāθavā</i> ).	that I made in place ( <i>gāθavā</i> ).	I made another wall.

Table 7.1 Correlated binary oppositions in DSe §4 and §5.

To that end, DSe §4 specifies how Darius put the empire back “in place,” an explication that begins by describing the disorder associated with “seething” not as nationalist, insurgent, or revolutionary violence directed against Persian overlords, but as internecine conflict among outlying *dahyāva*. Thus, after announcing that “the lands/peoples were seething,” he immediately went on to explain what that meant: “one smote the other.”<sup>9</sup> In place of a bipartite conflict, where the imperial state seeks to crush those who rise against it, Darius conjures a triadic situation in which the state is initially neutral and seeks only to pacify agitated, unstable peoples, who struggle with one another. Thus posed, the problem is simple enough: How can a good, responsible, mature and benevolent parent make those naughty children stop fighting?

*This I did by the Wise Lord's will, so that one does not smite the other any more. Each one is in place. My law — of that they feel fear, so that he who is stronger does not smite, does not destroy him who is weak.*<sup>10</sup>

<sup>9</sup> DSe §4: *dahyāva ayauda, aniya aniyam aja*.

<sup>10</sup> DSe §4: *ava adam akunavam vašnā Auramazdāhā yaθā aniya aniyam naḥ jati cinā, gāθavā kašci asti. dātam taya manā hacā avanā tṛsanti yaθā haya tauvīyā tayam skauθim naḥ jati naḥ vimṛdati*.

Three points should be made concerning this passage. First, building on its earlier representation of the imperial state as a calm and relatively disinterested peacemaker, the text goes further still. Instead of acknowledging the empire's defeat of rebels as a triumph of strength over weakness, the text insists that the Great King's real desire is precisely the opposite: i.e., to protect the weak against the strong. Second, it is somewhat less disingenuous in its representation of the law, which it rather proudly describes as the prime instrument of control that keeps lands/peoples "in place."<sup>11</sup> Third, the threat of force that gives the law its teeth is never openly acknowledged, for all that it haunts Darius's assertion: "My law — of that they feel fear."<sup>12</sup>

It is not law itself that inspires such fear, but the spectacles of death and pain one reads about in Herodotus and elsewhere, which include dismemberment, impaling, flaying, and torture.<sup>13</sup> Darius himself speaks of such practices in his first inscription (Bisitun), the only one in which he deigned to discuss real historic events. Here, one sees the treatment the state meted out to those it defined as rebels.<sup>14</sup> Āçina the Elamite was fettered, brought before the king, and executed (DB §17). Nidintu-Bēl the Babylonian was impaled, along with forty-nine of his noble followers (DBBab §19). Fravarti the Mede had his nose, ears, and tongue cut off, and one of his eyes put out, after which he was fettered and placed on public display, then finally impaled. Forty-seven of his noble followers

<sup>11</sup> There is a great deal more to be said about Persian law than is possible in this context. See below Chapter Twenty-four and, inter alia, Dandamaev, and Lukonin, *Culture and Social Institutions of Ancient Iran*, pp. 116-30, Briant, *Histoire de l'empire perse de Cyrus à Alexandre*, pp. 526-28 and 981-83. Onorato Bucci devoted some excellent studies to the ideology that informed and found expression in Persian law, but these need to be complemented by a more critical approach. See, inter alia, "Giustizia e legge nel diritto Persiano antico," *Apollinaris* 45 (1972): 157-72, and "L'Impero achemenide come ordinamento giuridico sovranazionale e *arta* come principio ispiratore di uno 'jus commune Persarum' (*dātā*)," in *Modes de contacts et processus de transformation dans les sociétés ancienne* (Pisa: Scuola Normale Superiore, 1983), pp. 89-122.

<sup>12</sup> DSe §4: *dātam taya manā hacā avanā tšanti*.

<sup>13</sup> See, inter alia, Herodotus 3.14, 3.118-19, 3.130, 4.84, 5.25, 7.38-39, 7.194, 8.90, 9.113. On Achaemenian punishments and tortures, see Dandamaev, and Lukonin, *Culture and Social Institutions of Ancient Iran*, pp. 120-21, Briant, *Histoire de l'empire perse*, pp. 70-71, 106-7, 135, 141-42, 144, 349, 632, et passim, P.O. Skjærvø, "Avestan Quotations in Old Persian?," pp. 50-55, idem, "The Achaemenids and the Avesta," in Vesta Sarkhosh Curtis and Sarah Stewart, eds., *Birth of the Persian Empire* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2005), pp. 70-74, Kellens, "L'idéologie religieuse des inscriptions achéménides," pp. 443-44, and Bruce Lincoln, *Religion, Empire, and Torture: The Case of Achaemenian Persia* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2007), pp. 83-96.

<sup>14</sup> On the discursive processes through which certain of the state's opponents were constituted as rebels, see Chapter Twenty-three.

were also executed and had their heads hung from the battlements of Ecbatana (DBBab §25), presumably to help keep the others “in place.” For all that such practices may have constituted themselves as rightful justice under law, fear would not seem an unreasonable response (See further, Chapter Twenty-three).

### III

If one collects all the references to fear that occur in the Achaemenian inscriptions, a clear chronology emerges. Its clarity, however, is deliberately deceptive, as religious (and political) ideals are skillfully projected onto the passage of time. Thus, Darius recounts that everyone lived in fear during the brief period when “Gaumāta the Magus” ruled as king (March-September 522), Persians as well as others.

*Proclaims Darius the King: There was not a man — not a Persian, nor a Mede, nor anyone of our lineage — who could have deprived that Gaumāta the Magus of the kingship/kingdom. The people/army feared him mightily. He would kill greatly among the people/army those who knew Bardiya in the past. For that reason, he would kill among the people/army, (thinking): “Lest they might recognize me and know I am not Bardiya, the son of Cyrus.” No one dared to proclaim anything about Gaumāta the Magus until I arose.<sup>15</sup>*

The text represents Gaumāta’s violence as grounded in neither law nor justice, but in “the Lie,” and therefore a force of cosmic — as well as moral and political — evil. As such, it inspired a terrible, but not an insuperable fear. In the next phase of the narrative, Darius describes how he overcame such terror.

*No one dared to proclaim anything about Gaumāta the Magus until I arose. Then I prayed to the Wise Lord for assistance. The Wise Lord bore me aid. Ten days of the month Bāgayādi had passed (29 September 522) when I, with a few men, slew that Gaumāta the Magus... By the Wise Lord’s will I became king. The Wise Lord bestowed the kingship/kingdom on me.<sup>16</sup>*

<sup>15</sup> DB §13: ōāti Dārayavauš xšāyaθiya: nai āha martiya nai Pārsa nai Māda nai amāxam taumāyā kašci, haya avam Gaumātām tayam magum xšačam dītam caxriyā, kār-ašim hacā dṛšam atṛsa, kārām vasaī avājaniyā, haya paranam Bṛdiyam adānā, avahyarādī kārām avājaniyā, mātayamām xšnāsāti, taya adam nai Bṛdiya ami, haya Kurauš puça, kašci nai adṛšnauš cišci θanstanai pari Gaumātām tayam magum, yātā adam ārsam.

<sup>16</sup> DB §13: kašci nai adṛšnauš cišci θanstanai pari Gaumātām tayam magum, yātā adam ārsam, pasāva adam Auramazdām patiyāvanhyai, Auramazdāmai upastām abara, Bāgayādaiš māhya daθā raucabiš θakatā āha, avaθā adam hadā kamnaibiš martiyaibiš avam Gaumātām tayam magum... vašnā Auramazdāha adam xšāyaθiya abavam, Auramazdā xšačam manā frābara.





This passage, which has a certain programmatic quality, is really quite extraordinary, and several terms in it demand fuller comment. First is the term for “happiness” (Old Persian *šiyāti*), which occurs in twenty-two other inscriptions. With this exception and one other (which we will treat in Chapter Fifteen), however, it always appears in the formulaic context of the cosmogonic account, where the Wise Lord’s establishment of “happiness for mankind” (*šiyāti... martiyahyā*) is the culminating act of creation.

As we saw in Chapters One and Four, Achaemenian religion constituted such happiness as the hallmark of a perfect cosmos, consistent with the Wise Lord’s entirely benevolent intentions. That ideal state was compromised, however, when evil entered the world in the form of “the Lie” (Old Persian *drauga*). History proper began at that moment, during which time the goal of human striving is to recover the lost happiness of the primordial era. Always it is understood that such struggles pit Truth (Old Persian *ṛta*) against “the Lie,”<sup>23</sup> but DPe §3 adds another important point. The Persian army (or people-in-arms, *kāra Pārsa*) is the instrument through which that struggle can be won and happiness recovered.<sup>24</sup>

Second, it is noteworthy that the text promises not only “happiness,” but happiness that is and will be “undestroyed” (*a-xšatā*). This adjective provides reassurance that although evil may have tainted, adulterated, obscured, or otherwise clouded the perfection of the Wise Lord’s creations, it was categorically incapable of accomplishing their full annihilation. Mixture, confusion, moral ambiguity, and evil itself are all construed as temporary debasements of the good, but the good itself cannot be destroyed. It thus persists in adulterated and diminished form for the duration of historic time, moving toward its full restoration, which will amount to history’s end. When the Achaemenian king and the Persian army rescue “happiness,” it is this “undestroyed,” but compromised happiness that endures in history “for the longest time,” but stands apart

<sup>23</sup> Most fully on the fundamental opposition of Truth and Lie, see Bucci, “L’Impero achemenide come ordinamento giuridico sovranazionale e *arta* come principio ispiratore,” and P.O. Skjærvø, “Truth and Deception in Ancient Iran,” in Carlo G. Cereti and Farrokh Vajifdar, eds., *Ataš-e Dorun: The Fire Within. Jamshid Soroush Sorouschian Commemorative Volume* (n.p.: Mehrborzin Sorouschian, 2003), pp. 383-434.

<sup>24</sup> On the contrast of *kāra* (one’s own army, staffed by one’s own people) and *hainā* (enemy horde, a immoral force of chaotic destruction), see Kellens, “Trois réflexions sur la religion des Achéménides,” op cit. The latter term appears only in DPd §3, but its Avestan cognate (*haēnā*) is similar in its semantics.

from the perfect happiness of primordial and eschatological eternity.<sup>25</sup> It is this form of happiness — the best available in historic time — that the inscription identifies with the Pax Persiana the Achaemenian army imposed through violence and maintained through fear.

#### IV

We were prompted to consider the theme of fear by Darius's pronouncement in DSe §4: "My law — of that they feel fear." In fact, this phrase is virtually interchangeable with a softer variant that occurs in the immediately preceding paragraph (DSe §3): "My law — that held them."<sup>26</sup> The latter phrase, in turn, leads us back to many of the themes we have been considering, especially the binary opposition of "seething" (*yaūd-*) and being "in place" (*gāθavā*). These themes, moreover, are concentrated in a relatively small number of inscriptions. When these are brought together in tabular form, it is possible to draw some intriguing conclusions (Table 7.2).

What this comparison reveals is a process of normalization that the imperial scribes accomplished relatively quickly. Thus, the earliest of these inscriptions (DPe, written some time between 515 and 512) is the only one to acknowledge the role of the Persian army in the construction and maintenance of empire. The next oldest (DSe, written in 512) still acknowledges fear, but attributes this to the law and remains silent about military force. With the next step (DNa, written some time after 512, and perhaps even after 500), all mention of fear is erased. The last (XPh, written in 484) follows DNa closely, deviating only to take account of specific historic events and circumstances. Thus, Xerxes acknowledged, rather discreetly, that he had conquered no new lands/peoples by speaking of *dahyāva* "of which I was king," where Darius spoke of those "that I seized." Similarly, where his father spoke of

<sup>25</sup> Old Persian *duvaīštām*, the superlative of *dūra* "long (in time and/or space)," appears only in this passage, but is cognate to Avestan *dbōištām* and Vedic *daviṣṭhām*. In contrast to most previous authorities, Rüdiger Schmitt, *Beiträge zu altpersischen Inschriften* (Wiesbaden: Reichert, 1999), pp. 35-36, recognizes the force of the superlative and his analysis of the syntax here is helpful, but other aspects of his interpretation miss both the political and the religious import of this passage. Preferable is the translation of Lecoq, *Les inscriptions de la Perse achéménide*, p. 228 ("Pour longtemps le bonheur sera indestructible").

<sup>26</sup> DSe §3: *dātam taya manā avadiš adāraya*; DSe §4: *dātam taya manā hacā avanā tṣati*.

DPe §2-3 (between 515-12 B.C.E.)	DSe §§3-4 (512 B.C.E.)	DNa §3-4 (between 512-486 B.C.E.)	XPh §3-4a (484 B.C.E.)
By the Wise Lord's will, these are the lands/peoples	By the Wise Lord's will, these are the lands/peoples	By the Wise Lord's will, these are the lands/peoples	By the Wise Lord's will, these are the lands/peoples
that I took hold of with this Persian army.	that I seized far from Persia.	that I seized far from Persia.	far from Persia of which I was king.
They feared me.	I ruled over them.	I ruled over them.	I ruled over them.
They bore me tribute:	They bore me tribute.	They bore me tribute.	They bore me tribute.
	That which was proclaimed to them by me, that they did.	That which was proclaimed to them by me, that they did.	That which was proclaimed to them by me, that they did.
	My law — that held them:	My law — that held them:	My law — that held them:
[List of <i>dahyāva</i> ].	[List of <i>dahyāva</i> ].	[List of <i>dahyāva</i> ].	[List of <i>dahyāva</i> ].
Proclaims Darius the King:	Proclaims Darius the King:	Proclaims Darius the King:	Proclaims Darius the King:
	Much that was ill- done, that I made good.		
If you should think thus — "May I feel no fear from any other" — (then) protect this Persian people/army.	The lands/peoples were seething, one smote the other.	When the Wise Lord saw this earth/empire seething, then he bestowed it on me.	When I became king, there was among the lands/peoples inscribed above one that was seething
	This I did	He made me king. I am king.	Then the Wise Lord bore me help.
	by the Wise Lord's will,	By the Wise Lord's will,	By the Wise Lord's will,
	so that one does not smite the other any more.		I smote that land/people
If the Persian people/ army should be protected, happiness will be undestroyed for the longest time.	Each one is in place.	I set it in place.	and I set it in place.
	My law — of that they feel fear, so that he who is stronger does not smite, does not destroy him who is weak.		

Table 7.2 Formulae introducing lists of *dahyāva* (DPe §2, DSe §3, DNa §3, XPh §3) and describing responses to rebellion (DSe §4, DNa §4, XPh §4).

numerous "seething" rebellions, Xerxes mentioned one only: that in Egypt, which he suppressed early in 484.<sup>27</sup>

All of these inscriptions helped obscure the extent to which the empire depended on violence, the army, and fear, not only in its initial formation, but for its ongoing existence. At Bisitun, it had been necessary for Darius to announce his victories in such an intimidating fashion as to discourage all future opposition. That having been accomplished, his subsequent inscriptions never acknowledged historic conflicts, and mention of military violence rapidly disappeared from them. In place of force, the law was represented as the sole instrument necessary to keep previously unruly lands/peoples quite securely "in place." The most ideal reading of such texts, consistent with the view of empire as a civilizing mission, would suggest that once conquest had been accomplished, further violence became unnecessary, Persian law now being the sole instrument necessary to spread morality, harmony, and well-being from center to the periphery.

More realistically, one suspects provincial subjects knew full well that which the Persian rulers preferred to leave tacit: Behind the law, there always stands the army.

## V

At this point, we can finally consider the last of the great artistic monuments in which Achaemenian sculptors represented the lands/peoples of the empire. These are the six reliefs cut on the rock face of Naqš-ī Rустam at the entrance to the tombs of Darius and all his successors, save only the last, whose tomb was never completed. All of these are patterned after the one made for Darius and are almost identical in their design and iconography (Figure 7.2).

On the top register of these reliefs, the king stands to the left on a three-step platform, facing the Wise Lord above and a fire altar to the right. Below his platform is a horizontal plane, supported by legs and by thirty diminutive figures with arms upraised. Twenty-eight of these figures stand

<sup>27</sup> Upon his accession, Xerxes faced a revolt in Egypt, which he succeeded in quashing by January 484. Another revolt followed in Babylon, which Dandamaev, *Political History of the Achaemenid Empire*, pp. 181-87 dates to the summer of 484, while Pierre Briant, "La date des révoltes babyloniennes contre Xerxès," *Studia Iranica* 21 (1992): 7-20, sees a hiatus of a few years, the Babylonian revolt coming as late as 481. XPh, which acknowledges only one revolt, must therefore have been written sometime after January 484 and before the outbreak of rebellion in Babylon.

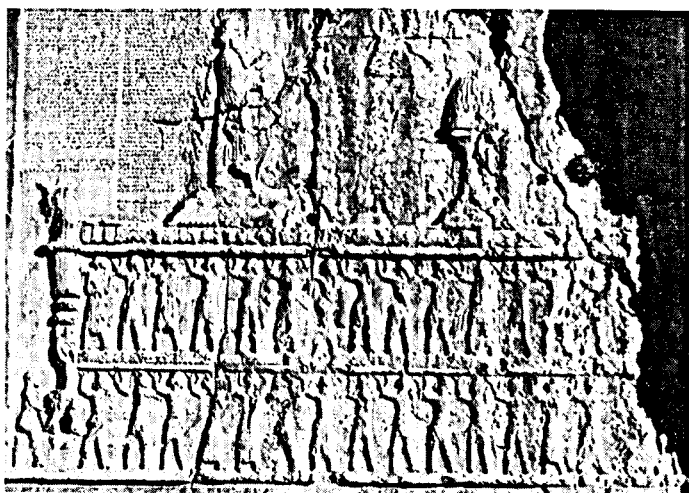


Fig. 7.2 Tomb of Darius, Naqš-ī Rustam. The others follow the same pattern, but differ stylistically in the way they treat the throne-bearer figures.

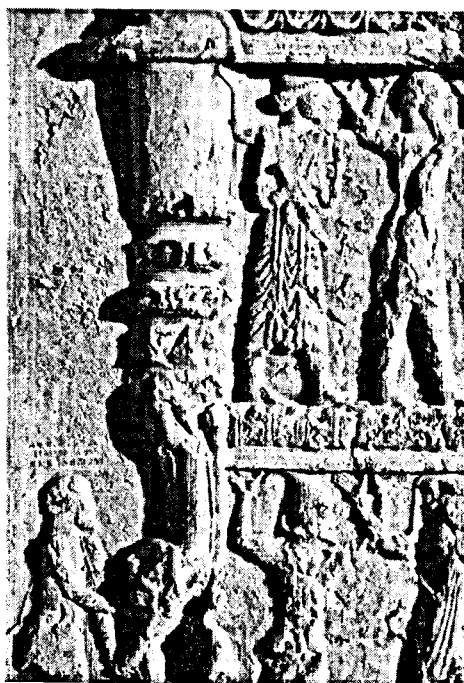


Fig. 7.3 Tomb of Darius, Naqš-ī Rustam, detail. First on the top register is the Persian, with tightly curled hair and beard, doubly draped skirt, and sword. First on the bottom register is the Scythian with the pointed hat.

inside the structure, divided in two registers that may represent the artist's attempt to render perspective. The two other figures stand outside the legs at either corner.<sup>28</sup>

Although the figures on Darius's tomb have been damaged by the weather, one can still recognize many of the same features through which ethnic identity was represented at Bisitun and Persepolis (Figure 7.3). In addition, captions identify every figure in an order that begins on the left of the upper register, with lands/peoples of the imperial center ("This is the Persian. This is the Mede. This is the Elamite"), then moves rightward to depict ever more distant eastern *dahyāva* ("This is the Parthian. This is the Arian. This is the Bactrian..." through "This is the haoma-drinking Scythian" at the end of the register, in fourteenth position). The lower register then begins with the Scythians of the northwest, then moves from western peoples near the center ("This is the Babylonian. This is the Assyrian...") through those who are most distant ("This is the Ethiopian," in twenty-eighth position). Positions number twenty-nine and thirty are assigned to the southern outlying lands/peoples ("This is the Makan. This is the Carian").<sup>29</sup>

The significance of these thirty figures, who are conventionally referred to as "throne-bearers" is also announced in Darius's inscription

*Proclaims Darius the King: When the Wise Lord saw this earth/empire seething, then he bestowed it on me. He made me king. I am king. By the Wise Lord's will, I set it in place. What I proclaimed to them, they did according to my desire. If you should wonder, "How many are the lands/peoples that King Darius held?," look at the pictures of those who bear the throne.*<sup>30</sup>

<sup>28</sup> On these reliefs, see Walser, *Die Völkerschaften auf den Reliefs von Persepolis*, pp. 51-67, Schmidt, *Persepolis. Vol. III: The Royal Tombs and Other Monuments*, pp. 77-118, Peter Calmeyer, "Zur Genese altiranischer Motive. III; Felsgräber," *Archäologische Mitteilungen aus Iran* 8 (1975): 99-113, Root, *King and Kingship in Achaemenid Art*, pp. 72-76 and 147-61, and Hubertus von Gall, "Das achämenidische Königsgrab. Neue Überlegungen und Beobachtungen," in L. de Meyer and E. Haerinck, eds., *Archeologia Iranica et Orientalis. Miscellanea in honorem Louis van den Berghe* (Ghent: Peeters, 1989), pp. 503-23.

<sup>29</sup> Lists of the throne-bearer figures appear at the tombs of Darius (DNe) and Artaxerxes III (A<sup>3</sup>Pb). Both these texts are damaged in places, but comparison to each other, to the *dahyāva* list of DNa §3, and to the reliefs themselves permits reconstruction with a high degree of confidence. For the fullest discussion, see Schmitt, *Beiträge zu altpersischen Inschriften*, pp. 1-25. Translations are available in idem, *The Old Persian Inscriptions of Naqsh-e Rostam and Persepolis* (London: Corpus Inscriptionum Iranicarum, 2000), pp. 47-49 (DNe) and 119-22 (A<sup>3</sup>Pb).

<sup>30</sup> DNa §4: θāti Dārayavauš xšāyaθiya: Auramazdā yaθā avajna imām būmīm yaūdantīm pasāvadim manā frābara; mām xšāyaθiyam akunauš; adam xšāyaθiya ami; vašnā Auramazdāhā adamšim gāθavā niyāšādayam; tayašām adam aθanham, ava akunava, yaθā mām kāma āha; yadipati maniyāhai; ciyākaram avā dahyāva, tayā Dārayavauš xšāyaθiya adāraya, patikarā dīdi, tayai gāθum baranti.



Fig. 7.4 Naqš-e Rostam, tomb of Darius. The king stands on a platform, supported by the structure conventionally referred to as a "throne" (Old Persian *gāθu*).

The inscription thus prompts one to understand the "throne" as representing the empire in its present state of expansion, encompassing thirty lands/peoples represented as throne-bearers. The latter sustain and support the whole structure, whose figurative weight presses down on their equally figurative shoulders. Not a throne like any other, this is a metaphorical throne, a point the relief and inscription both make, each in its fashion. First, the relief depicts a standing, not a seated king, atop a broad platform that has legs, but is hardly to be read as a chair (Figure 7.4). If a throne this be, it is a throne of a very peculiar sort, as art historians have consistently recognized.<sup>31</sup> Second, Old Persian *gāθu*, the word translated "throne" in this passage, never possesses that meaning in any other Achaemenian text, although its cognates do acquire that sense

<sup>31</sup> See, for instance, the attempt of Root, *King and Kingship in Achaemenid Art*, pp. 153-61, to interpret the "throne" as a "throne platform" on which the king was ceremonially carried.



in later Iranian languages.<sup>32</sup> Translations of DNa §4 into other languages of the empire also reflect a certain ambiguity or confusion, since the scribes who produced the Elamite version saw a platform or terrace, while those responsible for the Akkadian saw a throne.<sup>33</sup>

This is not to say that the meaning of the Old Persian word is utterly opaque. On the contrary, its etymology and its other occurrences — all of which are in the locative case (*gāθavā*) — show that *gāθu* meant nothing other than “place.” In fact, this is the same expression we considered earlier as describing the state of pacification (“in place,” *gāθavā*) that Achaemenian discourse constituted as the opposite of rebellion (“seething,” *yaūd-*).<sup>34</sup>

We are also able to see the ways this state was achieved. These processes began with military conquest and continued with extraction of tribute, imposition of a law backed by the threat of state violence, and the cultivation of fear. Finally, there was discursive normalization of the entire imperial apparatus, such that its unseemly features could go unspoken, while its champions — and beneficiaries — persuaded themselves they were God’s chosen agents, doing his will by conquering evil, perfecting existence, bringing history to an end, and establishing happiness for all.

<sup>32</sup> Old Persian *gāθu* is derived from the verb “to come” (Old Persian, Avestan, and Sanskrit *gam-*, Greek βαίω, etc.). Its ancient Indo-Iranian cognates (Avestan *gātu*, Sanskrit *gātū*) denote the act of motion (“coming”), the course of motion (“path”), or the locus to which motion is directed (“place”). In one passage of the Younger Avesta, however (Vidēvdād 19.31-32), Avestan *gātu* does denote a celestial throne. Persian *gāh* and Sogdian *γ’ōwk* also regularly denote thrones, the latter reflecting an older *\*gāθu-ka-*. So unusual and isolated are the semantics of *gāθu* in DNa §4, however, that de Blois, “‘Place’ and ‘Throne’ in Persian,” suggested this was a separate lexeme, homophonous to, but different from all other occurrences, while Lecoq, *Les inscriptions de la Perse achéménide*, p. 220, took it for a neologism.

<sup>33</sup> According to Walther Hinz and Heidemarie Koch, *Elamisches Wörterbuch* (Berlin: Dietrich Reimer, 1987), p. 410, the only other occurrence of Elamite *GIŠ.qa-at* is at DPf §2, where it refers to the terrace of Persepolis. In contrast, the primary meanings of Akkadian *kussū* (ideogram *GIŠ.GU.ZA*) are “1. Chair, sedan chair, 2. Throne,” and only by extension “3. Rule, dominion, royal property and service,” *Assyrian Dictionary of the Oriental Institute* 8: 587-93.

<sup>34</sup> Being “in place” figures as the opposite of rebellion at DB §14 (3x), DSe §4, DNa §4 (where *gāθavā* and *gāθum* both occur), and XPh §4a. The expression also appears at DSe §5 (Darius’s repair of the wall at Susa), DNb §2g (where Darius describes his mind as being “in place”), and at XPf §4 (2x, with reference to royal succession and putting a new king “in place”). The semantics of these passages have been discussed by Hans Schmeja, “Ging ein zum Throne der Götter,” in *Monumentum Georg Morgenstierne*, Vol. 2 (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1982), pp. 185-188, de Blois, “‘Place’ and ‘Throne’ in Persian,” and Rüdiger Schmitt, “Epigraphisch-exegetische Probleme der altpersischen Texte ‘DNb’ und ‘XPf’ (Teil 3),” *Archäologische Mitteilungen aus Iran* 29 (1997): 271-79.

The platforms Darius and his successors occupy in the Naqš-ī Rostam reliefs represent the entire imperial apparatus, which encompasses, contains, organizes, disciplines, and also quite literally depends on the lands/peoples of the empire. To a certain extent, the latter retain their individual ethnic identities, as signified by their distinctive clothes, implements, physiology, and names. At the same time, however, their alterity is largely dissolved into the whole of which they have been made a part, as is expressed through the uniformity of their stance, stature, and action.

To some, the metaphorical representation sculptors gave to the imperial apparatus on the tombs at Naqš-ī Rostam resembles nothing so much as a throne: a throne meant to represent a world pacified, purified, and perfected. From the perspective of the thirty diminutive "throne-bearers," however, it may be imagined that the object which held them so firmly "in place" resembled nothing so much as a prison.

## CHAPTER EIGHT

### THE UNITY AND DIVERSITY OF PEOPLES IN LATER IRANIAN HISTORY

#### I

Chapters Six and Seven involved attempts to read the three most important artworks of Achaemenid Persia and paid particular attention to the way these monuments addressed a set of interrelated themes, all structured as binary oppositions: unity and diversity, center and periphery, ruler and ruled, order and disorder, self and other, good and evil. Toward that end, I found it helpful to make use of evidence drawn from the inscriptions that accompany the relief sculptures at Bisitun, Persepolis, and Naqš-e Rostam. The first of these inscriptions, which is earliest in date and lengthiest by far, proved particularly helpful in recovering the way history was theorized as the period of cosmic time that began when “the Lie” entered and corrupted existence, this entity being understood as the source and essence of everything that is and contributes to divisiveness, confusion, misunderstanding, envy, resentment, unhappiness, rebelliousness, immorality, and myriad other woes. In such circumstances, the Achaemenian rulers represented — and probably understood — themselves as having been chosen by the Wise Lord himself to defeat the Lie and eliminate evil, thus bringing history to an end, together with its vicissitudes and tribulations.

Darius construed his unmasking of the imposter Gaumāta as the first step in that program. Suppression of rebels and conquest of new territories advanced the project further still, and Darius presumably expected his successors to carry these undertakings to their logical conclusion.<sup>1</sup> Herodotus had Xerxes announce his intention to do just that when he informed the Persian nobles that, consistent with the plans of his father and his people’s ancestral *nomos*, “We will produce a Persian earth extending to Zeus’s sky, for the sun will look down on no land that is

<sup>1</sup> That Darius expected the struggle to continue after his death is evident from the advice he gave to his successors at DB §55: “You who may be king hereafter: Protect yourself boldly from the Lie!” (tuvam kā, xšāyaθiya haya aparam āhi, hacā drauḡā dṛšam patipayauvā).

neighbor to ours. Rather, having marched through all Europe together with you, I will make them all one land."<sup>2</sup>

This goal of uniting all peoples into "one land" (*mian khōrēn*) found expression in many aspects of Achaemenian discourse and practice. As we have already noted, it is evident in the way royal scribes appropriated the word *būmi* to denote both earth and empire and how cosmogonic accounts emphasized the original unity of the earth-cum-empire.<sup>3</sup> Primordial unity was shattered, however, when the Lie corrupted and fragmented all four of the Wise Lord's creations. The imperial ambition of making "one land" (as Herodotus put it) thus seems to have been animated and legitimated by a desire to reverse the process of fragmentation and to restore original perfection-in-unity at history's end (Table 8.1). Toward that goal, the Achaemenian rulers, troops, and administrators undertook the requisite tasks of conquest, pacification, domination, and extraction.

<i>Original creation, primordial perfection</i>	<i>Onset of evil, situation in historic time</i>	<i>Imperial restoration, eschatological perfection</i>
One earth ( <i>būmi</i> )	Geographic division into multiple lands ( <i>dahyāva</i> in its reference to territories)	All lands made part of one empire ( <i>būmi</i> )
One sky ( <i>asmān</i> )	Multiplication of gods? Of heavenly bodies? Seasons introduced by celestial motion?	Worship of the Wise Lord? Passage of time ceases?
One man ( <i>martiya</i> )	Political and ethnic division into multiple nationalities ( <i>dahyāva</i> in its reference to populations)	All peoples made part of one empire ( <i>būmi</i> )

<sup>2</sup> Herodotus 7.8: γῆν τὴν Περσίδα ἀποδέξομεν τῷ Διὸς αἰθέρι δμουρέουσιν, οὐ γὰρ δὴ χώραν γε οὐδεμίαν κατόψεται ἥλιος δμουρον ἐοῦσαν τῇ ἡμετέρῃ, ἀλλὰ σφέας πάσας ἐγὼ ἅμα ὑμῖν μίαν χώραν θήσω, διὰ πάσης διεξελθὼν τῆς Εὐρώπης. On the significance of this passage, the old discussion of J.A.S. Evans, "The Dream of Xerxes and the Nomoi of the Persians," *Classical Journal* 57 (1961): 109-11 remains extremely insightful.

<sup>3</sup> As demonstrated by Herrenschmidt, "Désignation de l'empire," and "La première royauté de Darius," *op cit.* See further above, Chapters One, Four, and Five.

One happiness for mankind ( <i>šiyāti... martiyahyā</i> )	Distribution of good things into different terrains, where they become scarce resources ( <i>bāji</i> , "portions")	All <i>bāji</i> paid as tribute to the imperial center. At first, they are used to build gardens ( <i>pairi. daida</i> ) and "wonders" ( <i>fraša</i> ) that are microcosms of perfection. Later, they may be redistributed so that perfect happiness will be omnipresent.
Unity created by the Wise Lord (singular number for all four creations)	Multiplicity produced by the Lie's assault on the original creations	Unity restored by the Achaemenian Kings, chosen and aided by the Wise Lord

Table 8.1 Fate of the Wise Lord's original creations (as listed in cosmogonic accounts, DSf §1, et al.) over the three eras of cosmic time.

## II

Parts of this ideology are better attested in the Achaemenian remains — linguistic, iconographic, and archaeological — than others. What I have presented above is a schematic reconstruction that takes the cosmogonic narrative as its point of departure, but is admittedly speculative as regards some of the details. At points, I have tried to fill in lacunae or amplify scant data, and in doing so, I have followed two principles. First, the existing evidence persuades me that the system was logically coherent and relatively elegant in its structure. I am thus inclined to expect that parts of the system that, by reason of historic accident, happen to be badly attested resemble those for which more ample data have survived. Thus, for instance, although nothing explicitly states that the assault of the Lie was understood to have produced fragmentation of the sky, one can imagine this was so, consistent with the way the fates of earth, mankind, and happiness were theorized. As a hypothesis — but no more than that — one might suggest that a theory of multiple deities and/or heavenly bodies (the zodiac, perhaps?) may have filled out this side of the system.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>4</sup> Multiplicity of deities is acknowledged as part of the current state at AsH §2, DPd §§1 and 3, DPh §2, DSe §6, DSp §1, DSt §2, DH §2, XPb §3, XPc §3, XPd §3, XPg §1, XSc §2, XE §1, XV §§1 and 3, A<sup>1</sup>Pa 23, A<sup>2</sup>Hc §1, and D<sup>2</sup>Sa§13, where the term *baga* occurs in the plural. Prior to the reign of Artaxerxes II (r. 405-359), no deities other than

Second, the details of the Achaemenian cosmogony closely resemble those of Zoroastrian creation accounts that are preserved in Avestan and Pahlavi sources. Consider, for instance, the following passages.

Old Persian: *A great god is the Wise Lord, who created this earth, who created that sky, who created mankind, who created happiness for mankind.*<sup>5</sup>

Avestan: *Before the creation of the sky, of water, of earth, of the plant, before the creation of the quadruped ox, before the birth of the biped righteous/truthful man.*<sup>6</sup>

Pahlavi: *Just so, the Wise Lord created six creations of the material world. First was sky, second water, third earth, fourth plants, fifth animals, sixth man.*<sup>7</sup>

Three of the four items listed in the Old Persian inscriptions — earth, sky, and humanity — recur in the Zoroastrian sources, and all of these use much the same terminology.<sup>8</sup> As for the fourth item — happiness — it is replaced by three others (water, plants, and animals) that define the foods people eat, from which they derive life, health, well-being, and pleasure. Conceivably, this is tantamount to “happiness,” or perhaps the variants simply diverge on this point (see further, Chapter One). So close are the similarities, however, that only two possibilities exist and the two are not mutually exclusive. Either the Achaemenians were Zoroastrians, as the majority of experts now think was the case,<sup>9</sup> or Achaemenians and

the Wise Lord were mentioned by name in any inscription and his supremacy is regularly asserted when he is called “greatest of the gods” (*maθišta bagānām*, AsH §2, DPd §1, DSP §1, DH §2, XE §1, XV §1, A2Hc §1). Darius asserted that all peoples should be made to worship the Wise Lord on the fifth column of the Bisitun inscription (DB §§72-73 and 75-76). Similarly, Xerxes described his suppression of those who worshipped deities that he classified as *daiṇas* (“demons,” but perhaps simply “old gods” or “gods to now be rejected”) at XPh §4b. This notwithstanding, a relatively high degree of religious tolerance seems to have characterized Achaemenian administrative practice.

<sup>5</sup> DSf §1 = DSt §1 = DSab §1 = DE §1 = XPa § = XPb §1 = XPe §1 = XPd §1 = XPf §1 = XPh §1 = A<sup>1</sup>Pa §1 = D<sup>2</sup>Ha §1 = A<sup>3</sup>Pa §1: *baga vaṛka Auramazdā haya imām būmim adā haya avam asmānam adā haya martiyam adā haya šiyātim adā martiyahyā.*

<sup>6</sup> Yasna 19.8: *para auuainhe ašnō dāñhōit para āpō para zamō para uruuaraiiā para gēuš caθarēpaitištānaiiā dāñhōit para narš ašaonō bipaitištānahe zaθāt.*

<sup>7</sup> Greater Bundahišn 3.7 (TD<sup>2</sup> MS. p. 33, lines 2-5): *ōwōn-iz dām ī gētīg 6 brēhēnīd nazdist asmān dudīgar āb sidīgar zamīg cahārom urwar panjom gōspand šašom mardōm.*

<sup>8</sup> The name assigned to the Creator is the same in all instances (Ahura Mazdā, Auramazdā, Ohrmazd), and the verb denoting his creative action recurs in both Old Persian and Avestan (*²dā-*, Pahlavi uses *brēhēnīdan*). The words used for sky (*asmān*, *asan*, *asmān*) are the same in all three and those for man are closely related in Old Persian and Pahlavi (*martiya*, *mardōm*; Avestan uses *nar*). Avestan and Pahlavi use the same term for the earth (*zam*, *zamīg*), but this differs from Old Persian *būmī*.

<sup>9</sup> An earlier generation of scholars resisted the temptation to view the Achaemenians as Zoroastrian, including Benveniste, *Persian Religion according to the chief Greek Texts*

Zoroastrians both drew on the same set of pan-Iranian traditions, which they adapted to suit their own interests and advance their particular purposes. I tend to favor the latter view, but in either event one is justified to make use of the Zoroastrian materials to help interpret Achaemenian data.

Thus, to take one example, the Achaemenian *dahyāva* lists, tribute processions, the testimony of Herodotus 1.134, and other evidence I considered in Chapter Three all make clear that the Persians understood themselves to be located at the center of the earth and based their sense of moral superiority on this (putative) fact. Nowhere, however, is there direct testimony they connected this idea to their myths of creation. When one looks to the Zoroastrian variants, however, these commonly state that creation — including that of the first man — took place at the mid-point of the globe, which they explicitly identify with Iran.<sup>10</sup> Again, one may hypothesize that something similar may have been present in the Achaemenian cosmogonic tradition, even if the inscriptions themselves leave this point implicit (see further, Chapter Eleven).

### III

If the Zoroastrian variants have some use in reconstructing Achaemenian imperial ideology, they also hold interest on their own. What is

and Widengren, *Die Religionen Irans*, pp. 117-55. In recent decades, however, common opinion has shifted. See, in particular, Boyce, *History of Zoroastrianism*. Vol. 2: *Under the Achaemenids*, and Skjærvø, "Avestan Quotations in Old Persian?," idem, "The Achaemenids and the Avesta." A good summary of the issues and status of the question is Clarisse Herrenschmidt, "La religion des Achéménides: État de la question," op cit. Also important are Jean Kellens, "Les Achéménides dans le contexte indo-iranien," *Topoi Supplement* 1 (1997): 287-97, Eric Pirart, "Le mazdéisme politique de Darius Ier," *Indo-Iranian Journal* 45 (2002): 121-51, and Matt Waters, "Cyrus and the Achaemenids," *Iran* 42 (2004): 91-102, esp. pp. 98-99. That at least some who considered themselves Zoroastrians were present at the Achaemenid court during the 4th Century is now certain, given the discovery of a seal with an Aramaic inscription that reads *zrtštrš*, i.e. *zaraθuš-triš* "Follower of Zarathustra," on which see Rüdiger Schmitt, "Onomastica Iranica Symmicta," in Riccardo Ambrosini, et al., eds., *Scribthair a ainm n-ogaim. Scritti in Memoria di Enrico Campanile* (Pisa: Picini Editore, 1997), pp. 922-24.

<sup>10</sup> Creation and the original assault of evil both took place at the middle of the world according to *Dādestān ī Dēnīg* 36.19 and 32, *Dēnkard* 3.312, Greater *Bundahišn* 1a.13 and 4.10, Selections of *Zādspram* 2.4 and 2.9-10. In similar fashion, the first plant (*Dēnkard* 5.19.25, Pahlavi Rivāyat accompanying the *Dādestān ī Dēnīg* 56.1, Greater *Bundahišn* 1a.11, Selections of *Zādspram* 2.7 and 3.39) and the first animal (Pahlavi Rivāyat accompanying the *Dādestān ī Dēnīg* 46.15 and 56.1, Greater *Bundahišn* 1a.12, Selections of *Zādspram* 2.9) were created at earth's center. Texts like *Dādestān ī Dēnīg* 20.2 and Pahlavi Rivāyat accompanying the *Dādestān ī Dēnīg* 45.1, Greater *Bundahišn* 1a.12, and Selections of *Zādspram* 3.50 further identify this center of the world with Iran.

more, they can provide an instructive point of contrast, showing how common Iranian ideas about creation were developed in non- and even in post-imperial contexts.

If we pick up on those variants, the general line of the narrative is similar to that I sketched out for the Achaemenians, but the story is much more fully elaborated at numerous points. Thus, if we begin with the Wise Lord's six original creations, numerous texts describe how Ahreman was jealous of their beauty and perfection. Accordingly, he produced a set of monsters with which to wage war against earth, sky, water, first plant, first animal, and first human. All of these were singular creatures, who possessed all the good qualities that would later be distributed among the members of the varied families they would found in dying, when their bodily integrity fell apart. Initially, however, they were immortal and asexual, for being immortal, they had no need to reproduce.

The name by which the first human is known in all accounts was Gayōmard, a term that means "Mortal life." Some texts state, however, that initially he was known as Gaya ("Life") and his name changed after Ahreman's assault to reflect his altered status, which is no longer the perfection Ohrmazd intended, but nor is it the nothingness sought by the Evil Spirit.<sup>11</sup> By introducing death, Ahreman had meant to destroy the Wise Lord's culminating creation, but — as the texts delight in recounting — evil is unable to overcome good in any definitive fashion.

<sup>11</sup> Dēnkard 3.209 (Madan MS. 229.19-230.10):

*The definition of humanity in its original state of purity is "life-force that is embodied and immortal" (i.e. +material existence+eternal life); in the state of mixture produced by the Evil Spirit's Assault, the definition is "life-force that is embodied and mortal" (i.e., +material existence-eternal life). This is the essence and the definition of things, which mankind has as its inheritance, being "embodied existence." This fate figures in the explanation of his name, Gayōmard, which was given to him after the Assault. In this time, the explanation of the name Gayōmard is "(mortal) life" (i.e., gaya-mard) in common speech. In the (original) condition of purity, his name was Gaya: "life" in the speech of power (i.e., divine or ideal language).*

wimand-iz mardōm andar abēzagīh axw ī astōmand amarg andar ēbgatīg gumēzigīh axw ī astōmand margōmand. ud ēn hast xwadīh ud wimand ī baxtīg kē mardōm bē az abarmānd. ciyōn xwadīh ī mardōm axw ī astōmand... ēn-iz brēh andar wizārišn ī Gayōmard nām ān ī andar ēbgatīgīh \*dād ud pad ān ī ka Gayōmard nām wizārišn zindagīh gōwāgīh ī mērāg. ud andar abēzagīh \*Gaya nām būd hast zindagīh ī gōwāgīh nērōg.

Cf. Dēnkard 3.80 (Madan ed. 73.16-21), which defines Gayōmard as "the first mortal" (*mard ī fradom*) and says he was distinguished by three characteristics of the human. Two of these — life and speech — came from the Wise Lord. The third, mortality, is the result of Ahreman's assault, and will disappear at the cosmic renovation (*frašgird*) that marks the end of history and the restoration of perfection.



Ahremen being as ignorant (a prime characteristic of all things evil) as the Wise Lord is omniscient, the plans of the former always manage to backfire, sometimes with exquisite irony. Thus, while death surely detracted from the perfection of human existence, the latter was damaged and corrupted, but not annihilated. In compensation, sexuality and reproduction produced continuity for the species, in place of individual immortality. A passage from the *Dādēstān ī Dēnīg* spells out the point.

*Ahremen shamed the bountiful Creator when he killed the sole person (in existence), who was called Gayōmard. Gayōmard returned to material existence as a man and a woman, whose names were Mahryē ('Mortal,' with a masculine ending) and Mahryānē ('Mortal,' with a feminine ending). It is told that having joined through next-of-kin marriage, they organized lines of descendants. The Lie did not gain hold of them, and generations of their progeny came into being through death. So when death increased among the living, their progeny and offspring also increased. Thus, with the immoderate destructiveness of the Foul Spirit, who is full of death, and with the undiminished aggressivity he asserts through death and the production-of-death, thereafter there is birth-from-death. As many people as there were before, in the passage of time there come to be many more. Thousands of thousands, myriads of myriads originated from the bodies of these two people, Mahryē and Mahryānē. From the limited number of the departed come all the living people in the material world. Thus it is evident how many people the Lie struggled to destroy with death. But the (superior) power of the Creator's abundance is also clearly revealed.<sup>12</sup>*

This text, like most Pahlavi literature, was committed to writing in the 9th Century C.E., well after the Arab conquest of Iran, at a time when pressures for conversion to Islam were mounting and Zoroastrian priests feared they could no longer maintain their traditions simply through oral transmission. Clearly, the content is much older than the date of its inscription, but it is always difficult and often quite impossible to establish just how old it actually is or to establish the proper historical context for any idea or passage. With regard to the materials we are considering — i.e., those that narrate the transformation of humanity from a single,

<sup>12</sup> *Dādēstān ī Dēnīg* 36.68-69: abzōnīg dādār owōn \*xwārēnīd ka-š ēk tan ī xwānīhēd Gayōmard murnjēnīd. abāz mad ō gētig mard-ē zan-ē ī-šān hām Mahrya ud Mahryānā būd hēnd. u-š wāxt \*kū xwēdōdāhīhā tōmagān rāyēnīd ud paywast. nē \*ayāft druz be ō awēšān ud ān ī awēšān frazand āwādag pad margīh. tā ka abzūd abar marg <◇> zīndagān az ān awēšān frazand ud paywand owōn kū abāg apaymān murnjēnīdārīh ī purr-marg Gannāg Mēnōg ud ānāst/ārast kōxšīdārīh ī-š pad marg ud margēnīdārīh pas-iz zāyišn az margīh ud and pēš andar uzīd zamānag ud and wēš kū az ī 2 tanān hazārān hazār bēwarān bēwar. widard ošmār az mar sāmānēnīd zīndagān mardōmān andar gētig. ēdōnīh didārīg cand druz pad margīh ō abesīhēnīdan \*kōxšīd zōr ī dādār abzōnīgīh rōšn paydāg.

prototypic, asexual and immortal individual (Gayōmard) to a primordial brother and sister (Mahryē and Mahryānē),<sup>13</sup> whose incestuous marriage gave rise to all the world's variegated populations — the situation is somewhat clearer than most.<sup>14</sup>

This is because a passage from the Dēnkard exists that provides a summary of the contents from a now-lost portion of the Sassanian Avesta known as the Cihrdād Nask. That text would have been part of the corpus assembled during the reign of Šapuhr II (309-79 C.E.), and presumably composed some centuries before, although there is no way of ascertaining just how far back the tradition reaches.<sup>15</sup> Mention of both Gaya and Gaya marətan (the Avestan antecedent of Pahlavi Gayōmard) in one of the oldest hymns of the Avesta, in a context that connects the former with the Wise Lord's five other original creations and the latter with subsequent generations of human descendants, suggests that this mythic figure and at least some of the stories associated with him ascend well into the 1st millennium B.C.E.

*We sacrifice to the pre-existent souls ... that of heaven, that of water, that of earth, that of the plant, that of the bovine, that of Gaya ("Life") and those of the blessed righteous/truthful.*

<sup>13</sup> These names appear in various texts with a great many dialectal variants, including Mahlyā and Mahliyyānē, Mašya and Mašyanag, etc. I have chosen to normalize all occurrences under one form, but for linguistic discussion of the details, see Bailey, *Zoroastrian Problems in the 9th Century Books*, pp. 179-80.

<sup>14</sup> An excellent secondary literature exists on these materials, beginning with the extraordinary work of Christensen, *Le premier homme et premier roi dans l'histoire légendaire des iraniens: I. Gajōmard, Mašjay et Mašyānāy, Hōšang et Taḫmōruw*. Other contributions include Schaefer, *Studien zum antiken Synkretismus aus Iran und Griechenland*, Sven Hartman, *Gayōmart. Étude de syncretisme dans l'ancien Iran* (Uppsala: Almqvist & Wiksells, 1953) (not to be used without caution), Karl Hoffmann, "Mārtānda und Gayomart," *Münchener Studien zu Sprachwissenschaft* 11 (1957): 85-103, Geo Widengren, "The Death of Gayōmart," in Joseph M. Kitagawa and Charles H. Long, eds., *Myths and Symbols: Studies in Honor of Mircea Eliade* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1969), pp. 179-94, Bruce Lincoln, *Priests, Warriors, and Cattle: A Study in the Ecology of Religions* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1981), pp. 69-95, and Shaul Shaked, "First man, first king: notes on Semitic-Iranian syncretism and Iranian mythological transformations," in S. Shaked, et al., eds., *Gilgul: Essays on Transformation, Revolution, and Permanence in the History of Religions dedicated to R.J. Zwi Werblowsky* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1987), pp. 238-56, idem, "Cosmic Origins and Human Origins in the Iranian Cultural Milieu," in Shaul Shaked, ed., *Genesis and Regeneration: Essays on Conceptions of Origins* (Jerusalem: The Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities, 2005), pp. 210-22.

<sup>15</sup> Regarding formation of the Avestan text and canon, see Widengren, *Die Religionen Irans*, pp. 246-59, Karl Hoffmann and Johanna Narten, *Der Sasanidische Archetypus. Untersuchung zu Schreibung und Lautgestalt des Avestischen* (Wiesbaden: Reichert, 1989).

*We sacrifice to the pre-existent soul of the righteous/truthful Gaya marətan ("Mortal life"), who first heard the teachings and thoughts of the Wise Lord, from whom (the Wise Lord) created the progeny of the Aryan lands/peoples, the seed of the Aryan lands/peoples.<sup>16</sup>*

The final sentence of this passage introduces an issue of some interest and importance. Although it makes Gayōmard the ultimate ancestor of humanity, much like the other materials we have considered, it also introduces an important qualification, for he is not the ancestor of *all* peoples, only the Aryans (a category simultaneously linguistic, religious, and ethnic or racial).<sup>17</sup> Two possible implications follow. Either other, non-Aryan peoples have their own ancestors and are recognized as alternate genera of the human species, each endowed with their own lines of descent, mythic traditions, and individual character, or these others fall outside the category of the human, which is limited to Gayōmard's descendants. The Pahlavi summary of the lost Avestan text that I mentioned earlier further complicates this issue.

#### IV

What that passage makes clear is that the Cihrdād Nask was nothing so much as a compendium of ethnographic knowledge. What is more, it seems to have traced the fact — and the details — of human diversity to the story of Gayōmard and his descendants. Thus, the order in which its topics are announced follows mythic chronology.

The Cihrdād Nask treats:

- 1) the races of humanity;
- 2) how the Wise Lord's creation of Gayōmard, the first man, gave rise to the introduction of bodily form;
- 3) how the first couple, Mahryē ud Mahryānē, came into being;
- 4) their progeny and the progress of people in Xwanirah, the central world-region;

<sup>16</sup> Yašt 13.86-87: *fravašaiiō yazamaide... yaṃca ašnō, yaṃca āpō, yaṃca zəmə, yaṃca uruuaraiiā, yaṃca gəuš, yaṃca gaiiehe, yaṃca staoiīō ašāuuaoiīō. gaiiehe marəθnō ašaonō frauuašim yazamaide. yō paoriīō ahurāi mazdāi manasca gūšta sāsnašca, yahmat haca frəθβərəsat nāfō airiianəm dahiiunəm, ciθrem airiianəm dahiiunəm.*

<sup>17</sup> The fullest recent discussions of what the term "Aryan" meant in ancient and medieval Iranian discourse is found in a series of publications by Gherardo Gnoli, "Le dieu des Arya," *Studia Iranica* 12 (1983): 7-22, *The Idea of Iran: An Essay on its Origin* (Rome: Serie Orientale, 1989), and *Iran als religiöser Begriff im Mazdaismus* (Opladen: Westdeutscher Verlag, 1993), but see also the critical response of A. S. Shahbazi, "The History of the Idea of Iran," in Vesta Sarkhosh Curtis and Sarah Stewart, eds., *Birth of the Persian Empire* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2005), pp. 100-11.

- 5) the distribution<sup>18</sup> of their progeny over the six world-regions around Xwanirah.

It describes:

- 6) all the races in detail, with attention to the commands the Creator sent to each separate race, ordering them to go to a place where their allotted way of life and good fortune were distributed to them;
- 7a) their migrations to every world-region,
- 7b) also the migration that took people to the outlying districts of Xwanirah,
- 7c) and the situation of the people who made their dwelling in the center;
- 8) the separation of the customs for each individual species of humanity that was created at the foundation of the races.<sup>19</sup>

All members of the human species were thus understood as part of the same family in the most literal sense, for they all descended from Gayōmard via Mahryē and Mahryānē. This is further established by the word here translated "race" (Pahlavi *tōhmag*), which also means "family" or "lineage" and is built on the word for "semen" or "seed" (*tōhm*).<sup>20</sup> Differences among the races, then, were theorized as resulting from the geographic dispersion of various branches of the family from the world's center, the site of creation, to outlying regions, following commands given them individually by the Wise Lord. Once installed in their new locales, each group then received the particular traits (cultural and material) that would thereafter distinguish them from all other peoples. Once again, this was the doing of the Wise Lord.

This summary provides only a general sketch of the Cihrdād Nask's contents, and very few of its details. Still, enough survives to let us conclude

<sup>18</sup> Use of the term *baxšišn* ("distribution") to describe the process of migration and diaspora connects these events to the Wise Lord's bestowal ("distribution," *baxt*) of a specific way of life (*ziwišn*) and a specific measure of good fortune (*xwarrah*) to each of the world's peoples, as described in 8.13.3. Pahlavi *baxšišn* and *baxt* are also etymologically related to Old Persian *bāji* ("portion"), the term we discussed in relation to tributary practices and ideology among the Achaemenians in Chapter Six.

<sup>19</sup> Dēnkard 8.13.1-4 (Madan ed. 688.6-17): Cihrdād mādayān abar tōhmag mardōmān ciyōn brēhēnidan ī Ohmazd Gayōmard fradom mard ō paydāgihist ī kirbīh ud cē ēwēnag būd ī fradom dōstāg \*Mašyē ud Mašyānē ud abar zahag paywand ī awēšān tā purr-rawiśnīh <D> mardōm andar mayānag ī Xwanirah ī kišwar ud baxšišn ī u-šan pad 7 kišwar ī pēramōn Xwanirah tōhmag tōhmag ī nāmcīšīg ōšmūrēd pad aštag frēstišnīg framān ī dādār ō jud jud tōhmag ī-š ō gyāg kū šud<an> framūd handāxtan ziwišn ud xwarrah az ānōh baxt ēstād. u-šan wihez ī ō kišwar kišwar ud ān-iz ī ō kustagihā Xwanirah ud ān ī-šan pad mayānag gyāg mānišn kard-iz be wizārdagih ēwēnag ēk ēk \*sardag ī mardōmān ī andar bun tōhmag dād ēstād.

<sup>20</sup> See Emile Benveniste, "Persica II," *Bulletin de la Société de linguistique de Paris* 31 (1931): 76-79, idem, "Études sur le vieux-perse," pp. 37-39, op cit., Henrik Samuel Nyberg, *A Manual of Pahlavi* (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1974) 2: 94, and D.N. MacKenzie, *A Concise Pahlavi Dictionary* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1971), p. 83. Cf. Old Persian *taumā* "family, lineage," Avestan *taoxman* "semen, seed."

that it asserted the underlying unity of the human species. Second, that it regarded national, ethnic, and racial differentiation as functions of history, geography, and culture, resisting any temptation to essentialize these by grounding them in biology and nature. Third, that it took all the distinguishing features associated with different groups to have been God's gift to them. In all these ways, the Cihrdād advanced exceptionally generous, tolerant, and humane views. This notwithstanding, the text contained another line of analysis potentially dissonant with its egalitarian impulses. This emerges most clearly in points 7a, b, and c above, where it constructs world geography as a set of concentric circles in which peoples are differentially distributed by means of migrations. Thus, some people (those described in 7c) never moved from the central districts of Xwanirah, where creation occurred and therefore experienced least change from the original, ideal conditions of existence.<sup>21</sup> Other texts make clear that this centermost region was the best of all places, and its people — the Iranians — were the best of people.<sup>22</sup> Others moved

<sup>21</sup> Consider, for instance, Dēnkard 3.29 (Madan ed. 24.20-25.6; Dresden ed. 17.20-18.6).

*The relation of Iran to the districts is that of the head to other bodily members. Thus, inevitably, the law and religion appropriate to the districts are the law and religion of Iran, which is their head. And from the arrival of the law and Good Religion, they have had profit, abundance and growth, as these came to them from the law of Iran, through their rule by Iran, which is lord of the seven regions and also of Xwanirah. Iran has been their lord since Hōšang, Tāxmōrup, Yima, Frēdōn, and other heroes, who came to lordship and power over them.*

hēd ō-iz kustag hannāmān az-šān sar Ērān-šahr \*sazišnīg dād dēn az ham ācārdar ī Ērān ī-šān sar dād dēn. u-š az abar rasišnīh ham dād dēn wehīh ud sūd zōn ābzōn ciyōn-šān mad az dād ī Ērān pad xwadāyīh awēšān Ērān kē 7 kišwar ud kē-iz Xwanirah xwadāy ī awēšān Ērān būd hēnd az Hōšang ud Tāxmōrup ud Yim ud Frēdōn ud any-iz ēr ī ō awēšān ōz ī-šān xwadāyīh mad ēstēd.

<sup>22</sup> On Xwanirah, its virtues and people, see Dēnkard 7.1.26, 9.21.24, Greater Bundahišn 8.6-7, 29.3-4, Selections of Zādspram 3.35, 3.86, 35.14, 35.39, Dādēstān ī Dēnīg 36.59, 90.3. Note also that the version of the mythic narrative found in Dēnkard 3.312 (Madan ed. 313.18-314.4) names the central region from which populations emigrated "Iran" rather than "Xwanirah," the two terms being understood as virtually synonymous.

*The first transmission of the word of instruction from the Wise Lord to the world of embodied creatures was via Gayōmard's thought. The second was by means of speech, also by means of guidance, via Māhryē and Māhryānē. The first command carried by a messenger came to Syāmag, who was Mahryē's son, and to his descendants, by the messengers Good Mind and Obedience (Wahman and Srōš). They transmitted the order for migration of people from Iran to other countries and districts... [Accordingly,] embodied beings scattered to the seven world regions, and there was progress of people in different countries.*

az Ohrmazd \*waxš abar barišnīg hammōzišn andar axw ī astōmand fradom ō Gayōmard menišn būd. ud did gōwišnīg ud nimāyišnīg-iz ō Māhrē ud Māhryānē. ud ān ī aštag frēstišnīg handarz fradom ō Syāmag ī Mašī pus u-š frazandān pad aštagīh Wahman ud Srōš ud ān ī waxš-burdār ī abar wihēz ī mardōm az Ēranwēz ō dēhān pāygos... axw ī astōmand ō haft kišwar purr-rawišnīh ī būd ī mardōm andar dēhān.

to distant parts of Xwanirah (as described in 7b), and others to the outermost world-regions (as described in 7a). The latter may have been meant to represent Europe and Africa, or they may simply have been continents of the imagination, but in either case, their inhabitants were barbarians outside the pale.

This less-generous perspective also surfaces in the Dēnkard's summary of genealogical information from the Cihrdād Nask. Apparently, the older text traced the lines of descent from Gayōmard, Mahryē and Mahryānē through a great many generations, paying particular attentions to the Iranian royal line.<sup>23</sup> At two points, however, it took pains to account for peoples who were not only non-Iranian, but chief among Iran's historic enemies (Figure 8.1). Thus, several generations after Mahryē and Mahryānē, kingship was created and bestowed on the first Iranian ruler, Hōšang, an eminently admirable hero. His brother, however, was Tāz, eponymous ancestor of the Arabs (Pahlavi *Tāzigān*). Moreover, such of Tāz's descendants as the text deigns to mention were scoundrels, monsters, and usurpers.<sup>24</sup> Similarly, the fourth Iranian king, the great hero Frēdōn, had three sons, each ancestor to a different race and nation. Most important was Irāj (eponymous ancestor of all subsequent Iranians), who suffered jealousy and murderous animosity from his less worthy brothers Tōz (ancestor of the Turanians or Turks) and Salm (ancestor of the Romans and Byzantines).<sup>25</sup> In all these stories, the inferiority of non-Iranian peoples is strongly marked and structurally overdetermined. Occupying peripheral territories, they comport themselves less nobly and descend from cadet lines.

<sup>23</sup> The genealogical content of the Cihrdād Nask is summarized at Dēnkard 8.13.5-18 (Madan MS. 688.17-690.2).

<sup>24</sup> Hōšang and his rule are described at Dēnkard 8.5-6 (Madan ed. 688.17-22). On the importance of this first king in Iranian legendary history, see Christensen, *Le premier homme et premier roi* 1: 131-64. Descent of the Arabs and of the arch-fiend Aži Dahāka from his brother Tāz is mentioned at 8.13.8 (Madan MS. 689.2-4).

<sup>25</sup> Frēdōn's three sons are introduced at 8.13.9 (Madan MS. 689.6-8) and 8.13.15 (Madan MS. 689.15-16) states that the Cihrdād Nask contained "many books of detailed accounts of the races of Iran (*tōhmag ī Ērān*, i.e. the descendants of Ērāj), Turān (*tōhmag ī... Tūrān*, i.e. the descendants of Tōz), and Rome (*tōhmag ī... Salmān*, i.e. the descendants of Salm)." The fratricidal relations of these siblings are discussed in numerous other sources, including Greater Bundahišn 35.11-14 (TD<sup>2</sup> MS. 229.12-230.7), Dēnkard 7.1.28-30, Mēnōg ī Xrad 27.43, and Ayādgār ī Jāmāspīg 4.39-41.

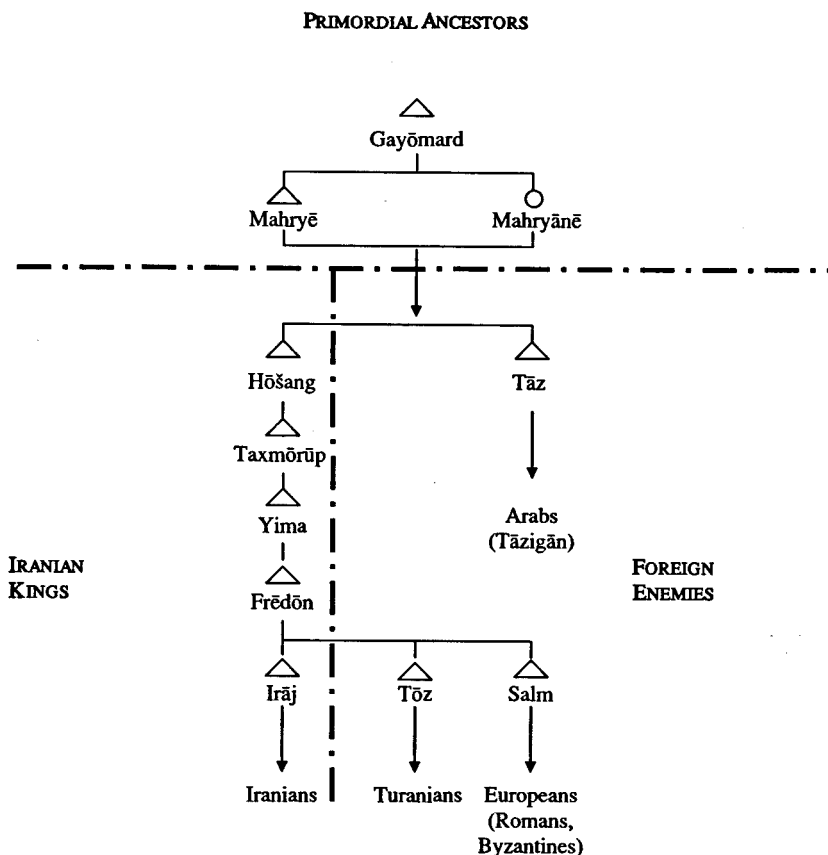


Fig. 8.1 Mythic genealogy, as narrated in the Cihrdād Nask, according to Dēnkard 8.13.5-9.

## V

Several Pahlavi texts contain materials that closely resemble the contents of the Cihrdād Nask, and details of vocabulary make it highly probable this was the source from which they were taken.<sup>26</sup> One of these

<sup>26</sup> Thus, Dēnkard 8.13.2 uses the rather unusual term *purr-rawišnīh* to denote what we would be inclined to call the "progress" or "development" of Mahryē and Mahryānē's descendants, while summarizing the Cihrdād Nask. The same term recurs in discussions that are thematically quite close at Dādēstān ī Dēnīg 64.2, Dēnkard 3.312, and Greater Bundahišn 14.35 (TD<sup>2</sup> MS. 106.5). Similarly, the word used as the title of this last text (*bun-dahišn*, "Original creation" or "foundation of creation") recurs in the summary of

is a chapter of the Bundahišn entitled “On the nature of humans” (*abar ciyōnīh mardōmān*), which expands on the myths of Gayōmard, Mahryē, Mahryānē, and others, then goes on to develop an elaborate taxonomy of the species. Regrettably, time does not permit us to treat the intricacies of the mythic narrative, but we can do justice to the taxonomy, which holds more than a few surprises and some important lessons.

Briefly, the Bundahišn account picks up where we left off, in the generation of Hōšang, first king of Iran and his brother Tāz, ancestor of the Arabs, adding the information that they were sons of a certain Frawāg, himself the grandson of Mahryē and Mahryānē. What is more, Hōšang and Tāz had other siblings: twenty-eight, to be exact, and all were organized in fifteen brother-and-sister/husband-and-wife couples. “From them, fifteen pairs were born and each pair became a separate race/species.”<sup>27</sup> In this context, the types in question may be understood as nationalities or ethnic groups, nine of whom migrated to the outer world-regions, and these are left unnamed. As regards the six peoples who remained inside Xwanirah, the text supplies two different lists, drawn from two different sources. The lists differ considerably and one of them has three, rather than the expected six members. Still, in both lists, Iranians occupy first place.<sup>28</sup>

the Cihrdād’s contents at Dēnkard 8.13.6, 7, and 20, where it is seemingly used as a technical term. (Note also *bun tōhmag* [“foundation of the races”] at 8.13.4 and *bun nihišn ī dād ī ēwēnag* [“original establishment of law and custom”] at 8.13.6. In the past, it was thought that the Damdād Nask was the prime source of the Bundahišn, but that the latter also made heavy use of the Cihrdād Nask is now commonly acknowledged as, for instance, by Carlo Cereti, *La Letteratura Pahlavi. Introduzione ai testi con riferimenti alla storia degli studi e alla tradizione manoscritta* (Milan: Mimesis, 2001), p. 87. More broadly on this, most important of Pahlavi texts, Cereti, pp. 87-105.

<sup>27</sup> Greater Bundahišn 14.35 (TD<sup>2</sup> MS. 106.4-5)/Indian Bundahišn 15.26: *az awēšān 15 juxtag u-š zād kē harw juxt-ē sardag sardag-ē būd*. Pahlavi *sardag* is usually used to denote different plant or animal species, *tōhmag* being used for sub-divisions of the human. In this chapter of the Bundahišn, however, *sardag* is consistently used to denote the salient subcategories of the human species, which might be considered genera, races, nationalities or simply “types.”

<sup>28</sup> There is some manuscript variation between Greater Bundahišn 14.36-37 (TD<sup>2</sup> MS 106.6-107.3) and Indian Bundahišn 15.28-29, which only makes things more interesting. List I is the same in both variants, but List II — which is introduced by the phrase “In one account...” (*pad ēw mar*), suggesting it draws on a different source — diverges in one of its six members. Close analysis suggests that List IIB (the variant of the Indian Bundahišn) has actually incorporated an older, binary system — the opposition of Iran and non-Iran (*ērān ud anērān*) — and dropped the most distant member of List IIA (the peoples of India) in order to accommodate the added category of “those in non-Iranian lands” (*ān ī pad Ērān dehān ān ī pad Anēr deh*). The data are as follows.



At this point, however, the text goes far beyond anything we have seen in materials previously considered. In addition to the fifteen national or ethnic "types" that descend from Frawāg, there are another ten types that descend from Gayōmard in some other, unspecified fashion.<sup>29</sup> These ten types, listed at Greater Bundahišn 14.31, are not ethnic or national in any sense. Rather, they are best described as "humanoid creatures," i.e. those organisms who resemble people closely enough in some anatomical detail that Zoroastrian science identified them as subcategories of the human. In some of these cases, we are inclined to agree: we also classify dwarves and giants as humans who differ from others only in size, for instance. In other cases, our principles of taxonomy lead us to different

	List I Greater Bundahišn 14.36, Indian Bundahišn 15.28	List IIa Greater Bundahišn 14.37	List IIb Indian Bundahišn 15.29	Presumed intrusive system in List IIb
1	Iranians, descended from Hōšang	Iranians	Iranians	Iranians
2	Arabs ( <i>Tāzigān</i> ), descended from Tāz	Turanians	Non-Iranians	Non-Iranians
3	Giants ( <i>Mazāndarān</i> )	Byzantines (or Romans), descended from Salm	Turanians	
4		Chinese, descended from Sēn	Byzantines (or Romans), descended from Salm	
5		Dahae (Dacians?)	Chinese, descended from Sēn	
6		Indians	Dahae (Dacians?)	

<sup>29</sup> The chapter opens by quoting the Avestan source on which it draws.

*On the nature of people. In the religion (i.e., the Avesta), it says: "I brought forth humans in ten types. First that which is the white light of the eye, which is Gayōmard, down to the ten types, which are like the one Gayōmard. The ninth from Gayōmard comes into being again. The tenth is the monkey, which is said to be the lowliest of humans.*

abar ciyōnīh mardōmān. pad dēn guft kū-m mardōmān fraz brēhēnīd 10 sardag nazdist ān ī rōšn ī spēd ī dōysar ī hast Gayōmard tā 10 sardag ciyōn ēk Gayōmard 9-om az Gayōmard abāz būd. 10-om kabīg mardōmān nidom gōwēd. (Greater Bundahišn 14.0-1 [TD<sup>2</sup> MS. 100.3-7]).

Toward the end, the text returns to this idea and integrates it with the other contents it developed in subsequent passages.

*As there are ten types of people that were discussed at the beginning and fifteen types are descended from Frawāg, twenty-five types all came into being from the seed of Gayōmard.*

ciyōn 10 sardag mardōm ī az bun guft 15 sardag az Frawāg būd 25 sardag hamāg az tōhm ī Gayōmard būd hēnd. (Greater Bundahišn 14.38 [TD<sup>2</sup> MS. 107.3-5])

Clearly, the chapter is working to integrate two different systems — one with fifteen subtypes of the human, based on national/ethnic identity, and one with ten subtypes, based on physiological resemblances to the human in certain animals — to produce one system with twenty-five subtypes, divided into two subsystems.

conclusions, although we can understand why Zoroastrians recognized bears and monkeys — bipeds who stand upright — as hairy, tailed, sylvan varieties of the human. Bats also, whose skeletal physiology is remarkably humanoid, are classified as humans with wings. The full list, which can be understood as an extraordinary exercise in theorizing the range of human alterity, reads as follows.

*Fifteen types are descended from Frawāg, and twenty-five types in all came into being from the seed of Gayōmard, like 1) the terrestrial; 2) the aquatic; 3) the one with ears like a man; 4) the one with eyes like a man; 5) the one-footed, 6) the one that has wings, like a bat, 7) the sylvan being, with a tail, who has hair on his body, like the animals whom one calls "bear," and 8) "monkey," 9) the sea-giant, whose height is six times the average, 10) the dwarf, whose height is one sixth of the average.<sup>30</sup>*

## VI

Up to this point, I have largely ignored the fact that the Bundahišn survives in two different versions: the "Indian" Bundahišn (the manuscripts of which were collected in Bombay) and the Iranian or "Greater Bundahišn," which is about 40% longer. In the former, the chapter we have been discussing ends with the sylvan types of the humanoid, omitting dwarves and giants. In contrast, the longer text goes on to entertain the possibility that novel forms of humanity have taken shape after the twenty-five primary types were established.

*From each of these types, many other types more recently came into being. They also made evil mixtures come into being, like the heretic and the amphibian, a clayey thing that came into being from earth and water, and lives in both (realms), and others (who arose) in this or that manner.<sup>31</sup>*

Three points help us appreciate the importance of this brief passage. First, the phrase "more recently" (*nōgtar*) gives a sense of the historic self-consciousness possessed by the redactor, who extended the text's mythic narrative to address issues that had forced themselves on his

<sup>30</sup> Greater Bundahišn 14.38 (TD<sup>2</sup> MS. 107.3-9): 15 sardag az Frawāg būd 25 sardag hamāg az tōhm ī Gayōmard būd hēnd. ciyōn zamīg ābig nar-gōš nar-cašm ēk pāy ud ān-iz kē parr dārēd ciyōn šawāg ud wēšagīg dumbōmand \*kē \*mōy pad tan dārēd ciyōn gōspan-dān kē xirs gōwēd kabīg āb \*māzandar kē bālāy 6 and ī mayān bašnān ud widestīg kē bālāy 6 ēk ī mayānag ī bašnān.

<sup>31</sup> Greater Bundahišn 14.38-39 (TD<sup>2</sup> MS. 107.11-14): az ēn harw sardag-ē nōgtar was sardag būd hēnd. kunēnd \*pētyārag gūmēzišnīh būd ciyōn ciyōn Zandīk (or: Zangīg) \*ud ābig-zamīg būd gilābig kē āb būd zamīg harw 2 zīwēd abārig az ēn ud az ēn ēwēnag.

attention. Second, in Zoroastrian discourse, the term “mixture” (*gūmēz-išnīh*) is never neutral, but always points to the period of historic struggle when the Evil Spirit, the Lie, and associated demonic powers have invaded existence, spoiling its pristine purity and spreading corruption everywhere. To speak of “evil mixtures” (*pētyārag gūmēzišnīh*) is emphatically redundant. These mongrels and hybrids give cause for worry and, what is more, they result from unions that — in marked contrast to the ideal marriage of brother and sister — would be considered instances of miscegenation. Finally, the text contains a moment of highly suggestive ambiguity, since the word here translated “heretic” (Pahlavi *zandīk*) is homographic with *zangīg*, which denotes a dark-skinned inhabitant of sub-Saharan Africa. Readers of the text could interpret this in either fashion, or they could note the ambiguity and understand the word as simultaneously referencing the extreme forms of religious and racial alterity, without distinguishing between them.

All these points are relevant for interpreting the ugliest passage in all Zoroastrian literature: an appendix to the chapter “On the nature of humans” in the Greater Bundahišn that was added as part of its final redaction and which appears as a separate chapter in the Indian Bundahišn.

*This, too, it says: “When Yima’s royal glory departed him, due to his fear of the demons, he took a she-demon in marriage and he gave his sister Yimag to a demon in marriage. From them monkeys, bears, sylvan, tailed, and other destructive species came into being, and their offspring did not progress.” Regarding Africans (or: heretics), it says: “When Dahāg held power, he set a man on a female demon, a man on a witch, and in full visibility they had intercourse. From that one novel act, an African came into being, one whose skin is black.” When Frēdōn came, they slithered to the edge of the sea and made a settlement there. Now, with the invasion of the Arabs, they are slithering back to Iran.*<sup>32</sup>

<sup>32</sup> Greater Bundahišn 14b.1-3 (TD<sup>2</sup> MS. 108.8-109.3) = Indian Bundahišn 23.1-3: *ēn-iz guft kū: Yim ka-š xwarrah u-š bē šud bīm ī az dēwān rāy dēwī pad \*zanīh grift Yimag ī xwah ud pad \*zanīh ō dēw ī dād. u-šan pad kabīg ud xirs ud wēšagīg ud dumbōmand abārīg winahišnīg sardag u-š būd. u-š paywand nē raft. zangīg rāy gōwēd kū: Āz ī Dāhag andar xwadāyīh gušn ud zan dēw abar hišt. gušn ud mard abar pariḡ hilād u-šan pad \*wenīšn dīdārīh ī ōy marzišn kard. az ān ī nōg ēk kunišn zangīg būd [syā pōst kē-š būd]. ka frēdon \*mad awēšān az ērānšahr dwārist hēnd pad \*kanārag ī zrēh ī \*nišānedīg kard. nūn pad dwārist ī tāzigān abāz ō ērānšahr dwārist hēnd. The phrase “whose skin is black” (*syā pōst kē-š būd*) occurs only in Indian Bundahišn 23.2. Comparison to the Pahlavi Rivāyat accompanying the Dādēstān ī Dēnīg 8e is also relevant. There, one finds a more elaborate version of the story in which Yima and Yimag mate with demons, producing bears, monkeys, cats, leopards, frogs, leeches, and other species regarded as monstrous. Apparently, this tradition was reasonably well known and was used to account for certain kinds of noxious creatures. It recurs in a number of later texts, where it is further*

This addition to the narrative is inserted at a crucial point in mythic history: the period of crisis that occurred when Yima, third of the primordial Iranian kings, spoke the first royal lie, as a result of which he lost his kingship.<sup>33</sup> Thereafter, the throne was seized by one Dahāg (= Avestan Aži Dahāka), a monstrous figure, whom the Bundahišn identifies as a descendant of Tāz, which makes him an Arab usurper.<sup>34</sup>

In this turbulent period, the passage just quoted would locate three sequential events. First, directly Yima fell from power, he and his twin sister Yimag — who earlier provided a model of ideal marriage — engaged in aberrant sexual acts, coupling with demons and producing the humanoid beings catalogued in the preceding chapter of the Bundahišn. Second, the wicked usurper introduced practices that were even more debased and degrading, as he forced unnamed commoners to mate with demons in full public view, to provide him and his court with some coarse entertainment. The offspring of these unions were the first Africans, whose dark skin apparently established their essential connection to darkness, Ahreman, and the Lie.<sup>35</sup> Finally, when Frēdōn reclaimed the throne for the Iranian nation and royal line, he restored moral, political, geographic, and cosmic order, as evidenced by his having driven the Africans back to the edge of the sea. Here, one should note that the verb used to denote the way these people moved — Pahlavi *dwāristan*, which

elaborated. Examples include *Dārāb Hormazyār's Rivāyat*, pp. 208-10, the *Persian Rivayats of Hormazyar Framarz* (Bombay: K.R. Cama Oriental Institute, 1932), pp. 580-81, and the Persian "History of King Jamšed and the Demons," published by Serge Laronoff, "Histoire du roi Djemchid et des dev," *Journal asiatique* 14 (1889): 59-83. In contrast, the Bundahišn narrative that accounts for the origin of Black Africans, is absent from the Rivāyat accompanying the Dādēstān ī Dēnīg and, to the best of my knowledge, occurs nowhere else in Pahlavi literature.

<sup>33</sup> On the complex mythology associated with Yima (and Yimag), see Arthur Christensen, *Les types du premier homme et du premier roi dans l'histoire légendaire des iraniens*: 2. *Jim* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1934).

<sup>34</sup> Thus Greater Bundahišn 35.7 (TD2 MS. 228.15-229.4). Dahāg is also identified as an Arab at Dēnkard 8.13.8. Different texts make him out to be a Babylonian, an Indian, a Turanian, a Jew, or whatever specific instantiation of alterity best serves the immediate discursive and political needs. See further Arthur Christensen, *Essai sur la démonologie iranienne* (Copenhagen: Einar Munksgaard, 1941), pp. 20-24 and 52-53.

<sup>35</sup> For blackness as a mark of the demonic, see also Greater Bundahišn 1.47 (TD2 MS. 11.10-12): "From the material darkness, which is his own body, the Foul Spirit mis-created his creatures in the form of blackness, which is (the color of) ashes: liars worthy of darkness, like the most sin-introducing vermin." Gannāg Mēnōg az gētig tārigih ān ī xwēš tan [ī] dām frāz kirrēnid pad ān ī kīrb ī syāh ī ādurestar ī tom-arzānīg druwand ciyōn bazag-adēntar xrafstar. Cf. Selections of Zādspram 1.29, 35.32-33 and Antonio Panaino, "Ahura Mazdā and the Darkness: About the Meaning of Y. 44.5b," in Maria Macuch, et al., eds., *Iranian Languages and Texts from Iran and Turan: Ronald E. Emmerick Memorial Volume* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2007), pp. 271-83.

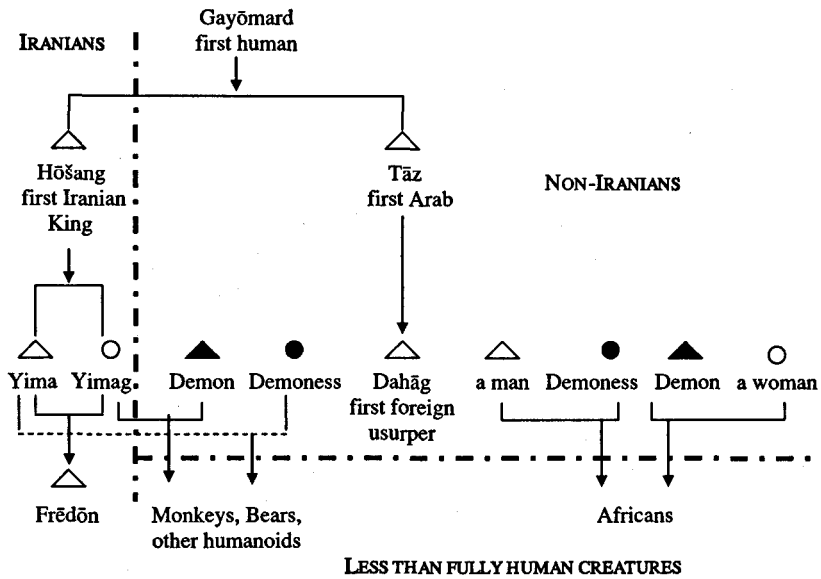


Fig. 8.2 Demonic genesis of less-than-fully human species according to Greater Bundahišn 14b.1-3.

I have translated as “slither” — is normally reserved for demons, vermin and monsters and it suggests a form of motion so distressingly crooked, threatening, and abnormal as to reveal their miscreant nature (Figure 8.2).

Conceivably, however, the most significant detail of the entire passage is its last sentence, which establishes the context in which this text was written: “Now, with the invasion of the Arabs, they are slithering back to Iran.”<sup>36</sup>

We can thus place the text — and the hateful attitudes it expresses — in the immediate aftermath of the Islamic conquest and the fall of the Sassanian empire (mid-7th Century C.E.). In this new situation, Iranians found themselves subject to the power of others whom they had long regarded as inferiors, others who lived far from their own self-defined center, but had invaded and overrun Iran. That Iranians reacted to this experience with shock and resentment should hardly occasion surprise.

<sup>36</sup> Greater Bundahišn 14b.3 (TD<sup>2</sup> MS. 90.7-8): nūn pad dwārast ī tāzīgān abāz ō ērānšahr dwārist hēnd.

What is startling, however, is the fact that the most intense expression of these negative feelings was directed not at the Arab conquerors, but at another population, onto whom such sentiments were effectively displaced. The point is of extraordinary historical and theoretical importance. If we want to understand how older discourses of alterity transposed into those much more virulent types of xenophobia tantamount to racism, we have here a classic — and highly instructive — example. The conclusion one can draw is that when a former imperial power, accustomed to dominating others, itself becomes dominated, it may hesitate to express the full measure of its fear, loathing, and contempt on those who now hold power. Instead, it may discharge its most extreme, also its most dangerous feelings on some other group that remains weaker than itself, preferably one that is markedly different in physiology and appearance, one whose normal dwelling-place is distant, but with whom it feels it has been forced to commingle in the cosmopolitanism of a newly-emergent empire, or in the backwash of its own post-imperial moment.

This is, of course, the situation of Germany after Napoleon's victories of 1807 and once again after 1918. The Armenian genocide in post-Ottoman Turkey might be considered, and attitudes in post-Hapsburg Austria are also instructive, as is the experience of the American South after the Civil War. Similarly, one might look to the situation of Han Chinese after their native dynasty of the Ming were conquered by the Mongols, or to England after the Second World War and the period of decolonization. The case of post-Soviet Russia is probably too early to judge, and one can only speculate about what will happen in the U.S. in the period now on the horizon. Gobineau, who still mourned for the French Ancien régime, even as he served the emergent Second Empire is probably a special case, but even so, one has no shortage of examples.

## **ADDENDUM TO THE SIENA LECTURES**

## CHAPTER NINE

### SACRED KINGSHIP?\*

#### I

There was a time when sacred kingship was a fashionable topic among historians of religions, who thought they were able to find confirmation of Frazerian theories in the patterns of myth and ritual attested throughout the Ancient Near East. For some, including Sir James George himself, identifying countless examples of dying and rising gods, ritual regicide-cum-deicide, priest-kings with magic control over vegetation and symbolic links to the cycle of the seasons, all served to advance a rationalistic critique of Christian beliefs as yet one more variant on a familiar set of primitive superstitions.<sup>1</sup> For others, and here one thinks of Jessie Weston, T.S. Eliot, and other romantic souls, the same kinds of material and theory served entirely opposite purposes. In their constructions, it was the loss of myth and ritual, declining faith in priests, kings, magic, and the sacred — in short, the same disenchantment of the world that progressive rationalists celebrated — that produced the worst ills of modernity.<sup>2</sup>

\* An earlier version of this chapter was published as "The Role of Religion in Achaemenian Imperialism," in Nicole Brisch, ed., *Religion and Power: Divine Kingship in the Ancient World and Beyond* (Chicago: Oriental Institute Publications, 2008) (= Oriental Institute Seminars, No. 4), pp. 213-33.

<sup>1</sup> On Frazer, see Jonathan Z. Smith, "When the Bough Breaks," in *Map is Not Territory. Studies in the History of Religions* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1978), pp. 208-39, Robert Ackerman, *J. G. Frazer: His Life and Work* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), Susanne Lanwerd, *Mythos, Mutterrecht und Magie: zur Geschichte religionswissenschaftlicher Begriffe* (Berlin: Dietrich Reimer, 1993), and George Stocking, *After Tylor: British Social Anthropology, 1888-1951* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1995), pp. 124-51.

<sup>2</sup> For Eliot's use of Frazer in "The Waste Land," and more broadly on Eliot's views concerning myth, religion, politics, culture, and the failings of modernity, see Marc Manganaro, *Myth, Rhetoric, and the Voice of Authority: A Critique of Frazer, Eliot, Frye, and Campbell* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992) and Martha Carpentier, *Ritual, Myth, and the Modernist Text: The Influence of Jane Ellen Harrison on Joyce, Eliot, and Woolf* (Amsterdam: Gordon and Breach, 1998). As Eliot acknowledged, he read Frazer via the mediation of Jessie Weston, *From Ritual to Romance: An Account of the Holy Grail from Ancient Ritual to Christian Symbol* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1920). See also John B. Vickery, *The Literary Impact of the Golden Bough* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1973) and Robert Fraser, ed., *Sir James Frazer and the Literary Imagination: Essays in Affinity and Influence* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1991).



The variegated, almost protean utility of Frazerian theory helps explain the breadth of its popularity, although the exoticism of Frazer's examples, the imperial reach of his knowledge, the breathless verve of his descriptive prose, and the skillful way he positioned himself as heir to both Tylor and Robertson Smith also contributed significantly to his success and reputation. Like all grand theorists, however, and especially those of the armchair variety, he was guilty of distortion, pretentiousness, procrusteanism, selective blindness, cultural condescension, and a host of other failings. As each of his errors was identified, his project slowly deflated, with the result that his theories not only lost their power to transport, they began to look a bit pathetic. Although staunch devotees of the "Myth and Ritual School" continued to espouse Frazerian positions even into the 1960s,<sup>3</sup> his serious influence had evaporated long before, the crucial turning point having been Bronislaw Malinowski's Frazer Memorial Lecture of 1924, which some regard as an act of ritual regicide, with Sir James George in attendance, cast as outgoing King of the Wood.<sup>4</sup> At present, Frazer stands alongside Friedrich Max Müller as one of the ancestors remembered with more embarrassment than gratitude, let alone reverence, by the several interrelated disciplines that once hailed him as one of their founders (anthropology, folklore, history of religions).

Assyriologists familiar with the Babylonian Akītu festival, Egyptologists steeped in the drama of Osiris, Horus, and Seth, certain students of the Hebrew Bible, and those disposed to situate Jesus as a dying-and-rising deity of the Ancient Near East were among the most enthusiastic supporters of the Frazerian paradigm, alongside the Cambridge ritualists.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>3</sup> Among the last true believers was Theodore Gaster, *Thespis: Ritual, Myth, and Drama in the Ancient Near* (East Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1961), idem, *Myth, Legend, and Custom in the Old Testament: A Comparative Study, with Chapters from Sir James George Frazer's Folklore in the Old Testament* (New York: Harper and Row, 1969).

<sup>4</sup> Bronislaw Malinowski, "Myth in Primitive Psychology," reprinted in Malinowski, *Magic, Science and Religion, and other essays* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1954), pp. 93-148.

<sup>5</sup> For Frazerian influence in studies of the Ancient Near East, see S.H. Hooke, ed. *Myth and Ritual: Essays on the Myth and Ritual of the Hebrews in relation to the Culture Pattern of the Ancient East* (London: Oxford University Press, 1933), idem, *The Labyrinth: Further Studies in the Relation between Myth and Ritual in the Ancient World* (London: Society for promoting Christian Knowledge, 1935) and *Myth, Ritual, and Kingship: Essays on the Theory and Practice of Kingship in the Ancient Near East and in Israel* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1958). Also relevant are such works as Stephen Langdon, *Tammuz and Ishtar: A Monograph upon Babylonian Religion and Theology* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1914), René Labat, *Le caractère religieux de la royauté assyro-babylonienne* (Paris: A. Maisonneuve, 1939), Ivan Engnell, *Studies in Divine Kingship in the*

In general, Iranists invested less heavily in the Frazerian model.<sup>6</sup> Those who concerned themselves with kingship were generally quick to note that the relevant texts construe the royal office as a gift bestowed upon rulers by Ahura Mazdā, which is to say that the king himself was not regarded as magic, divine, or priestly. At best, we have a legitimating ideology couched in a religious idiom, not a sacred kingship recognizably Frazerian in nature.<sup>7</sup>

Given the paucity of evidence that might fit their patterns and suit their purposes, enthusiasts of *The Golden Bough* thus came to focus their

*Ancient Near East* (Uppsala: Almqvist & Wiksells, 1943), H. Frankfort, et al., *The Intellectual Adventure of Ancient Man* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1946), Henri Frankfort, *Kingship and the Gods: A Study of Ancient Near Eastern Religion as the Integration of Society & Nature* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1948), C.G. Gadd, *Idea of Divine Rule in the Ancient East* (London: Oxford University Press, 1948), Samuel Noah Kramer, *The Sacred Marriage Rite: Aspects of Faith, Myth, and Ritual in Ancient Sumer* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1969), and Thorkild Jacobsen, *The Treasures of Darkness: A History of Mesopotamian Religion* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1976). Among the writings of the Classicists influenced by Frazer who styled themselves Cambridge Ritualists, note Jane Ellen Harrison, *Themis: A Study of the Social Origins of Greek Religion* (Cambridge: University Press, 1912), eadem, *Prolegomena to the Study of Greek Religion* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1922), and Gilbert Murray, *Four Stages of Greek Religion* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1912). Also useful are Robert Ackerman, *The Myth and Ritual School: J.G. Frazer and the Cambridge Ritualists* (New York: Garland, 1991), Robert Segal, ed., *Ritual and Myth: Robertson Smith, Frazer, Hooke, and Harrison* (New York: Garland, 1996) and idem, *The Myth and Ritual Theory. An Anthology* (Malden, MA: Blackwell, 1998).

<sup>6</sup> The chief exception is Geo Widengren, whose sense of Iranian sacred kingship was strongly influenced by Frazer, but mediated by Georges Dumézil, *Le festin d'immortalité: Étude de mythologie comparée indo-européenne* (Paris: Librairie Orientaliste Paul Geuthner, 1924) and idem, *Le problème des centaures: Étude de mythologie comparée indo-européenne* (Paris: Librairie Orientaliste Paul Geuthner, 1929). See, for instance, Geo Widengren, *Religionens Värld* (Stockholm: Svenska Kyrkans Diakonstyrelses, 1953), pp. 201-9, *Stand und Aufgaben der iranischen Religionsgeschichte* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1955), pp. 51-55, "The Sacral Kingship of Iran," in *La Regalità sacra. Contributi al tema dell' VIII Congresso Internazionale di Storia delle Religioni* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1959), pp. 242-57, *Die Religionen Irans*, op cit., pp. 41-49, "La royauté de l'Iran antique," *Acta Iranica* 1 (1974): 84-89, and "Die Neujahrsfest im alten Iran," *Iranzamin* 2/2 (1983): 35-42. Less important, but worth noting is John W. Richards, "Sacral Kings of Iran," *Mankind Quarterly* 20 (1979): 143-60.

<sup>7</sup> See Richard N. Frye, "The Charisma of Kingship in Ancient Iran," *Iranica Antiqua* 4 (1964): 36-54, Rüdiger Schmitt, "Königtum im alten Iran," *Saeculum* 28 (1977): 384-95, *Root King and Kingship in Achaemenid Art*, op cit., Jacques Duchesne-Guillemin, "La royauté iranienne et le *x'arənah*," in Gherardo Gnoli, ed., *Iranica* (Naples: Istituto per lo Studio del Medio ed Estremo Oriente, 1979), pp. 375-86, Frei and Koch, *Reichsidee und Reichsorganisation im Perserreich*, op cit., Gherardo Gnoli, "Note sullo *x'arənah*," *Acta Iranica* 23 (1984): 207-18, Amélie Kuhrt, "The Achaemenid concept of Kingship," *Iran* 22 (1984): 156-60, Ahn, *Religiöse Herrscherlegitimation im Achaemenidischen Iran*, op cit. and Lincoln, *Religion, Empire, and Torture*, op cit.

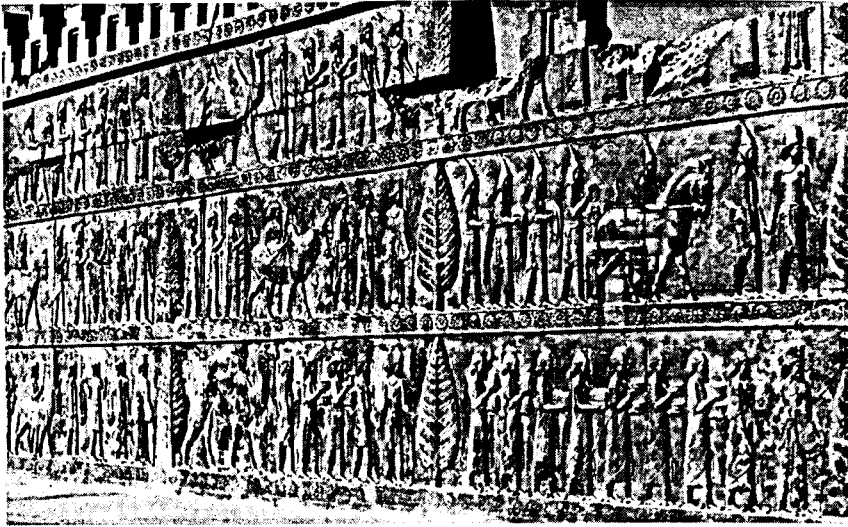


Fig. 9.1 A portion of the relief sculptures on the Apadāna steps, Persepolis. Nine of the twenty-three delegations that fill the staircase appear in this photo.

energies on a single Iranian datum. This is the set of relief sculptures adorning the steps of the Apadāna, an enormous reception hall in the palace complex of Persepolis. In these images (Figure 9.1), they thought they saw evidence of a New Year's festival involving the ritual enactment of mythic dramas, through which kingship and the cosmos itself were annually renewed as the king slew dragons, overcame chaos, and revitalized the earth, crops, and seasons.<sup>8</sup> Some adherents of the theory

<sup>8</sup> Crucial to this view was interpretation of a relief sculpture from Persepolis in which a lion overcame a bull (see below) as having calendric and zodiacal significance denoting the New Year as the moment when the constellation Leo succeeded that of Taurus. Such was argued by Ernst Herzfeld, *Iran in the Ancient East* (London: Oxford University Press, 1941), p. 251, Arthur Upham Pope, "Persepolis as a ritual city," *Archaeology* 10 (1957): 123-30, "Persepolis as a ritual city," op cit., p. 128, Willy Hartner and Richard Ettinghausen, "The Conquering Lion — The Life Cycle of a Symbol," *Oriens* 17 (1964): 161-71, but is quite unlikely, as shown by Nylander, "Al-Bērūnī and Persepolis," op cit., pp. 141-44.



went so far as to describe Persepolis as a ritual city, whose sole raison d'être was the annual performance of this ceremony.<sup>9</sup>

Heady stuff, but very little supported by any evidence of the Achaemenian period. To compensate for this inconvenient fact, adherents of the thesis relied on comparative materials (esp. the Akītu ritual) and anachronistic testimonies (esp. al-Bērūnī's description of the Sassanian Now Rōz) to constitute the Apadāna reliefs as one more example of the patterns they knew so well from elsewhere. For a time, they succeeded in getting their ideas taken seriously, but the hearing they obtained brought with it critical evaluation, in the wake of which, the Frazerian balloon deflated that much further.<sup>10</sup>

## II

As we noted in Chapter Six, scholarship since the 1960s has made it clear that the Apadāna reliefs depict a procession of tribute-bearers drawn from every province of the empire bringing distinctive goods to the Achaemenian king.<sup>11</sup> Although most contemporary authors would grant that the payment of tribute had a certain ceremonial aspect, few would explain this via a discourse of sacred kingship and rituals of

<sup>9</sup> This was argued by Pope "Persepolis as a ritual city," idem, "Persepolis considered as a ritual city," Ghirshman, "Notes iraniennes VII: à propos de Persépolis," Kurt Erdmann, "Persepolis — Daten und Deutungen," *Mitteilungen der Deutschen Orient Gesellschaft* 92 (1960): 21-47 and James Fennelly, "The Persepolis Ritual," *Biblical Archeology* 43 (1980): 135-62.

<sup>10</sup> The most telling critiques are Nylander, "Al-Bērūnī and Persepolis," op cit., Peter Calmeyer, "Textual Sources for the Interpretation of Achaemenian Palace Decorations," op cit., idem, "Dareios in Bagastana und Xerxes in Persepolis: zur parataktischen Komposition achaimenidischer Herrscherdarstellungen," *Visible Religion* 4-5 (1985-86): 76-95, Sancisi-Weerdenburg, "Nowruz at Persepolis," and Imanpour, "The Function of Persepolis," op cit.

<sup>11</sup> On the reliefs, see Walser, *Die Völkerschaften auf den Reliefs von Persepolis*, Hinz, *Altiranische Funde und Forschungen*, pp. 95-114, Schmidt, *Persepolis* 3: 108-20, Tilia, *Studies and Restorations at Persepolis*, Root, *King and Kingship in Achaemenid Art*, pp. 227-84, Ali Shahpur Shahbazi, "New Aspects of Persepolitan Studies," *Gymnasium* 85 (1978): 487-500, Jacobs, "Persepolisdelegationen und Satrapienordnung," Leo Trümpelmann, "Zu den Gebäuden von Persepolis und ihrer Funktion," in H. Koch and D.N. MacKenzie, eds., *Kunst, Kultur und Geschichte der Achämenidenzeit* (Berlin: D. Reimer, 1983), pp. 225-37, Klaus Koch, "Die Völkerrepräsentanten auf den Reliefs von Persepolis und den achaimenidischen Gräbern," Stronach, "The Apadāna," Nicholas Cahill, "The Treasury at Persepolis: Gift-giving at the City of the Persians," *American Journal of Archaeology* 89 (1985): 373-89, Jamzadeh, "The Apadāna Reliefs and the Metaphor of Conquest," and Hachmann, "Die Völkerschaften auf den Bildwerken von Persepolis."

renewal, rather than one of imperial protocol, for example.<sup>12</sup> There are alternatives, however, to the abuses of Frazerian comparatism on the one hand, and a principled — but anachronistic — insistence on treating ancient political institutions as wholly secular in nature. For in antiquity, neither kingship, nor tribute, nor much else for that matter, can be properly understood without some reference to religion, insofar as all ideology tended to be couched in a religious idiom. For it is only with the Enlightenment that religion came to be viewed and organized as one cultural system among others (politics, economy, literature, art, philosophy, fashion, etc.), all of which enjoy relative independence. Previously, religion was constituted as a uniquely privileged transcendent system of culture that encompassed, structured, disciplined, and permeated all others. And, as a result of the extent to which those other systems were informed, even controlled by the religious, none of them can be understood as fully secular in the modern sense.

On general principles, I am thus inclined to think the tributary practices depicted in the Apadāna reliefs had a certain religious significance, although not of the sort normally associated with Frazerian models of sacred kingship. To demonstrate this, however, depends on close consideration of the Achaemenian evidence, most important of all the reliefs themselves and the four inscriptions placed on the south retaining wall of Persepolis (original site of entry to the palace complex). As has been generally recognized, the physical placement of these inscriptions suggests they were meant to form a coherent set, and this is also evident in their use of language. For although most Achaemenian inscriptions are trilingual (Old Persian, Elamite, and Akkadian), the same three languages are distributed among these inscriptions, such that reading left to right, the first two are in Old Persian (DPd and DPe), the third in Elamite (DPf), and the last in Akkadian (DPg). As a set, they thus make a statement about unity and diversity, while also describing linguistic and political relations at the central core of the empire. Three different languages and peoples cooperate in the central administration, but one — the Persian rulers and their native tongue — outranked the others, as

<sup>12</sup> To date, discussions of tribute have not paid particular attention to their religious dimension, but have been understandably concerned with issues of political economy. See, above all, Koch, "Steuern in der achämenidischen Persis," Briant, *Rois, tributes, et paysans*, idem, "Guerre, tribut, et forces productives dans l'empire achéménide," *Dialogues d'histoire ancienne* 12 (1986): 33-48, Raymond Descat, "Mnésimachos, Hérodote et le système tributaire achéménide," *Revue des études anciennes* 87 (1985): 97-112, Briant and Herrenschildt *Le tribut dans l'empire perse*, and Sancisi-Weerdenburg, "Bāji," *op cit*.

marked by both number and sequence (although it may be that the two inscriptions in Old Persian are meant to represent the Persians first and then the Medes).<sup>13</sup>

For our purposes, the most convenient point of departure is the inscription known as DPg, written in Akkadian, which begins with an account of creation. This is not unusual, for 70% (23/33) of the Achaemenian inscriptions that contain more than two paragraphs begin in the same fashion. In all cases, however, the cosmogonic narratives are brief, stereotyped, and highly formulaic. In its opening passage, DPg conforms closely to the standard formulae, but as it continues, it develops in ways that are unique and highly significant. The vast majority of variants attribute five distinct acts of creation to the Wise Lord (Ahura Mazdā), four of which occurred at the dawn of time, before history proper. In its treatment of these primordial events, DPg follows conventions, as is apparent when one compares it to other variants for which we have good Akkadian versions (Table 9.1).<sup>14</sup>

The contents here are quite consistent and require little commentary. For our purposes, it suffices to mention a few points only. First, three of the four primordial creations are denoted in the singular (heaven, earth, and happiness~abundance). Second, as regards the remaining item, usage varies. While DPg, DE, and DNa speak of "people" in the plural, XPa speaks of "humanity" in the singular (*amelûtu*). In general, the Akkadian versions of the Achaemenian cosmogony tend to employ the plural here, but on this point XPa follows the Old Persian variants, which consistently use the singular (*martiya* "man, mankind"), as we have repeatedly noted.

We have also seen how the Lie's assault disrupted primordial unity, peace, and "happiness" (Old Persian *šiyāti*, Akkadian *dumqu*) and marked the beginning of history proper, i.e. the finite time when the Wise Lord and the Lie struggle for supremacy with the world as their battleground. The two cosmic powers do not grapple with one another

<sup>13</sup> On these inscriptions, their placement, and their coherence as a set, see A. S. Shahbazi, *Old Persian Inscriptions of the Persepolis Platform* (London: Corpus Inscriptionum Iranicarum, 1985), pp. 15-16, Clarisse, Herrenschildt 1990. "Nugae Antico-Persianae," *Achaemenid History* 4 (1990): 54-60, Lecoq, *Les inscriptions de la Perse achéménide*, pp. 97-98, Schmitt, *Beiträge zu altpersischen Inschriften*, pp. 27-36, idem *The Old Persian Inscriptions of Naqsh-e Rostam and Persepolis*, p. 56. On the extent to which the Achaemenian inscriptions use a language that makes use of both Median and Persian forms, see Pierre Lecoq, "La langue des inscriptions achéménides," *Acta Iranica* 3 (1974): 55-62.

<sup>14</sup> For the most part, the Old Persian variants are identical in content to the Akkadian versions presented here, but for the purposes of precise analysis, it is preferable to compare DPg to variants written in the same language.

directly, however. Instead, people — now differentiated morally and in other fashions — become foot soldiers on either side, while the forces of good are placed under the leadership of a trusted individual. It is in this context that the cosmogonic accounts narrate the Wise Lord's fifth act of creation, temporally removed from the first four, as a response to the crisis provoked by the Lie's invasion. It is on this precise point that the originality of DPg becomes evident, for it describes the Wise Lord's fifth creation in much more elaborate fashion than do any of the other variants (Table 9.2).

<i>Darius, Persepolis (DPg)</i>	<i>Darius, Elvend</i>	<i>Darius, Naqš-e Rustam</i>	<i>Xerxes, Persepolis (XPa)</i>
Great is the Wise Lord, who is the greatest of all the gods,	A great god is the Wise Lord	A great god is the Wise Lord	A great god is the Wise Lord
who made sky	who created this earth,	Who made sky	who created this earth,
and earth,	who created that sky,	and earth,	who created that sky,
who made people,	who created people,	and who made people,	who created humanity,
who gave all happiness to people living therein. <sup>15</sup>	who created all abundance for people. <sup>16</sup>	who created happiness for people. <sup>17</sup>	who created happiness for humanity. <sup>18</sup>

Table 9.1 The four primordial creations, as narrated in four variants of the cosmogony written in Akkadian.

<sup>15</sup> DPg §1: Urumazda rabi ša rabū ina muḥḥi ilāni gabbi ša šamē u eršeti ibnū u nišē \*ibnū, ša dumqi gabbi iddinuma niši ina libbi baltū. Text in F. H. Weissbach, ed., *Die Keilinschriften der Achämeniden* (Leipzig: J.C. Hinrich, 1911), p. 85. I am grateful to Matt Stolper for his help in translating this inscription.

<sup>16</sup> DE §1 (Babylonian): ilu rabū Aḥurumazdā, ša qaqqaru agā iddinu ša šamē annūtu iddinu ša ummānāti (?) iddinu ša gabbi nuḥšu ana ummānāti (?) iddinu. Text in Weissbach, *Keilinschriften der Achämeniden*, p. 101.

<sup>17</sup> DNa §1: ilu rabū Aḥurumazdā ša šamē u eršeti [ib]nū u niši ibnū ša dumqi ana niši iddinu. Text in Weissbach, *Keilinschriften der Achämeniden*, p. 87.

<sup>18</sup> XPa §1: ilu rabū Aḥurumazdā ša qaqqaru agā iddinu ša šamē annūtu iddinu ša amēlūtu iddinu ša dumqi ana amēlūtu iddinu. Text in Weissbach, *Keilinschriften der Achämeniden*, p. 107.

<i>Darius, Persepolis (DPg)</i>	<i>Darius, Elvend</i>	<i>Darius, Naqš-i Rustam</i>	<i>Xerxes, Persepolis (XPa)</i>
who made Darius king	who made Darius king,	who made Darius king	who made Xerxes king,
	one over the previously existing kings, one over the previously existing rulers. <sup>19</sup>	of many kings. <sup>20</sup>	one over many kings, one over many rulers. <sup>21</sup>
and gave King Darius kingship over this broad earth,			
which has many lands/peoples in it:			
Persia, Media, and other lands/ peoples			
with other languages,			
with mountains and plains,			
on this side of the ocean (lit.: the bitter river) and the far side of the ocean,			
on this side of the desert (lit.: the land of thirst) and the far side of the desert. <sup>22</sup>			

Table 9.2 The fifth act of creation, as narrated in four variants of the cosmogony written in Akkadian.

Obviously, all of these texts are concerned to represent the King as possessing a divine charisma in the most literal sense. Called by the Wise Lord, he serves as the instrument through whom the divine purpose is to be accomplished on earth. Somewhat less obviously, the same passages

<sup>19</sup> DE §1: ša ana Dāriamuš šarru ibnū, ištēn ina šarrāni maḥrūtu, ištēn ina mute'imē maḥrūtu. Text in Weissbach, *Keilinschriften der Achämeniden*, p. 101.

<sup>20</sup> DNa §1: [ša] ana Dāriamuš šarru ša šarrāni mādūtu ibnū. Text in Weissbach, *Keilinschriften der Achämeniden*, p. 87.

<sup>21</sup> XPa §1: ša ana Ḫišarši šarru ibnū ištēn ina šarrāni mādūtu ištēn ina mute'imē mādūtu. Text in Weissbach, *Keilinschriften der Achämeniden*, p. 107.

<sup>22</sup> DPg §1: ša ana Dariamuš šarru ibnū u ana Dariamuš šarri šarrūtu iddinu ina qaqqar agā rapšātu ša mātāti madetu ina libbišu Parsu Mādaya u mātāti šanētima lišānu šanītu, ša šadī u mātu ša aḥanā agā ša nār marratu u aḥulluā ullī ša nār marratu ša aḥanā agā ša qaqqar šumāma'itu u aḥulluā ullī ša qaqqar šumama'itu. Text in Weissbach, *Keilinschriften der Achämeniden*, p. 85.



also address the issue of unity and diversity, for they implicitly acknowledge that as a result of the Lie's action, humanity has fractured into multiple groups, each of which produces its own leaders, who style themselves as kings, and this situation produces the possibility of competition, rivalry, warfare, bloodshed, disorder, and terrible suffering. The solution to this, as suggested by the phrases that name Darius "one king over many kings, one ruler over many rulers," is for the many to be encompassed by the one, as all other kings (and all other peoples) accept the leadership of God's chosen: the Achaemenian monarch.

Whereas all other variants signal this set of (complex and tendentious) ideas with a single well-chosen phrase, DPg alone develops the issues at length. It thus announces that the Wise Lord conferred not just kingship on Darius, but universal kingship: "kingship over this broad earth" and, going further, it reflects on the relation of unity and diversity within his domain by specifying that the "broad earth" over which the king rules has "many lands and peoples in it." And here, it is relevant to note that the standard royal titulary ended by naming Achaemenian rulers "King of lands/peoples, King in this earth," with the further understanding that the term translated as "earth" (Old Persian *būmī*) also denoted the empire.<sup>23</sup>

DPg then offers a set of binary oppositions that organize the categories into which lands and peoples have been divided: the divisions to be overcome, if primordial unity and perfection are to be restored. As regards peoples, the primary division is that between those of the absolute center (Persians and Medes), as opposed to all others, with language as the chief index of diversity. As regards lands, three interrelated binaries are introduced: high/low (mountains and plains), wet/dry (sea and desert), near/far (this side and that side of the sea or desert). Implicitly, these also encode a hierarchy of values, suggesting that the ideal terrain is neither high nor low, neither so wet as to be chaotic (the sea), nor so dry as to be arid (the desert), but a land whose water is sweet and not salt or bitter (see further, Chapter Twenty-seven), producing an environment both moist and fertile. Presumably, it was understood that this was the situation of the earth as originally created, and that the diversity introduced by the Lie's assault was a diversity of inferior forms, for each separate terrain came to achieve its unique identity only in the degree to which it deviated from primordial perfection, becoming a bit more dry, a bit more salt, a bit more high and rocky, a bit more low and swampy, etc. as a mark of its fallen state.

Fragmentation of original unity thus produced multiple different lands, each with its own distinctive people, speaking their own language, and

<sup>23</sup> As established by Herrenschildt, "Désignation de l'empire," *op cit*.

differing from all others in its institutions, habits, character, and culture. What is more, each land — by virtue of its different climate and terrain — was capable of supporting different forms of plant and animal life, while the earth itself harbored different minerals, ores, and other resources. Some areas were richer, others more poor, but none possessed everything, and insofar as all lands and peoples lacked certain goods (understanding “goods” not only in an economic sense, but also with broader moral, aesthetic, and religious implications), general wellbeing and contentment were compromised. Alternatively, one could say that the unified, perfect, primordial happiness that the Wise Lord created for humanity as the last of his original acts had been fractured and pieces of it distributed across the now-diversified globe. It is this situation that the fifth act of creation was meant to redress, and the continuation of DPg — which is unparalleled in any other inscription — describes how this might be accomplished.

*King Darius says: Under protection of the Wise Lord, these are the lands/peoples, who made this (palace) that is made here:<sup>24</sup> Persia, Media, and other lands/peoples, with other languages, with mountains and plains, on this side of the ocean and on the far side of the ocean, on this side of the desert and the far side of desert, according to the order I gave them.<sup>25</sup>*

What Darius describes is the reunification of peoples across all the lines that divide them. At his command, all assemble at Persepolis and the palace itself is the product of their coordinated, cooperative, unified-and-unifying labor.<sup>26</sup> But how was this accomplished? The other inscriptions that accompany DPg on the city’s south wall help address that question.

<sup>24</sup> Weissbach, *Keilinschriften der Achämeniden*, p. 85 read *ip-ḫu-rum*, and his reading was accepted by the *Assyrian Dictionary of the Oriental Institute* 1/1: 261, which cites him and translates the relevant phrase “these are the nations which gathered here.” After studying the text once again in situ, George Cameron revised Weissbach on this and other points. His translation appeared in Schmidt *Persepolis* 1: 63, where the same phrase is rendered “these (are) the countries which *did this which was done* here.” At p. 62 n20, Schmidt stated that Cameron had prepared a new transcription of the text that ought be separately published, but apparently this was never done. Matt Stolper informs me (personal communication, 9 January 2007) that having consulted all published photographs of the inscription, he takes the text to be defective, but believes that Weissbach’s *ip-ḫu-rum* (from the verb *pahāru*, “to gather [intransitive]”) is impossible, given details of the epigraphy evident in Schmidt’s Plate 7b. Possible and preferable is *ep-šú*, from the verb *epēšu* “to make, do, build;” also possible is *ib-nu*, “they made/built.” Presumably, this is what Cameron also concluded.

<sup>25</sup> DPg §2: Dāriamuš šarru iqabbi ina šilli ša Urumazda aganētu mātātī ša agā īpušā, ša akanna epšu Parsu Madāya u mātātī madētu šanētima lišanu šanitu, ša šadī u mātu ša aḫanā agā ša nār marratu u aḫulluā ullī ša nār marratu ša aḫanā agā ša qaqqar šumāma’ītu u aḫulluā ullī ša qaqqar šumāma’ītu libbū ša anāku tēme aškunušunu.

<sup>26</sup> DSf, DS, and DSaa describe the palace Darius built at Susa as the result of a similar process, and do so in some detail. See further Chapter Twenty.

## III

DPe also signals its interest in the problem of unity and diversity, albeit in subtle fashion. Thus, whereas the Achaemenian ruler is always given the title "King of lands/peoples," only DPe calls him "King of lands/peoples, of which there are many" (xšāyaθiya dahyūnām tayaiššām parūnām). Like many other inscriptions, it follows the royal titulary with a list of the numerous lands/peoples (Old Persian *dahyāva*) that have, to date, been encompassed within the empire. Unlike the others, however, it specifies the instrument through which this has been accomplished (Table 9.3).

If all the inscriptions consistently and obsessively proclaim the king as God's chosen, DPe is unique in acknowledging the Persian army (more precisely, the nation in arms, *kāra*) as the instrument through which the king subjugated other lands/peoples. In its closing paragraph, this text goes further still as Darius advises his successors on how they can complete the divinely-enjoined project he began.

*Proclaims Darius the King: If you should think thus — "May I not fear from any other" — (then) protect this Persian people/army. If the Persian people/army should be protected, happiness will be undestroyed for the longest time.*<sup>27</sup>

As this passage — which we considered in Chapter Seven and which we will consider again in Chapter Twenty-four — makes clear, the issue is not just conquest or pacification in a narrow military sense, but the restoration of primordial happiness and the accomplishment of God's will for humanity. Thus, Old Persian *šiyāti*, which means "happiness," occurs twenty-three times in the corpus of Achaemenian inscriptions. All other occurrences save one (to be considered in Chapter Fifteen) are in variants of the cosmogonic account, where it always denotes the last of the Wise Lord's original creations: "happiness for mankind" (*šiyāti... martiyahyā*).<sup>28</sup> Considering DPe §§2 and 3 together, we come to understand that the Persian army was responsible for three interrelated accomplishments: 1) it inspired fear in all other lands/peoples; 2) this led those lands and peoples to pay tribute (*bāji*) to the Persian king; 3) this led to the establishment of a happiness that "will be undestroyed for the longest time," i.e. an enduring — but not yet eternal — happiness that comes with the establishment of a Pax Persiana, imposed by military force.

<sup>27</sup> DPe §3: θāti Dārayavauš xšāyaθiya: yadi avaθā maniyāhaj: hacā anīyanā mā tṛsam, imam Pārsam kāram pādi; yadi kāra Pārsa pāta ahati, hayā duvajštam šiyātiš axšatā.

<sup>28</sup> On the semantics of this highly significant term, see Herrenschildt, "Vieux-perse *šiyāti*," Kellens, "L'âme entre le cadavre et le paradis," pp. 34-38, Andrea Piras, "A proposito di antico-persiano *šiyāti*," *Studi Orientali e Linguistici* 5 (1994-95): 91-97 and Chapter One above.

<i>Darius, Persepolis</i>	<i>Darius, Bisitun</i>	<i>Darius, Susa</i>	<i>Darius, Susa and Naqš-e Rostam, Xerxes, Persepolis</i>
Proclaims Darius the King:	Proclaims Darius the King:	Proclaims Darius the King:	Proclaims Darius the King:
	These are the lands/peoples that came to me.	The Wise Lord bestowed on me the kingship/ kingdom which is great, which has good people. He made me king in this earth/empire.	
By the Wise Lord's will,	By the Wise Lord's will,	By the Wise Lord's will,	By the Wise Lord's will,
these are the lands/peoples		these are the lands/peoples	these are the lands/peoples
that I took hold of	I was king of them. <sup>29</sup>	of whom I became king. <sup>30</sup>	that I seized far from Persia.
with this Persian people/army.			
They feared me.			I ruled over them.
They bore me tribute. <sup>31</sup>			They bore me tribute. <sup>32</sup>

Table 9.3 Introductory formulae preceding lists of lands/peoples  
under Achaemenian rule.

<sup>29</sup> DB §6 0āti Dārayavauš xšāyaθiya: imā dahyāva, tayā manā patiyāiša, vašnā Auramazdāha adamšām xšāyaθiya āham. After the list of lands/peoples has been given, DB §7 continues: "Proclaims Darius the King: These lands/peoples that came to me, by the Wise Lord's will they were subject to me. They bore me tribute. What was proclaimed to them by me, by night or by day, that was done." 0āti Dārayavauš xšāyaθiya: imā dahyāva, tayā manā patiyāiša, vašnā Auramazdāha manā bandakā āhantā, manā bājim abarantā, tayašām hacāma aθanhya xšapanvā raucapativā, ava akunavayantā.

<sup>30</sup> DSm §2: 0āti Dārayavauš XŠ AMmaj xšačam frābara taya vazrkam taya umarti-yam. mām xšāyaθiyam ahyāyā būmiyā akunauš vašnā AMhā imā dahyāva tayaišām adam xšāyaθiya abavam.

<sup>31</sup> DPe §2: 0āti Dārayavauš xšāyaθiya: vašnā Auramazdāhā imā dahyāva, tayā adam adarši hadā anā Pārsā kārā, tayā hacāma atrsa, manā bājim abara.

<sup>32</sup> DSe §3 = DNa §3 = XPh §3: 0āti Dārayavauš xšāyaθiya: vašnā Auramazdāhā imā dahyāva, tayā adam agrbāyam apataram hacā Parsā. adamšām patiyaxšayai. manā bājim abara(ha). There follows one other phrase before the list commences ("That which was proclaimed to them by me, that they did. My law — that held them." tayašām hacāma aθanhya, ava akunava. dātām taya manā avadis adāraya).

## IV

If DPg describes the unity of the original cosmos, fresh from the Wise Lord's hand, and contrasts this with the lacerated state that characterizes existence in historic time, DPe speaks of the way to begin reversing this fall from perfection, identifying the Achaemenian king and the Persian army as prime agents in the process. DPd pursues the argument further still, indicating why this role fell to the Persians and identifying the obstacles they had to overcome in order to fulfill their mission. As regards the former point, the assertion is simple enough.

*Proclaims Darius the King: This land/people Persia, which the Wise Lord bestowed on me, is good, having good horses and having good people, by the will of the Wise Lord and of me, Darius the King, it feels no fear of any other.*<sup>33</sup>

Three points are worth making. First, the adjective *naība*, which here modifies Persia, is a religiously charged term that connotes an aesthetic and ethical status attuned to the divine.<sup>34</sup> Although the word occurs eight times, only Persia and the Persian kingship (or kingdom, the semantic range of *xšaça* encompasses both)<sup>35</sup> are said to be *naība* by nature.<sup>36</sup>

<sup>33</sup> DPd §2: *θāti Dārayavauš xšāyaθiya: iyam dahyāuš Pārsa, tayām manā Auramazdā frābara, hayā naībā uvaspā umartiyā, vašnā Auramazdāhā manacā Dārayavahauš xšāyaθiyahyā hacā aniyānā naī trsati.* The most extensive study of this inscription, with particular attention to its rhetorical structure is Wolfgang Lentz, "Der Aufbau der vierten Darius-Inschrift von Persepolis (DPd)," in *Indogermanica. Festschrift für Wolfgang Krause* (Heidelberg: Carl Winter, 1960), pp. 94-105.

<sup>34</sup> On the semantics and significance of Old Persian *naība*, see Kent, *Old Persian*, p. 192 and Herzfeld, *Altpersische Inschriften*, pp. 266-67, with comparison to Ossetic (Iron) *nōib* "holy."

<sup>35</sup> On *xšaça*, see Benveniste, *Vocabulaire des institutions indo-européennes* 2: 18-20, Bernfried Schlerath, *Das Königtum im Rig- und Atharvaveda. Ein Beitrag zur indogermanischen Kulturgeschichte* (Wiesbaden: Steiner, 1960), pp. 125-31, Gherardo Gnoli, "Note su *xšāyaθiya* e *xšaça*," in Jan Bergman, et al, eds., *Ex orbe religionum: Studia Geo Widengren oblatae* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1972), pp. 88-97, idem, "Ancora su antico-persiano *xšaça*," in Michaele Bernardini and Natalia L. Tornesello, eds., *Scritti in onore di Giovanni M. D'Erme* (Naples: Università degli Studi di Napoli, L'Orientale, 2005), pp. 557-82, idem, "Old Persian *xšaça*-, Middle Persian *šahr*, Greek *ἔθνος*," in Maria Mac-uch, et al., eds., *Iranian Languages and Texts from Iran and Turan: Ronald E. Emmerick Memorial Volume* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2007), pp. 109-18, and Rüdiger Schmitt, "Tradition and Innovation. Zu indoiranischen Formeln und Fügungen im Altpersischen," in Jay Jasanoff, et al., eds., *Mīr Curad. Studies in Honor of Calvert Watkins* (Innsbruck: Innsbrucker Beiträge zur Sprachwissenschaft, 1998), pp. 638-43.

<sup>36</sup> Note also DSP §1: "Great is the Wise Lord, greatest of the gods. He created Darius (as) king. He bestowed on him the kingship/kingdom, which is good (*naība*), having good chariots, having good horses, having good people." Auramazdā *vazrka* haya maθiša bagānām hau Dārayavaum Xšyam adā haušaj xšaçam frābara taya naībam taya uraθaram uvaspam umartiyam.

Uniquely gifted, Persia possess animate resources — good men and good horses — that give it an advantage over all other lands/peoples, but insofar as these are a gift of God, they bring with them a divine responsibility. Everything else described as “good” (*naḥba*) becomes so only as the result of some constructive action undertaken by the Persian king, as in the following examples.

*Proclaims Darius the King: When the Wise Lord made me king in this earth/empire, by the Wise Lord's will, I made all (things) good (naḥbam).<sup>37</sup>*

*Proclaims Xerxes the King: By the Wise Lord's will, I made this Gate of All Lands/Peoples. Much other good (naḥbam) was made in Persepolis: that I made and my father made it. That which is made that sees/shows itself to be good (naḥbam), all that we made by the Wise Lord's will.<sup>38</sup>*

*Proclaims Darius the King: Much that was ill-done, that I made good (naḥbam). The lands/peoples were seething, one smote the other. This I did by the Wise Lord's will, so that one does not smite the other any more.<sup>39</sup>*

Having been given a good land from which to work, a land blessed with good men and horses — who in turn fill his armies — the Persian king works to make other things good. And because this task is divinely ordained, neither he, nor his army, nor his people need feel fear of any other. Rather, they cause others to fear, submit, obey, and bear tribute (See further, Chapter Twenty-four).

Immediately after commenting upon the fearlessness of the Persian land/people, DPd proceeds to identify the three greatest forces that cause fear and disrupt the state of happiness God intended for humanity. To recover the primordial state of unity, wholeness, and bliss, it is thus necessary to vanquish these dangers.

*Proclaims Darius the King: May the Wise Lord bear me aid, together with all the gods, and may the Wise Lord protect this land/people from the enemy horde, from famine, from the Lie.<sup>40</sup>*

<sup>37</sup> DSi §2: 0āti Dārayavauš XŠ ya0ā AM mām XŠyam akunauš ahyāyā BUyā vašnā AMha visam naḥbam akunavam.

<sup>38</sup> XPa §3: 0āti Xšayaṛšā xšāya0iya: vašnā Auramazdāhā imam duvar0im visadahyūm adam akunavam; vasaḥ aniyašci naḥbam kṛtam anā Pārsā, taya adam akunavam utamaj taya pitā akunauš; tayapati kṛtam vainataḥ naḥbam, ava visam vašnā Auramazdāhā akumā.

<sup>39</sup> DSe §4: 0āti Dārayavauš XŠ: vasaḥ taya duškṛtam āha, ava naḥbam akunavam. dahyāva ayauda, aniya aniyam aja. ava adam akunavam vašnā Auramazdāhā ya0ā aniya aniyam naḥ jati cinā.

<sup>40</sup> DPd §3: 0āti Dārayavauš xšāya0iya: manā Auramazdā upastām baratu hadā visaḥbiš bagaḥbiš, utā imām dahyūm Auramazdā pātu hacā haṇnāyā, hacā dušiyārā, hacā draugā.

Although this triad of ills has often been studied as a set, it is also important to understand them as a sequence.<sup>41</sup> Logically (and chronologically) first is the menace named last in the text: the Lie, whose entry into creation caused the loss of unity. Thus, whereas there is only one Truth, falsehood by nature implies duplicity in the most literal sense, i.e., a deceptive duality that plays on the difference between the way things are and the way one's speech makes them seem to be. The Lie thus manifests itself in countless ways, all of them corrosive of morality, harmony, decency, and order. Where true speech — in the form of promises, contracts, treaties, vows, oaths, solemn pledges, honest testimony, sincere acts of self-disclosure, and the like — binds people together, building trust and creating the basis for future cooperation, false speech does precisely the opposite, sowing mistrust, confusion, suspicion, hostility, envy, resentment, and hate. False speech — in such forms as perjury, heresy, slander, fraud, breach of contract, deceit, seduction, beguilement, treason, sedition, and so forth — not only produces concrete harm, it breeds mistrust and resentment, driving people apart and leading them to resolve their differences, not through speech (which has proven untrustworthy), but through violent action.

The Lie thus gives rise to war, or at least to the threat described as the "enemy horde." Here, it should be noted that the term translated in this fashion (Old Persian *hainā*) had the most sinister connotations, and was used only for non-Persian troops.<sup>42</sup> In pointed contrast, the much more benign term *kāra* was reserved for the Persian army or, more precisely for the Persian people-in-arms, since this word could also be used of the same men when they turned their energies to peaceful occupations.<sup>43</sup> The threat of an enemy horde (*hainā*) forced them to put down their tools of productive labor and pick up weapons, with the consequence

<sup>41</sup> See esp. Benveniste, "Traditions indo-iraniennes sur les classes sociales," and Panaino, "*hainā*-, *dušiyāra*-, *drauga*:- un confronto antico-persiano avestico."

<sup>42</sup> The daēvic nature of Old Persian *hainā* and its Avestan cognate *haēnā* has been recognized since Bartholomae, *Altiranisches Wörterbuch*, col. 1729 and the importance of this association has most recently been emphasized by Kellens, "Trois réflexions sur la religion des Achéménides," pp. 115-21. On the systematic opposition of demonic (daēvic) and divine (ahuric) vocabularies in Iranian languages, see Leo J. Frachtenberg, "Etymological Studies in Ormazdian and Ahrimanian words in Avestan," in Jivanji Jamsedji Modi, ed., *Spiegel Memorial Volume* (Byculla: British India Press, 1908), pp. 269-89, Hermann Güntert, *Über die ahurischen und daēvischen Ausdrücke im Avesta* (Heidelberg: Sitzungsberichte der Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1914) and Louis H. Gray, "The 'Ahurian' and 'Daevian' Vocabularies in the Avesta," *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* (1927), pp. 427-41.

<sup>43</sup> Benveniste *Vocabulaire des institutions indo-européennes* 1: 111-12

that when the *kāra*-at-peace became the *kāra*-at-arms, the herds, fields, and crops were abandoned. Which is to say, when the Lie had manifested itself so powerfully as to cause war, the threat of the enemy horde subsequently led to famine.

Clearly enough, the triple scourges were to be confronted and overcome by their opposites. It was not sufficient, however, for the Persian army to vanquish the enemy army while fighting on the defensive. Rather, the Persian army had to fight on behalf of Truth, had to conquer not only its military foes, but also the Lie that inspired them and had to do so not just in one battle or on one terrain, but had to triumph over falsehood everywhere. Only then could all people return to peaceful activities, generating prosperity and surpluses sufficient to obviate all threat of famine. It is this situation — conclusive defeat of the Lie by the Truth, the triumph of the Persian army over all others, and the production of enduring global abundance — that Darius anticipated in DPe §3, when advising his successors “If the Persian army should be protected, happiness will be undestroyed for the longest time.”<sup>44</sup>

## V

This brings us to DPf, the last of the set to be considered. After listing Darius’s royal titles, the text continues as follows.

*Says Darius the King: On this terrace, here where this palace (or: fortress) was built, previously there was no palace built here. By the Wise Lord’s will, I built this palace. The Wise Lord and all the gods desired that this palace be built and I built it. I built it solid and beautiful, just as I desired it.*

*Says Darius the King: May the Wise Lord protect me, together with all the gods, and this palace, and also those assembled here on this terrace.*<sup>45</sup>

In contrast to the three other inscriptions with which this one is grouped, DPf has an immediacy and an almost deictic quality to it. It speaks of the very place on which it is inscribed and of the people assembled on

<sup>44</sup> DPe §3: yadi kāra Pārša pāta ahati, hayā duvajštam šiyātiš axšatā.

<sup>45</sup> DPf: §2 ak Dariamauš sunkir nanri kat hima mūr halmariš hi kušika appuka hima halmariš inni kušik zaumin Uramazdana hi halmariš u kušiya ak Uramazda hi zila tukminina nap marpepda idaka appa hi halmariš kušika ak u kušiya kutta kušiya tarna ak šišni kutta šillak hi zila sap u tukmana. ak Dariamauš sunkir nanri u Uramazda un nuškišni nap marpepda idaka ak kutta halmariš hi kutta šarak kat hi ikka kappaka. I am grateful to Matt Stolper for his kind assistance in the interpretation of this passage.



that place.<sup>46</sup> Nothing in this inscription addresses the question of who these people are, what brings them to Persepolis, or what is their relation to the building and the king. All those questions, however, do receive oblique attention in the inscription placed right beside DPf: DPg, the text with which we began.

*Under protection of the Wise Lord, these are the lands/peoples who made this (palace) that is made here: Persia, Media, and other lands/peoples with other languages, with mountains and plains.... etc.*<sup>47</sup>

Although Darius states in DPf that he himself built the palace, while giving credit to all the diverse lands/peoples of the empire in DPg, there is no contradiction between the two texts. Rather, construction of the capital city is ultimately credited to the Wise Lord, who works through the king, just as the king works through the labor force that he assembled. Of particular note, however, is the international nature of that labor force, which came from every part of the empire — “Persia, Media, and other lands/peoples with other languages” — bringing distinctive skills, tools, and materials with them. The palace is thus construed as something like the inverse image of the Biblical Tower of Babel, i.e. the product of international collaboration, where human difference, as measured by language, was dissolved, rather than created. Or, to put the point back into an Iranian frame of reference, the construction of the palace constituted the reversal of the Lie’s primordial assault and the reunification of a previously sundered humanity.

Ongoing use of the palace also served to reunite peoples and goods, through the ceremonial presentation of tribute. One gets a better sense of how this act was theorized, however, when one realizes that the tribute bearers depicted on the Apadāna stairs bore *con*-tributions of things that had been *dis*-tributed as the result of the Lie’s assault, and the *con*-centration of those goods — also of those peoples — at the imperial center was the means of reversing the fragmentation and strife that had characterized existence ever since.

<sup>46</sup> Other prayer formulae ask the Wise Lord to protect the King, his household, the Persian land/people, the kingship/kingdom, and all that the King has built (AsH §2, DPd §3, DPh §2, DNa §5, DSe §6, DSf §4, DSj §3, DSn, DSs, DSt §2, DH §2, XPa §4, XPb §3, XPc §3, XPf §5, XPg, XPh §5, XSc §2, XV §3, A<sup>1</sup>Pa §3, A<sup>2</sup>Sa, A<sup>2</sup>Sd §2, A<sup>2</sup>Ha §2, A<sup>2</sup>Hc §3, A<sup>3</sup>Pa §4, D<sup>2</sup>Sa). No other variant, however, seeks divine protection for the empire’s subject peoples. Here, once again, DPf is unique.

<sup>47</sup> DPg §2: ina šilli ša Urumazda aganētu mātāti ša agā īpušā ša akanna epšu Parsu Madāya u mātāti madētu šanētima lišānu šanitu ša šadī u mātu...

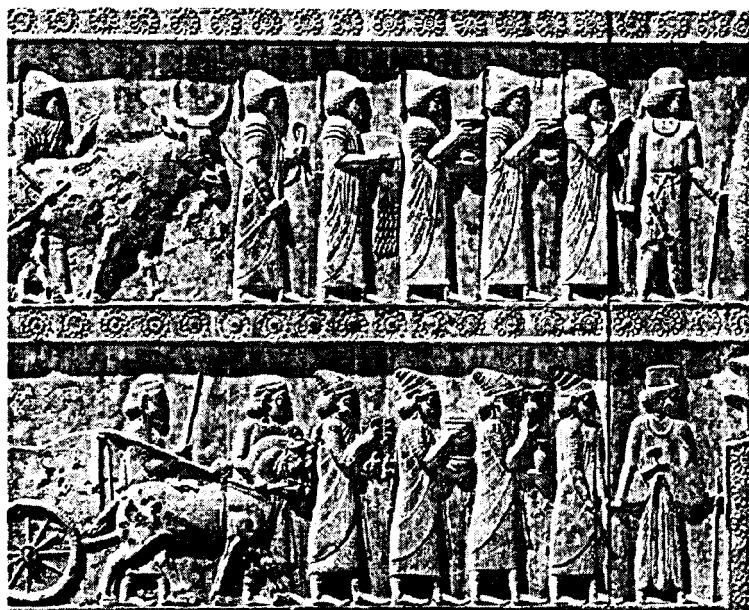


Fig. 9.2 Apādana reliefs, detail. Contrast the Babylonian delegation above (led by a Mede) with the Assyrians below (led by a Persian). Difference is marked at every level: hats, robes, shoes, beard and hair, facial features, animals, vessels, and gifts.

The relief sculptures depict delegations representing twenty-three lands/peoples as they bring tribute to the Persian king. Each of these delegations is led toward him by a Persian or Median official, and the order of the march reflects geographic distance from the Persian center. There is, however, no Persian delegation, as Persians were exempt from tribute.<sup>48</sup> The first delegation is that of the Medes, led in by a Persian, after which follow Elamites, Armenians, Babylonians, and others, down to Libyans and Ethiopians at the end of the file.

As we saw in Chapters Six and Seven, the relief carvings represent each delegation as quite distinct from the others in their physiognomy and clothing. Painstaking attention was also given to the animals each delegation brought with it and the material objects they conferred, down to the containers in which these were carried (Figures 9.2). So much so that it is easy to misread the images in naïve democratic fashion as a celebration of diversity.

<sup>48</sup> As noted by Herodotus 3.97. See also Wiesehöfer, "*Tauta gar en atelea*. Beobachtungen zur Abgabefreiheit im Achaimenidenreich," *op cit*.

One must carefully note, however, that the relief captures all these people, animals, and objects as they mount the stairs, which is to say, in their very last moment of existence in the state of fragmentation and diaspora that has marked history since the assault of the Lie. Directly they stand assembled upon the platform of the Apadāna itself, all of them — animate and inanimate — will have left their provincial identities behind and been absorbed (or dissolved) into the imperial whole. At that moment, the state of unity and “happiness for mankind” that the Wise Lord made the crown of his original creation will have been restored, at least at the imperial center: a microcosm, where representatives of all the lands/peoples stand assembled, so the Great King can call God’s blessing upon them. Later, as surplus of all goods accumulates at the center, this can be returned to the peripheries. At that point, the entire world becomes happy, prosperous, peaceful, and whole once again, as history ends and a state of eschatological perfection opens onto eternity, thanks to the work of the Achaemenian king, the Persian army, and the tribute bearers of every land/people.

Or so the ideologists of empire believed and wished to believe. Not quite Frazer’s model of sacred kingship, nor a secular model of political economy, but — if I am not mistaken — something that might legitimately be understood as a theology of empire, in which the king was theorized as God’s chosen, called to reunite the world and restore its perfection by processes that other, lesser-minded types might describe as conquest, domination, and tribute.

### **III.**

## **AESTHETICS, RELIGION, AND POLITICS (LECTURES, 2008-9)**

## CHAPTER TEN

### CREATION AND OTHER EPIPHANIES IN ACHAEMENIAN RELIGION\*

#### I

Some religious traditions are less troubled than others by the question of divine visibility. The small English sect of Muggletonians, for instance, maintained that the last episode of direct revelation occurred in February 1652, when God approached John Reeve, the sect's founder, and engaged him in conversation. According to Reeve's account, which Muggletonians preserved until their extinction around 1980, God was a fully material being, embodied like any normal man, who addressed Reeve in a soft, but plainly audible voice "as a man speaks privately with a friend."<sup>1</sup> Although the mundane appearance attributed to the deity contrasts with the more spectacular epiphanies of Exodus 3 (the burning bush) or Bhagavad Gita 11 (Krishna, devourer of worlds), it is by no means idiosyncratic (save perhaps Muggletonians' insistence that God stood five feet tall).<sup>2</sup> Rather, it fits comfortably with other narratives of theoxenia and the Christian doctrine of the Incarnation. Regrettably, none of these examples will concern me in this paper, but I cite them as a reminder that certain religious perspectives construe the divine as readily available to the senses.

The situation is different when deities are theorized as transcendent, immaterial, or accessible to humans only through some of the senses (sight but not touch, for example, hearing but not vision, or smell but not hearing). And sometimes deity is construed as entirely beyond sense

\* This chapter was originally presented in September 2008 at a meeting of the Paris-Chicago Workshop on Ancient Religions, devoted to the theme "Rendre visible l'invisible: pratiques religieuses de la représentation."

<sup>1</sup> William Lamont, *Last Witnesses: The Muggletonian History, 1652-1979* (London: Ashgate, 2006), p. 16. E.P. Thompson discussed his discovery of the Muggletonian Archive in *Witness against the Beast: William Blake and the Moral Law* (New York: New Press, 1993), since which time a useful anthology of their writings has been published by T.L. Underwood, ed., *The Acts of the Witnesses: The Autobiography of Lodowick Muggleton and other early Muggletonian Writings* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999).

<sup>2</sup> Lamont, p. 129.

perception: such figures become known through mediations or representations, if they come to be known at all (the Athenian *agnostos theos* being a case in point).<sup>3</sup>

Although the religion of the Achaemenians is still imperfectly understood (the evidentiary dossier being small and problematic), it appears they considered the divine relatively remote and inaccessible. Royal inscriptions suggest a deity who engaged with kings, but they do not assert any direct sensory contact.<sup>4</sup> At the same time, Greek and Roman authors report that the Persians eschewed artistic representation of the divine,<sup>5</sup> and archeological evidence provides but a single (disputed) counterexample. This is the winged disk often taken to represent Ahura Mazdā (the "Wise Lord"), an interpretation that has been challenged, especially by Zoroastrian scholars, who insist that their religion is strictly aniconic.<sup>6</sup> Regardless of how one resolves this dispute, one can

<sup>3</sup> Acts of the Apostles 17: 23. Cf. Pausanias 1.1.4, Diogenes Laertius 1.110, Philostratus, *Life of Apollonius of Tyana* 6.3.5, and Pseudo-Lucian, *Philopatris* 9.14. The classic work on the topic is Eduard Norden, *Agnostos Theos: Untersuchungen zur Formengeschichte religiöser Rede* (Leipzig: B.G. Teubner, 1913), since which time Pieter Willem van der Horst, "The Unknown God (Acts 17: 23)," in R. van den Broek, T. Baarda, and J. Mansfeld, eds., *Knowledge of God in the Graeco-Roman World* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1988), pp. 19-42 is particularly useful. For an overview of the more recent bibliography, see Walter Bauer, *A Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament*, revised and edited by Frederick Danker (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2000), pp. 14-15.

<sup>4</sup> The testimony of Herodotus suggests that the Achaemenians, like other ancient Near Eastern kings, were believed to receive divine revelations via dream visions, but it is not clear that the gods themselves appeared in those dreams. The most suggestive examples are the dreams in which a large, goodlooking man (*andra... megan te kai eueidea*, 7.12) appeared to Xerxes. In discussing the significance of this vision, however, Xerxes contemplates the possibility that a god *sent* the vision (*ei ōn theos esti ho epipempōn [toute oneiron]*, 7.15), not that the god *appeared* in it. Most fully on the dreams in Herodotus, see Peter Frisch, *Die Träume bei Herodot* (Meisenheim am Glan: Anton Hain, 1968).

<sup>5</sup> Herodotus 1.131 states that the Persians made no cult images (*agalmata*), since they did not conceive of the gods as anthropomorphic. Clement of Alexandria, *Protrepticus* 5.65.1 (citing Deinon as his source), Strabo 15.3.13, Diogenes Laertius 1.6, Cicero, *Laws* 2.26, and Epiphanius, *De Fide* 13, give the same report, although they do not always offer the same explanation. See further Albert de Jong, *Traditions of the Magi. Zoroastrianism in Greek and Latin Literature* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1997), pp. 350-52. Statues of the goddess Anāhita were apparently introduced in the reign of Artaxerxes II (404-359 B.C.E.), under influence from Anatolia and Asia Minor.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. the rival views of A. S. Shahbazi, "An Achaemenid Symbol: I. A Farewell to «Fravahr» and «Ahuramazda»," idem, "III. Farnah «(God Given) Fortune Symbolised»," Peter Calmeyer, "Fortuna-Tyche-Khvarnah," *Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts* 94 (1979): 347-65, Parivash Jamzādeh, "The Winged Ring with Human Bust in Achaemenid Art as a Dynastic Symbol," *Iranica Antiqua* 17 (1982): 91-99, Pierre Lecoq, "Un problème de religion achéménide: Ahura Mazdā ou X'arēnah?," in *Orientalia J. Duchesne-Guillemin emerito oblata* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1984), pp. 301-26, and Bruno Jacobs, "Der Sonnengott im Pantheon der Achämeniden," in Jean Kellens, ed.,

still state with confidence that Achaemenian visual experience of the gods — whether in direct or mediated form — was limited, and perhaps non-existent.

This is not to say the divine remained unknown or that human eyes played no role in acquiring knowledge of deity. On the contrary, usage of the verb “to see” (Old Persian *vaina-*) in the royal inscriptions conveys something like a theology of vision. This verb occurs fifteen times in all, most of which we will consider.<sup>7</sup>

## II

Let us begin at the beginning with a variant of the Achaemenian cosmogony. As we have seen, all twenty-three variants tell how the Wise Lord created a small number of entities that reflected his own nature: absolutely good, vulnerable to damage but not destruction, and possessed of a certain underlying unity. Most versions list four original creations in the same order: earth, heaven, mankind, and happiness for mankind.<sup>8</sup> Two variants, however, introduce a novel phrase to summarize the first three items, referring to earth, heaven, and mankind collectively as “this wonder that is seen” (*ima frašam taya vainatai*).<sup>9</sup>

Hellenists will appreciate the similarity of this phrase to Greek *thauma idesthai* “a wonder to behold,” and Assyriologists may compare it to Sumerian *u<sub>6</sub>-di*, a term used for visual experiences so profound of things so extraordinary that they produce a sense of admiration, reverence, and awe.<sup>10</sup> In ways, the Old Persian phrase goes further still. Jes Asmussen has described the significance of its noun as follows.

*La religion iranienne à l'époque Achéménide* (Ghent: Iranica Antiqua, 1991), pp. 49-80. Jacobs has also provided a convenient summary of the debate: “Das Chvarnah — Zum Stand der Forschung,” *Mitteilungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft zu Berlin* 119 (1987): 215-48.

<sup>7</sup> The exceptions are DB §§65-67, where *vaina-* occurs three times, and DNb §2f.

<sup>8</sup> The following inscriptions list the four original creations in the same canonic order: DNa §1, DSe §1, DSf §1, DSt §1, DSab §1, DE §1, XPa §1, XPb §1, XPe §1, XPd §1, XPf §1, XPh §1, XE §1, XV §1, A<sup>1</sup>Pa §1, D<sup>2</sup>Ha §1, A<sup>2</sup>Hc §1, A<sup>3</sup>Pa §1. DZc §1 reverses the standard order of earth and heaven, placing heaven first, as does the Akkadian version of DSab §1.

<sup>9</sup> This formula first occurs at DNb §1 and is repeated at XPl §1.

<sup>10</sup> On the Greek, see Raymond Adolph Prier, *Thauma Idesthai: The Phenomenology of Sight and Appearance in Archaic Greek* (Tallahassee: Florida State University Press, 1989); on the Sumerian, Irene J. Winter, “The Eyes Have It: Votive Statuary, Gilgamesh's Axe, and Cathected Viewing in the Ancient Near East,” in Robert S. Nelson, *Visuality Before and Beyond the Renaissance: Seeing as Others Saw* (Cambridge: University Press, 2000), pp. 22-44.

*Old Persian fraša- is a nearly untranslatable word, whose broad semantic range includes that which is wondrous, filled with power, strength-giving, healthy, extraordinary, therefore utterly marvelous and outstanding (this last sense is particularly stressed by the translation of fraša- by Akkadian bunu "excellent, outstanding"). All of this is because a heavenly blessing lies behind it. In Zoroastrian theology, fraškart [or frašgird, in a more up to date orthography] (i.e., that which is made fraša-) is an eschatological term, which denotes the acts of completion and purification that introduce the new world [at the end of historic time].... At the fraškart, extraordinary divine strength and power manifest themselves in such a way that the power of the darkness is definitively broken.<sup>11</sup>*

In contrast to the semantic density of its noun, the verb of this phrase — Old Persian *vaiṇatai* — is relatively ordinary, being the unmarked verb "to see" (root: *vaiṇa-*).<sup>12</sup> Its declensional form is unusual, however,

<sup>11</sup> Asmussen, *Historiske tekster fra Achæmenide tiden*, p. 78: "Oldpers. *fraša-*, et næsten uoversættligt ord. Det indbefatter i hele sin vide betydning under eet det kraftfyldte, styrkende, det sunde, ekstraordinære og derfor helt storslåede og fremragende (det sidst særlig fremhævet af den akkadiske oversættelse bunu, "udmærket, fremragende") og alt dette, fordi den himmelske velsignelse ligger bagved. I zoroastrisk teologi er *fraškart* (det, der er gjort *frašam*) et eskatologisk begreb, en betegnelse for fuldendelsen, forklarelsen, der indleder den nye verden. I den ældre zarathustrisme blev denne fuldendende transformation derimod opfattet som et tilstand, der ville indtræffe i dette liv. I *fraškart* viste den guddommelige, ekstraordinære styrke og kraft sig derved, at mørkets magt blev definitivt brudt." Although some authors consider Old Persian *fraša* a secular term (thus, Gherardo Gnoli, "Politique religieuse et conception de la royauté sous les Achéménides," in *Commémoration Cyrus: Hommage Universel* [Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1974], p. 176 and n. 326, and Lecoq, *Les inscriptions de la Perse achéménide*, p. 221), its religious significance is well established. See further Molé, *Culte, mythe, et cosmologie*, pp. 35-36 and Chapter Twenty-one, below. For attempts at linguistic analysis, see Herman Lommel, "Awestische Einzelstudien," *Zeitschrift für Indologie und Iranistik* 1 (1922): 29-32, Ernst Herzfeld, *Altpersische Inschriften* (Berlin: Dietrich Reimer, 1938), pp. 156-65, H.W. Bailey, "Indo-Iranian Studies," *Transactions of the Philological Society* (1953): 21-32, idem, "Armeno-Indo-iranica," *Transactions of the Philological Society* (1956): 100-104, idem, *Zoroastrian Problems in the 9th Century Books*, 2nd ed. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1971), pp. vii-xvi, and Johanna Narten, *Der Yasna Haptanhāiti* (Wiesbaden: Ludwig Reichert, 1986), pp. 199-203.

<sup>12</sup> On *vaiṇa-*, see Kent, *Old Persian*, p. 206 and Bartholomae, *Altiranische Wörterbuch*, col. 1323-25. The term is derived from Indo-Iranian *\*uai(H)-na-*, Indo-European *\*wei-no-* and is cognate to Avestan *vaēna-*, Vedic *vēnati*, Sogdian *wyn-*, Pahlavi *wēn-*, Persian *bin-*, and Ossetic *wynyn/winun*. Further connections to Vedic *vindāti*, Latin *videre*, Greek *oîda*, and related terminology derived from Indo-European *\*wei-d-* are likely, as all treat the conjunction of vision and knowledge. The caution of Mayrhofer, *Etymologisches Wörterbuch des Altindoarischen* 3: 582-83 on this point seems somewhat excessive. In the trilingual Achaemenian inscriptions, *vaiṇa-* is translated by Elamite *ziya* ("to see") and Akkadian *amāru* ("to see, behold, look at [in general], to experience, to come across, to find, to locate, to find out, to discover, to notice," also "to find after searching, to observe, to witness, to examine, inspect; to read"). I am grateful to Françoise Bader and Jay Munsch for help with these philological details.



as it occurs in the middle voice of the 3rd person singular. Conventionally translated “a wonder *that is seen*” (i.e., as if passive)<sup>13</sup> or “*that one sees*” (as if active),<sup>14</sup> *vaiṇatai* actually conveys something infinitely subtler, for the middle — like the reflexive in English or French — denotes action where subject and object are one and the same.<sup>15</sup> In the context of cosmogony, the middle voice is thus used to characterize an action taken when subject-object relations did not yet obtain, humanity still being conjoined with heaven and earth in a unified whole that looked on itself, in the absence of any other.<sup>16</sup>

This situation thus had two aspects, both referenced in the formula *ima frašam taya vaiṇatai*, which is literally translated as “this wonder that sees itself.” Here, *fraša* points to the aspect of wonder: the quality

<sup>13</sup> Thus, Kent, *Old Persian*, p. 140, (“this excellent work which is seen”), Asmussen, *Historiske tekster fra Achæmenide tiden*, p. 78 (“dette storslåede, som kan ses”), Herzfeld, *Alpersische Inschriften*, p. 344 (“es wird gesehen, ist sichtbar, seiend”), and Rüdigger Schmitt, *The Old Persian Inscriptions of Naqsh-e Rostam and Persepolis*, pp. 40 and 103 (“this marvelous [creation] that is seen”).

<sup>14</sup> Thus, Lecoq, *Les inscriptions de la Perse achéménide*, pp. 221 and 259 (“ce beau que l’on voit”).

<sup>15</sup> For the use of the middle voice, see Kent, pp. 87-88. Although he observes that “the middle forms have usually the proper meanings of the middle voice” (§274), he treats *vaiṇa-* as one of a small number of cases where translation by the passive is appropriate (§274d).

<sup>16</sup> *fraša* also occurs in a cosmogonic context in DSs §1, but there it is used to denote a conjunction of heaven and earth that does not include humanity. Lacking a sentient human component, the “wonder” in question is not credited with the capacity for self-perception, in contrast to the more inclusive *fraša* that appears in DNb §1 and XPI §1. It is instructive to organize the relevant inscriptions in tabular form, as given below.

	<i>Deity</i>	<i>Earth</i>	<i>Sky</i>	<i>Humanity</i>	<i>Happiness</i>
DNb §1 and XPI §1	A great god is the Wise Lord <i>baga vazrka Auramazdā</i>	who created this wonder that sees itself <i>haya adadā ima frašam taya vaiṇatai</i>			who created happiness for mankind <i>haya adadā šiyātim martiyahyā</i>
DSs §1	A great god is the Wise Lord <i>baga vazrka Auramazdā</i>	who makes a wonder on this earth <i>haya frašam ahyāyā būmiyā kunauti</i>		who makes mankind on this earth <i>haya martiyam ahyāyā būmiyā kunauti</i>	who makes happiness for mankind <i>haya šiyātim kunauti martiyahyā</i>
DNa §1 et al.	A great god is the Wise Lord <i>baga vazrka Auramazdā</i>	who created this earth <i>haya imām būmim adā</i>	who created that sky <i>haya avam asmānam adā</i>	who created mankind <i>haya martiyam adā</i>	who created happiness for mankind <i>haya šiyātim adā martiyahyā</i>

of sensuous beauty and life-sustaining goodness present in creation itself and the sense of amazement, awe, deep appreciation, and reverence that beholding this prompts in the viewer. Simultaneously, the middle voice of the verb *vaiṇatai* points to the aspect of primordial unity: the cosmic oneness that preceded all differentiation, when there was no “self” and “other.”

Implicitly, it is a logical entailment of this narrative that only when primordial unity was shattered were humans distanced from each other and from the rest of creation. Such fragmentation produced the historic era we inhabit, when any sentient subject views all other things — including other humans — as objects distinct from the self: a situation for which the active voice of the verb becomes appropriate. Even now, traces of the earlier state persist, and insofar as one can still sense the world’s original unity and wonder, one perceives the Creator’s infinite goodness and his intentions for creation.

This is Achaemenian religious ideology at its most attractive. As always, however, there is more to the story, for the second act of seeing that the inscriptions narrate (this time in the active voice) is not one where humans looked on the world and perceived their Creator, but quite the reverse: one where the Creator looked on humans and saw demonic forces.

### III

Darius’s funerary inscription at Naqš-e Rostam contains the following passage.

*Proclaims Darius the King: When the Wise Lord saw (avaṇa) this earth/ empire seething, then he bestowed it on me. I am King.*<sup>17</sup>

While brief, this text has three unique features. First, no other inscription treats the Wise Lord in the act of seeing, let alone describes what he saw. Second, although the deity is often said to have bestowed kingship and kingdom (Old Persian *xšaça*, i.e. royal power and the spatiotemporally bounded realm of its exercise) on the Achaemenian ruler, no other text has God bestow *būmi*, an Old Iranian term that unites the meanings “earth” and “empire.”<sup>18</sup> Third, although Darius’s inscriptions delight in repeating

<sup>17</sup> DNa §4: θāti Dārayavauš xšāyaθiya: Auramazdā yaθā avaiṇa imām būmīm yaūdantīm pasāvadim manā frābara; mām xšāyaθiyam akunauš; adam xšāyaθiya ami.

<sup>18</sup> On *būmi*, see Herrenschmidt, “Désignation de l’empire et concepts politiques de Darius 1<sup>er</sup>.” The verb *fra-bar-* “to bestow” occurs in sixteen passages. While the Wise

that the Wise Lord made him king, only here did he identify what prompted God to take that action.<sup>19</sup> As it turns out, the catalyst was visual: the sight of the empire “seething” or “boiling” (Old Persian *yaūd-*).

Whenever it occurs in Old Iranian texts (Avestan, as well as Old Persian), this term is used metaphorically to describe states of rebellious ferment, in which populations become overheated, contentious, and struggle to escape their rulers’ control.<sup>20</sup> The image is particularly suggestive, insofar as water presents itself as an indivisible whole and boiling — the action in which parts of the water seek escape from the whole — results from an assault on the water by its opposite (fire) and a transformation of the escaping parts into an ambiguous substance (vapor) that retains some continuity with the original (liquid) state, while becoming quite different from it.

From the perspective of the rulers, however, such boiling results from — and makes apparent — the corrupting influence of the demonic force they consistently called “the Lie” (Old Persian *drauga*). According to Darius’s account, this profoundly divisive force manifested itself ever

Lord is always the subject of the action and the King its indirect object, the direct object, i.e. that which God gives the King, is subject to variation, as shown in the following table.

Text	Subject	Verb	Direct Object	Indirect Object
DB §§5, 9, 13, DPd §1, DPh §2, DH §2, DSf §3a, DSm §2, DSp §1, DZc §1, A <sup>2</sup> Hc §3 [2x]	The Wise Lord	To bestow ( <i>fra-bar-</i> )	The kingship and kingdom ( <i>xšačam</i> )	The King (Darius or Artaxerxes)
AsH §2, DPd §2	The Wise Lord	To bestow ( <i>fra-bar-</i> )	The Persian land/people ( <i>dahyāuš Pārsa</i> )	The King (Arsames or Darius)
DSs §1	The Wise Lord	To bestow ( <i>fra-bar-</i> )	God’s original creations	Darius
DNa §4	The Wise Lord	To bestow ( <i>fra-bar-</i> )	Earth/empire ( <i>būmim</i> )	Darius

<sup>19</sup> DB §63 has some relevance, but it describes why the Wise Lord gave aid to Darius after he became king, not why he was made king, nor why it was necessary for God to intervene at all: “For this reason the Wise Lord bore me aid, he and the other gods that are: Because I was not vulnerable to deception, I was not a liar, I was not a deceit-doer.” *avahyarādīmaī Auramazdā upastām abara utā aniyāha bagāha, tayai hanti, yaθā nai arika āham, nai draujana āham, nai zūrakara āham, nai adam naiṃai taumā.* Darius thus constitutes himself as the divinely-chosen hero of Truth, opposed to the Lie at the levels of thought, word, and deed. See further, Chapters Two and Twenty-four.

<sup>20</sup> Cf. DSe §4, XPh §4a, and Yašt 13.95, where the Avestan cognate (*yaoz-*, “to be in commotion”) is also used metaphorically to describe a situation of rebellion. See further Herzfeld, *Altpersische Inschriften*, pp. 362-65 and Lecoq, *Les inscriptions de la Perse achéménide*, p. 220.

more aggressively, beginning in 525 B.C.E., when King Cambyses left Persia to conquer Egypt.<sup>21</sup> During Cambyses' absence, the Lie's power and level of activity rapidly expanded, culminating in the crises of 522, when a lying usurper seized the throne (March), the rightful king died a mysterious death (July), and a group of conspirators (including Darius) killed the usurper (September), after which a series of eight rebellions broke out (October 522-December 521).<sup>22</sup> This was the "seething" the Wise Lord observed, in response to which he made Darius king (formal enthronement, December 522).

It was thus an act of vision that prompted the Wise Lord to intervene in history at a point when creation had been corrupted and fallen far from its primordial state. In many ways, this second act of vision contrasts sharply with the first. Thus, whereas creation initially looked on itself (*vajna-* in the middle voice), saw perfection manifest in unity and wonder, in 522 the Wise Lord looked on an object from which he was distanced (*vajna-* in the active). Although that object was originally his creation, the world had escaped his control and been corrupted by the antithetical force of the Lie. Its nature was no longer unity, perfection, and tranquility, but fragmentation, turbulence, and conflict. His response was not wonder, but alarm, prompting action to set things right.

Or at least so said the man who depicted himself as God's instrument of rectification, Darius the King. The question then arises: What did the King himself see, and what things did he make visible to others?

<sup>21</sup> DB §10: "When Cambyses went to Egypt [= 525 B.C.E.], then the people/army became vulnerable to deception and the Lie became great throughout the land/people — in Persia and Media and other lands/peoples." *yaθā Kambūjiya Mudrāyam ašiyava, pasāva kāra arika abava utā drauga dahyauvā vasaī abava, utā Pārsaī utā Mādaī utā aniyāuvā dahyušuvā.* The phrase translated "the Lie became great" (*drauga... vasaī abava*) is actually more subtle, since *vasaī* is an adverb, not an adjective, and thus modifies the verb (*bav-* "to become, to be") and not the noun (*drauga* "the Lie"). In its adverbial sense, *vasaī* means "at will, greatly, utterly" (Kent, *Old Persian*, p. 207; cf. Meillet and Benveniste, *Grammaire de vieux-perse*, pp. 230-31, Brandenstein and Mayrhofer, *Handbuch des Altpersischen*, p. 152). The phrase in question thus seems to describe a sinister, infectious power that comes into being as a result of its own will-to-existence, and does so with rapidly accelerating force, success, and consequences. Schmitt preserves the adverbial sense of *vasaī*, but sacrifices the meaning of *bav-* ("Falsehood grew greatly," *The Bisitun Inscriptions of Darius the Great*, p. 51).

<sup>22</sup> These events are described in DB §§10-14 and have been much discussed by historians since. Among the fuller and more insightful treatments are those of Dandamaev, *Political History of the Achaemenid Empire*, pp. 83-135 and Briant, *Histoire de l'empire perse*, pp. 119-39. The Bisitun inscription has all the rebellions commencing after September, when Gaumāta/Bardiya was slain, but it is possible that some of these insurrections began earlier, as Willem Vogelsang, "Medes, Scythians, and Persians: The Rise of Darius in a North-South Perspective," *Iranica Antiqua* 33 (1998): 195-224 has suggested.

## IV

Only once did Darius comment on his own visual experience and, like the Wise Lord, he saw a world divided along clear moral lines.

*Once my power of understanding stands in place, I see (vaināmi) him who is rebellious and I see him who is not. With both power of understanding and power of command, far from panic at the thought of death, I think when I see a rebel, just as when I see a man who is not.*<sup>23</sup>

Given that the King's sense of sight let him unfailingly distinguish rebels from others, one infers that the rebels' appearance revealed the presence of the Lie. This topic will be treated more fully in Chapters Twelve and Thirteen, but for the moment let us consider the treatment this thoughtful and perceptive King inflicted on certain rebels.

*Fravarti was captured. He was led before me. I cut off his nose, his ears, and his tongue and I put out one of his eyes. He was held bound at my gate. All the army/people saw (avaṇa) him.*<sup>24</sup>

The intent of this operation is announced in the last line, where *vaiṇa*-once more appears in the active: Darius wanted to turn the defeated rebel into an object-lesson visible to the public at large. To that end, he made his victim's body carry physical signs of the moral defects he had earlier noted. Mutilating a rebel's organs of sense and speech thus gave concrete and dramatic representation to the fact that this man's ability to perceive and communicate the truth (i.e. things as they actually are) was severely impaired, for he had been corrupted by the Lie. Further, such corruption was contagious, since the rebel threatened to infect others via his lying speech and deceptive actions.

<sup>23</sup> DNb §2g: *hakarammaj ušiyā gāθavā hištanti, yaci vaināmi hamičiyam, yaci nai vaināmi; utā ušibiyā utā framānāyā adakaj fratara maniyaj afuvāyā, yadi vaināmi hamičiyam yaθā yadi nai vaināmi.* The term used to denote the power of understanding — *uši* — appears only in this passage. Occurring only in the dual, like its Avestan cognate *uši*, it is most immediately associated with the sense of hearing, not vision, and implies the possession of both ears. Further cognates include Greek οὖς, Latin *auris*, Armenian *unkn*, Albanian *vesh*, Gothic *ausō*, Anglo-Saxon *ēare*, and other terms for the ear. In contrast to these other languages, however, Old Persian denotes the ear proper by *gauša* (= Avestan *gaoša*, from the verb *gaoš-* "to hear"), reserving *uši* for the capacity to understand. See Bartholomae, *Altiranisches Wörterbuch*, col. 414, Herzfeld, *Altpersische Inschriften*, pp. 342-44, Ivanov and Toporov, *Indo-European and Indo-Europeans*, p. 688 n14.

<sup>24</sup> DB §32: *Fravartiš agrabiya anayatā abi mām, adamšaj utā nāham utā gaušā utā hizānam frājanam utāšaj aivam cašma āvajam, duvarayāmaj basta adāriya, haruvašim kāra avaṇa, pasāvašim.* Cf. DB §33 where similar treatment of Tritantaxma is described. Although the Old Persian version of the latter passages makes no mention of the victim's tongue, this last mutilation stands alongside the others in the Akkadian version.

<sup>28</sup> The Susa palace was also termed a *fraša* at DSa §2, DSf §4, DSo §1, and DSz §13. As we have seen, the same term was used for the original creation of heaven and earth at DSs §1, DNb §1, and XPI §1.

confidence in its fulfillment. But serious divisions still existed in the world, making conflict possible and conquest necessary for primordial perfection to be regained. Accordingly, at Susa, Darius used the verb *vaiṇa-* in connection with the notion of wonder, but did so in the active voice (*vaiṇāti*, 3rd person singular active subjunctive), signaling his understanding that the world remained inside historic time, when full unity has not yet been restored and subject and object remain divided.

The formula Darius employed at Susa thus framed a complex set of visual mediations. The palace-cum-wonder was meant to be transparent so that the viewer should see through it to the King who made it, the materials he assembled, the peoples who contributed these precious substances, and the lands from which they came, stretching incredibly far, but not yet to the very ends of the earth. Further, one should see backward in time to behold the original wonder that was creation, the assault of the Lie that shattered this ideal state, and the King's restorative action, which had now brought back wonder and was working toward unity.

The situation was somewhat different when Xerxes completed Persepolis, the second Persian capital, some time after his accession to the throne in 486, upon Darius's death.

*Proclaims Xerxes the King: By the Wise Lord's will, I made this Gate of All Lands/Peoples. Much other good was made in Persepolis: that I made and my father made it. That which is made that sees/shows itself (vaiṇatai) to be good, all that we made by the Wise Lord's will.*<sup>29</sup>

This text is found on the inside surface of the Gate of All Lands/Peoples, which Xerxes made the chief entrance to the Apadāna, the capital's grand reception hall, which we discussed in Chapters Six and Nine.<sup>30</sup> Here, tribute-bearing delegations from all parts of the empire — and ultimately, from all the earth — were expected to pass, as its name (Gate of All Lands/Peoples, *duvarθim visa-dahyum*) emphasized. The same claim of unity (either actual or imminent) was also made more subtly when the verb *vaiṇa-* was once again put in the middle voice (*vaiṇatai*, 3rd person singular middle), just as in the cosmogonic text with which we began.

<sup>29</sup> XPa §3: θāti Xšayaṛšā xšāyaθiya: vašnā Auramazdāhā imam duvarθim visadahyum adam akunavam; vasaj aniyašci naiḅam kṛtam anā Pārsā, taya adam akunavam utamai taya pitā akunauš; tayapati kṛtam vaiṇatai naiḅam, ava visam vašnā Auramazdāhā akumā.

<sup>30</sup> On this structure, see Gikyō Itō, "Gāthica VIII. Xerxes' Gatehouse 'of All-Countries' at Persepolis," *Orient* 7 (1971): 1-7, and Leo Trümpelmann, "Töre von Persepolis. Zur Bauplanung des Dareios," *Archäologische Mitteilungen aus Iran* 7 (1974): 163-71.

If this inscription was written between 486 and 480, it presumably reflected Persian confidence in the coming conquest of Greece and Europe. Yet one can also recognize a certain hesitation or anxiety, as the text refrains from any mention of wonder. In contrast to his father, Xerxes uses the highly significant term *fraša* only in cosmogonic contexts.<sup>31</sup> When speaking of his own accomplishments and constructions, he is content to describe them as "good" (Old Persian *naiba*), a religious term to be sure, but one without the same eschatological and soteriological force as *fraša*.<sup>32</sup>

## VI

If one organizes the texts we have considered in a sequence that follows the chronology of the narratives being recounted, the results are quite fascinating. As Table 10.1 makes clear, successive acts of vision correlate with different ages in world history that involve different situations and different kinds of actors. Thus, in the earliest period — that of primordial perfection — creation is characterized as a wonder that beholds itself and the middle voice of *vajna-* serves to mark the ideal situation when subject is not yet distanced from object. At a second moment, however, both unity and wonder are lost, as the Wise Lord looks down on his creation, now regrettably aboil, and entrusts the Achaemenian King to set things right. In two subsequent moments, first Darius and then Xerxes make progress in the task of restoring primordial perfection, the former claiming to have recovered wonder and the latter, unity. Bringing both of these together, however, eluded the two kings and that goal is deferred to the future, a state of eschatological perfection the inscriptions treat only by implication.

## VII

The formulae used at Persepolis and Susa thus framed a complex set of visual mediations. The beautiful edifices were meant to be transparent, so that through them one also beheld the Kings who made them and the

<sup>31</sup> Thus XPI §1.

<sup>32</sup> Briefly, *naiba* figures as the opposite of *duš-* "evil" and connotes a moral and religious good, which advances the interests and plan of the Wise Lord. See Kent, *Old Persian*, p. 9, Prods Oktor Skjærvø, "Avestan Quotations in Old Persian?," pp. 266-67, with comparison to Ossetic (Iron) *nōib* "holy." Note in particular DSe §4 (discussed above, in Chapter Seven), where "good" in this sense is contrasted with the situation of "seething."



materials and peoples they brought together from lands stretching *almost* to the ends of the earth. Further, they permitted one to look backward in time and understand how these peoples and goods first came to be scattered by the Lie's assault and to comprehend the King's struggle to reverse this tragic fall into history.

But if one should have difficulty seeing the deities, demons, ideals, and the beatific future to which the Achaemenian capitals alluded — if these impressive structures failed to render such invisible entities visible, real, and fully persuasive — then perhaps one should glance once again on the mutilated bodies of the rebels who dared challenge the king, and draw the appropriate lessons.

<i>Moment in cosmic history</i>	<i>Text</i>	<i>Formulaic description</i>	<i>Wondrous quality</i>	<i>Perfect unity, no division of subject and object</i>
1) Primordial perfection	DNb §1	This wonder that sees itself <i>ima frašam taya vaīnatai</i>	+	+
2) Demonic assault	DNa §4	The Wise Lord saw this earth/empire seething <i>Auramazdā ... avaiṇa imām būmīm yaūdantīm</i>	—	—
3a) Heroic struggle led by Darius	DSj §3	For him who should see this palace, may it seem to all a wonder made by me <i>haya ima hadiš vaīnāti taya manā kṛtam viśahyā frašam θadayātai</i>	+	—
3b) Heroic struggle led by Xerxes	XPa §3	That which is made that sees/shows itself to be good <i>tayapati kṛtam vaīnatai naiḅam</i>	—	+
Final perfection		(Implied, but not described)	+	+

Table 10.1 Occurrences of the verb “to see” (Old Persian *vaīna-*).

## CHAPTER ELEVEN

### THE GEOGRAPHY OF CREATION

#### I

As we have seen in previous chapters, the Achaemenian cosmogony closely resembled Pahlavi creation accounts and the two can be considered variants on the same pan-Iranian tradition. Insofar as the Pahlavi versions occur in lengthy texts whose prime concerns are myth and cosmology, they often provide detailed descriptions of events the royal inscriptions treat in highly condensed fashion. The latter, however, are deceptively simple and manage to convey much the same kinds of information with remarkable economy, doing so largely by implication.

Of particular interest at present is a question on which the Achaemenian texts are nearly silent: the place where creation occurred. Only regarding the Wise Lord's first two creations do the inscriptions provide any sense of space, via pronouns that serve as deictics. Thus, "this earth" (*imām būmīm*) stands below our feet and spreads in all directions, while "that sky" (*avam asmānam*) resides in the distant above. The two subsequent creations, however — mankind and "happiness for mankind" — receive no descriptive language that hints at their original locale, although one infers they inhabit the space opened up by their predecessors, being on the earth and under the sky.

By contrast, Pahlavi literature provides specific information about the site where the first plant, first animal, and first human all came to be.

*Fourth, [the Wise Lord] created the plant, which grew up near to the middle of all the earth....*<sup>1</sup>

*Fifth, he created in Iran the Sole-created bovine, at the middle of creation, on the bank of the Weh-dāiti ("Good-Lawful") River, which is the middle of creation...*<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Greater Bundahišn 1a.11 (TD<sup>2</sup> MS. 20.8-9): *cahārom urwar dād \*nazdīk ō mayān harw ēn zamīg abar rust*. Cf. Greater Bundahišn 4.10 (TD<sup>2</sup> MS. 42.6-9), Dēnkard 5.19.25, Selections of Zādspram 2.7, Pahlavi Rivāyat accompanying the Dādestān ī Dēnīg 56.1.

<sup>2</sup> Greater Bundahišn 1a.12 (TD<sup>2</sup> MS. 20.14-21.1): *panjom gāw ī Ēkdād brēhēnīd andar Ērānwēz pad mayānag gēhān pad bārīh rōd ī Weh-dāiti kū mayānag ī gēhān*. Cf. Selections of Zādspram 2.8-9, Pahlavi Rivāyat accompanying the Dādestān ī Dēnīg 46.15 and 56.1.

*Sixth, he created Gayōmard... who stands on the bank of the Dāitī ("Lawful") River, which is the middle of creation...<sup>3</sup>*

Other sources add further information. Apparently, most of the primordial waters lay beneath the earth and surfaced only when the Evil Spirit broke through from below at the world's middle point.<sup>4</sup> The mythic river known as the Dāitī (or Weh-dāiti, from Avestan *Vaṇuhi Dāityā*), however, somehow predates this assault, for the first animal and man were already standing on its right and left bank, respectively, when Ahreman attacked them.<sup>5</sup> Most texts treat the water of the Dāitī as particularly pure and health-sustaining,<sup>6</sup> and it is consistently identified as the "Chief" (*rad*) of rivers.<sup>7</sup> (One variant, however, develops the other side of the argument, describing it as having become the most vermin-infested of rivers, in consequence of the corruption Ahreman introduced).<sup>8</sup>

Be that as it may, the Pahlavi sources consistently describe a uniquely privileged mid-point, where earth, water, plant, animal, and human first appeared and where they suffered the assault that produced their subsequent fragmentation, corruption and dispersion. These texts locate the primordial center inside Iran,<sup>9</sup> drawing on older Avestan descriptions of Iran as "the Aryan homeland marked by the Vaṇuhi Dāityā."<sup>10</sup>

As Gherardo Gnoli has shown, the notion of "Iran" — or, more literally, "the Aryan" — that occurs in Achaemenid inscriptions differs from that of the Pahlavi texts, as it denotes a category based on ethnic, religious, and linguistic affinities, but not (yet) a political unit.<sup>11</sup> What geographic

<sup>3</sup> Greater Bundahišn 1a.13 (TD<sup>2</sup> MS. 21.4-7): 6-om Gayōmard brēhēnīd... pad \*bār ī rōd Dāitī kū mayānag ī gēhān estēd. Cf. Greater Bundahišn 4.10 (TD<sup>2</sup> MS. 42.6-9), Selections of Zādspram 2.8-9, and Pahlavi Rivāyat accompanying the Dādestān ī Dēnīg 56.1.

<sup>4</sup> Greater Bundahišn 4.10 (TD<sup>2</sup> MS. 42.6-9), Selections of Zādspram 2.3-4. Note that the creation of water precedes that of earth in Zoroastrian creation accounts.

<sup>5</sup> Greater Bundahišn 1a.13 (TD<sup>2</sup> MS. 21.5-9). Cf. Selections of Zādspram 2.8-9.

<sup>6</sup> The exceptional properties of this river are discussed in Greater Bundahišn 11.7-8 (TD<sup>2</sup> MS. 85.9-15), Selections of Zādspram 23.1-7, and Dēnkard 3.409. We will return to this topos in Chapter Twenty-eight.

<sup>7</sup> Greater Bundahišn 17.15 (TD<sup>2</sup> 121.7-8), Selections of Zādspram 21.1.

<sup>8</sup> Greater Bundahišn 11a.7-8 (TD<sup>2</sup> MS. 87.7-9).

<sup>9</sup> Greater Bundahišn 1a.12 (TD<sup>2</sup> MS. 20.14-15): "Fifth, he created in Iran the Sole-created bovine, in the middle of creation on the bank of the Weh-dāiti ("Good-Lawful") River ..." panjom gāw ī Ēkdād brēhēnīd andar Ērānwēz pad mayānag gēhān pad bārīh rōd ī Weh-dāiti. Cf. Selections of Zādspram 3.50, Dādestān ī Dēnīg 20.2, Dēnkard 3.312, Pahlavi Rivāyat accompanying the Dādestān ī Dēnīg 46.15.

<sup>10</sup> Thus Vidēvdāt 1.2, 2.20, Yašt 5.17, 5.104, and 15.2: *airiianam vaējiio varhuniā dāitiiaid*.

<sup>11</sup> Gherardo Gnoli, *The Idea of Iran*, idem, *Iran als religiöser Begriff im Mazdaismus*. The term "Iranian" or "Aryan" (Old Persian *ariya*) describes the language of Medes and Persians at DB §70, the lineage or ethnicity to which Achaemenian rulers belong at DNa

boundaries this construct may have had is far from clear, but as we saw in Chapter Three, imperial ideology placed Persians at the world's center and used this "fact" to naturalize their moral, political, military, and cultural supremacy over others.

## II

Although Herodotus 1.134 and the Achaemenian lists of lands/peoples both describe an empire that imagined itself as a set of concentric circles, no explicit testimony grounds this pattern in a cosmological and cosmogonic sensibility. Still, several pieces of evidence suggest that the Achaemenians, like later Zoroastrian authors, theorized creation as having transpired at the world's center, a center they located in the core lands of their empire and, more precisely, at one of their imperial capitals.

The place in question is Susa, an old Elamite city, which Herodotus describes as having functioned as Cambyses' and Bardiya's capital.<sup>12</sup> It is also the site where Darius built his first palace: the only one he described as a *fraša* ("wonder"), thereby constituting it as a microcosmic replica of the original creation.<sup>13</sup> Strabo provides us with a revealing account of how Susa's Achaemenian rulers understood — and reconfigured — the significance of that city's geographic locus and prior history.

*The province of Susa has become nearly a part of Persia, lying between Persia and Babylon, and it has a city most worthy of discussion, Susa. For after conquering the Medes, Cyrus and the Persians saw that their own land was situated toward the hinterlands (ep' eskhatois). Since the province of Susa is more central (endoterō), being closer to Babylonia and the other peoples, they placed the capital of the empire there. At the same time,*

§2, DSe §2, and XPh §2. The religious dimension of the category is also asserted in the Elamite version of DB §§62 and 63, where the Wise Lord is referred to as "the god of the Aryans" (*du-ra-maš-da na-ap har-ri-ya-na-um*). On this last point, see further Rüdiger Schmitt, "Zu dem 'Arischen Ahuramazdā,'" *Studia Iranica* 20 (1991): 189-92 and Charles de Lamberterie, "Arménien ari et anari," in C.-H. de Fouchécour and Ph. Gignoux, eds., *Études irano-aryennes offertes à Gilbert Lazard* (Paris: Association pour l'avancement des études iraniennes, 1989), pp. 237-46.

<sup>12</sup> Thus Herodotus 3.30, 64, and 70.

<sup>13</sup> On Susa as *fraša*, see further, Chapters Ten and Twenty-one. On the realia of the city and palace, see Rémy Boucharlat, "Suse et la Susiane à l'époque achéménide: Données archéologiques," op cit., idem, "Susa under Achaemenid Rule" in: John Curtis (ed.) *Mesopotamia and Iran in the Persian Period: Conquest and Imperialism 559-331 BC* (London: British Museum Press, 1997) 54-67, Oscar Muscarella, Annie Caubet, and Françoise Tallon "Susa in the Achaemenid Period," in Prudence O. Harper, Joan Aruz, and Françoise Tallon, eds., *The Royal City of Susa. Ancient Near Eastern Treasures in the Louvre* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1992), pp. 215-52.

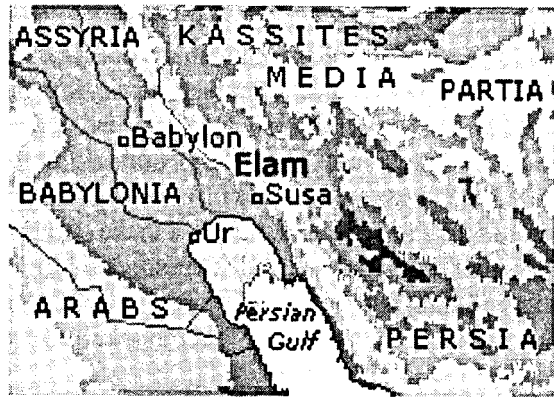


Fig. 11.1 The situation of Susa and the opportunity it provided for re-centering the Persian empire.

*they were pleased with the common border of the land and the high reputation of the city. Better still, Susa never performed great deeds itself, but was always under others and formed part of a larger system, except, perhaps, in ancient time under its heroes.*<sup>14</sup>

What Strabo describes is a process through which Achaemenian rulers re-centered their expanding empire at a time when the addition of western territories made the old Persian heartland feel peripheral. The solution was to redefine Susa as Persian territory, reflecting the fact that the region of Susa shared a border (*homoron tēs khōras*) with pre-imperial Persia, while the city itself stood conveniently between Persia and Babylon (Figure 11.1). Under the new, imperial dispensation, the old border could largely be ignored, as the region of Susa “became nearly a part of Persia” (*skhedon... hē Sousis meros gegenētai tēs Persidos*), to follow Strabo and one should also note that when describing the extent of Persia proper, he delimited its geography as stretching “from Susa to Persepolis.”<sup>15</sup>

<sup>14</sup> Strabo 15.3.2: Σχεδὸν δέ τι καὶ ἡ Σουσίς μέρος γαγένηται τῆς Περσίδος, μεταξύ αὐτῆς κειμένη καὶ τῆς Βαβυλωνίας, ἔχουσα πόλιν ἀξιολογωτάτην τὰ Σοῦσα. οἱ γὰρ Πέρσαι κρατήσαντες Μήδων καὶ ὁ Κύρος, δρῶντες τὴν μὲν οἰκίαν γῆν ἐπ’ ἐσχάτοις που ταττομένην, τὴν δὲ Σουσίδα ἐνδοτέρω καὶ πλησιαιτέραν τῇ Βαβυλωνίᾳ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἔθνεσιν ἐνταῦθα ἔθεντο τὸ τῆς ἡγεμονίας βασιλείον ἅμα καὶ τὸ ὁμορον τῆς χώρας ἀποδεξάμενοι καὶ τὸ ἀξίωμα τῆς πόλεως καὶ κρεῖττον τὸ μηδέποτε καθ’ ἑαυτὴν τὴν Σουσίδα πραγμάτων μεγάλων ἐπήβολον γεγόνει, ἀλλ’ αἰεὶ ὑφ’ ἑτέρους ὑπάρχει καὶ ἐν μέρει τετάχθαι συστήματος μεΐζονος, πλὴν εἰ ἄρα τὸ παλαιὸν τὸ κατὰ τοὺς ἥρωας.

<sup>15</sup> Strabo 15.3.1: “The breadth in the heartland (*en tēi mesogaiai*) from Susa to Persepolis is 4200 stadia.” πλάτος δὲ τὸ ἐν τῇ μεσογαίᾳ τὸ ἀπὸ Σούσων εἰς Περσέπολιν στάδιοι τετρακισχίλιοι διακόσιοι.

Centering the empire on Susa was also made attractive by the city's lack of autonomy and accomplishments in recent years, providing a blank slate on which to write its new Persian identity. At the same time, the city had a distinguished reputation (*axiōma*) and a deep prehistory that could be appropriated, stretching back to mythic heroes and great antiquity (*to palaion to kata tous hērōas*).

Strabo regularly spoke of Achaemenian Susa in the superlative, describing it as "most deserving of discourse" (*axiologōtatēn*). Elsewhere, he dwelt on its great wealth,<sup>16</sup> the exceptional fertility of its soil,<sup>17</sup> and the magnificent decoration of its palace.<sup>18</sup> Most remarkable of all, however, is his description of the city's climate.

*Being fortunate (eudaimōn), the region of Susa has a fiery, most burning atmosphere, most of all around the city. Indeed, when the sun is at its height at noon in the summer, lizards and serpents cannot cross the roads, lest they be burnt up and die. This occurs nowhere in Persia, even though it is further to the south.*<sup>19</sup>

Failing to understand the real force of the first sentence in this passage, some translators have altered its sense by mistakenly placing its two clauses in an adversative relation. In the Loeb edition, for example, H.L. Jones inserts an imaginary "although" and minimizes the sense of Greek *eudaimōn* to produce a distorted reading: "Although Susa is fertile (*eudaimōn*), it has a hot and scorching atmosphere."<sup>20</sup> Far from being opposed, however, the two clauses support one another and advance a common argument. To appreciate this, one must understand that Strabo (and others) described Susa as *eudaimōn* in the fullest sense: not just

<sup>16</sup> Strabo 15.3.3: "The treasure, treasures, and tombs of the Persians were there." καὶ ἡ γε γὰρα καὶ οἱ θησαυροὶ καὶ τὰ μνήματα ἐνταῦθα ἦν τοῖς Πέρσαις. Cf. Herodotus 5.49, Strabo 15.3.9.

<sup>17</sup> Strabo 15.3.11: "There is great abundance of grain: thus, on the average wheat and barley grow a hundredfold and sometimes two-hundredfold, wherefore they do not cut closely compacted furrows, for the roots, when tightly packed, prevent shoots from appearing." πολὺσιτος δ' ἄγαν ἐστὶν ὥστε ἑκατοντάχουν δι' ὄμαλόν καὶ κριθὴν καὶ πυρὸν ἐκτρέφειν, ἐστὶ δ' ὅτε καὶ διακοσιοντάχουν διόπερ οὐδὲ πυκνὰς τὰς ἀβλακὰς τέμνουσι· πυκνούμεναι γὰρ κωλύουσιν αἱ ῥίζαι τὴν γλάστιν.

<sup>18</sup> Strabo 15.3.3: "They decorated the palace in Susa above all the others," Κοσμήσαντες δὲ τὰ ἐν Σούσοις βασιλεία μάλιστα τῶν ἄλλων.

<sup>19</sup> Strabo 15.3.10: εὐδαίμων δ' οὖσα ἡ Σουσίς, ἔκφυρον τὸν ἀέρα ἔχει καὶ καυματηρόν, καὶ μάλιστα τὸν περὶ τὴν πόλιν, ὥς φησιν ἐκεῖνος· τὰς γοῦν σάυρας καὶ τοὺς ὄφεις, θέρους ἀκμάζοντος τοῦ ἡλίου κατὰ μεσημβρίαν, διαβῆναι μὴ φθάνειν τὰς ὁδοὺς τὰς ἐν τῇ πόλει, ἀλλ' ἐν μέσαις περιφλέγεσθαι· ὅπερ τῆς Περσίδος μηδαμοῦ συμβαίνειν, καίπερ νοτιωτέρας οὐσης·

<sup>20</sup> H.L. Jones, trans., *The Geography of Strabo* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1917-32) 7: 169.

agriculturally fertile, but prosperous, happy, and possessed of good fortune, all of which conditions were construed as the sign and product of divine favor. That favor, moreover, was particularly manifest in the life-sustaining quality of warmth, and *pace* Jones, Susa's intense heat was cited as proof of its blessed state. Thus, Strabo describes the warmth particular to that city as so powerful and so abundant that it not only made all good things thrive, it also annihilated noxious serpents and lizards: species that Mazdaeans classified not as proper animals (i.e. those created by the Wise Lord), but vermin (Avestan *xrafstra*, Pahlavi *xrafstar*), foul and destructive spawn of the Evil Spirit.<sup>21</sup>

### III

Strabo understood Susa's heat to be extraordinary, and he transmitted a tradition whose full significance he did not understand.<sup>22</sup> In its original Iranian context, that tradition suggested the city's condition was near paradisaical (in the sense explored in Chapters One, Three, and Four), such that warmth and moisture were ideally conducive to the flourishing of life. His description of the sun's exceptional force at Susa thus makes one wonder about the city's water supply.

Here again, classical authors — not only Strabo, but Herodotus and others — preserve important testimony. While Susa received relatively little rain,<sup>23</sup> it had a nearby river: the Choaspes, also sometimes called the Eulaios and which today is known as the Karkheh.<sup>24</sup> This river descends from the Zagros mountains, runs underground for part of its course, surfaces north of Susa and flows through the city, then joins the

<sup>21</sup> The Magi are described as waging relentless war against serpents, reptiles, and insects at Herodotus 1.140. Regarding the Evil Spirit's creation of vermin and their deployment in his primordial assault, see Greater Bundahišn 1.47 (TD<sup>2</sup> MS. 11.10-12), 4.15 (TD<sup>2</sup> MS. 43.2-6), and 22.0-6 (TD<sup>2</sup> MS. 142.2-143.5).

<sup>22</sup> The phrase ὡς φησιν ἐκεῖνος, which Strabo used at 15.3.10, indicates that he was quoting from some source he did not bother to identify. The possibilities include Aristobulus, Nearchus, Onesicritus, and others.

<sup>23</sup> Thus Strabo 16.1.5.

<sup>24</sup> On the problems of nomenclature, see Daniel T. Potts, "Elamite Ulā, Akkadian Ulaya, and Greek Choaspes: A Solution to the Eulaios Problem," *Bulletin of the Asia Institute* 13 (1999): 27-44. In brief, the Elamites called Susa's river the Ulā, which is reflected in Akkadian Ulaya, Hebrew Ulai (Daniel 8.2 and 8.16), Greek Eulaios, and Latin Eulaeus. The Persians renamed this river \*Hvaspa "Possessed of good horses," whence the Greek Χοάσπης, but both names persisted. The Persian etymology was established by Josef Marquart, "Untersuchung zur Geschichte von Iran [Schluß]," *Philologus Supplement* 10 (1907): 248.

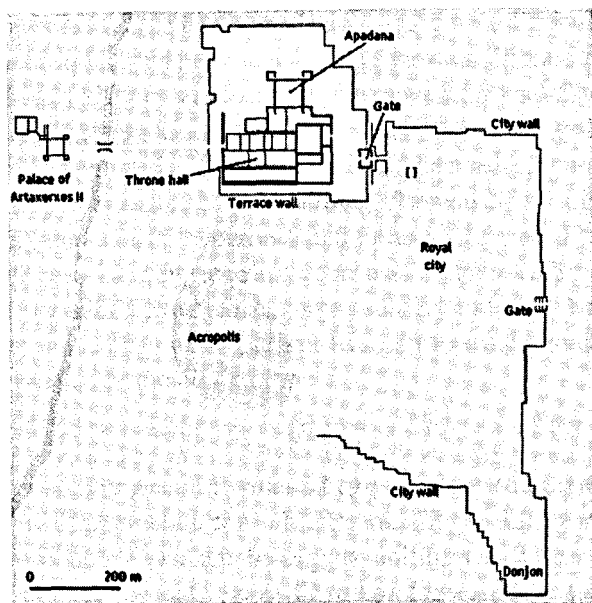


Fig. 11.2 The situation of Susa on the river Choaspes.

Tigris below its juncture with the Euphrates (Figure 11.2).<sup>25</sup> In a speech attributed to Aristagoras, Herodotus associates the Choaspes not just with Susa, but with the royal treasuries in a way that subtly implies the river and city, along with the King, share responsibility for Persian wealth.<sup>26</sup> Most important of all, however, is the following passage.

*When the Great King makes war, he is provided with foods and animals from his household and water is brought from the river Choaspes, which flows beside Susa. The King drinks only this, and not from any other river. This water of the Choaspes having been boiled, a great many four-wheeled carts drawn by mules carry it in silver vessels, following wherever the King marches.*<sup>27</sup>

<sup>25</sup> The fullest ancient discussion of the Choaspes is that of Strabo 15.3.4. See also Herodotus 1.188, 5.49, Curtius Rufus 5.2.9, Pausanias 10.31.7, Strabo 1.3.1.

<sup>26</sup> Herodotus 5.49: "In this country, Susa is situated beside the river Choaspes, where the Great King makes his dwelling and the treasuries of riches are there. Having captured this city, you can thereafter dare to compete with Zeus as regards wealth." ἐν δὲ τῇ δὴ παρὰ ποταμὸν τὸνδε Χοάσπην κείμενα ἔστι τὰ Σοῦσα ταῦτα, ἐνθα βασιλεὺς τε μέγας δίαίταν ποιέεται, καὶ τῶν χρημάτων οἱ θησαυροὶ ἐνθαῦτα εἰσι· ἐλόντες δὲ ταύτην τὴν πόλιν θαρσέοντες ἤδη τῷ Διὶ πλούτου πέρι ἐρίζετε.

<sup>27</sup> Herodotus 1.188: στρατευέται δὲ δὴ βασιλεὺς ὁ μέγας καὶ σιτίοισι εὖ ἐσκευασμένος ἐξ οἴκου καὶ προβάτοισι, καὶ δὴ καὶ ὕδωρ ἀπὸ τοῦ Χοάσπεω ποταμοῦ ἅμα ἄγεται τοῦ παρὰ Σοῦσα ῥέοντος, τοῦ μόνον πίνει βασιλεὺς καὶ ἄλλου



In a 1940 study of this passage, Yves Béquignon, clearly influenced by Frazer, considered the King's drinking habits an instance of royal taboo, the monarch's magico-religious powers being protected by the requirement that even when far from home, he drink nothing but Persian water.<sup>28</sup> More recently, Pierre Briant has rejected this, insisting that no ancient source attributes any sacred character to the Choaspes.<sup>29</sup> Agreeing that restrictions on royal drink were designed to ensure the King's well-being, Briant understands the logic of this practice as medical, not religious, to which end he cites the testimony of ancient authors who described the Choaspes as possessing the "lightest" (*elaphrotatos*, *kouphotatos*), "most pleasant" (*hēdistos*, *delicata*), and "purest" (*katharotatos*) of waters,<sup>30</sup> qualities reflecting keen interest in the salubrious properties of local waters.<sup>31</sup> Medical use of the waters from this river seem to have a relatively long history, for a Babylonian incantation against the disease known as *būšānu* — a severe affliction of mouth, nose, and skin<sup>32</sup> — commands "May they lift up their flasks of silver and their phials of gold, may they draw water from the Ulaya (= the Choaspes)."<sup>33</sup>

οὐδενὸς ποταμοῦ. Τούτου δὲ τοῦ Χοάσπεω τοῦ ὕδατος ἀπεψημένου πολλὰ κάρτα ἄμαζαι τετράκυκλοι ἡμίονοι κομίζουσαι ἐν ἀγγηίοισι ἀργυρέοισι ἔπονται, ὅκη ἂν ἐλαύνῃ ἐκάστοτε. Cf. Agathocles, apud Athenaeus, *Deipnosophistai* 515a, Strabo 15.3.22, Aelian *Varia Historia* 12.40, Pliny 6.135 and 21.35.

<sup>28</sup> Béquignon, "Le breuvage du grand roi," op cit.

<sup>29</sup> Pierre Briant, "L'eau du Grand Roi," op cit. The assertion is not absolutely correct, for a late 8th or early 7th Century rescension of the Gilgameš Epic has Gilgameš address the deceased Enkidu as follows: "May the sacred river Ulay [*nar-ū-la-a*] mourn you" (Tablet VIII, line 11, cited by Potts, "Elamite Ulā, Akkadian Ulaya, and Greek Choaspes," p. 27. There is, however, no direct evidence that Persians continued to regard the river in this fashion.

<sup>30</sup> Cf. Ctesias, apud Athenaeus, *Deipnosophistai* 45b, Strabo 15.3.22, Curtius Rufus 5.2.9, and Plutarch, *Artaxerxes* 12.4.

<sup>31</sup> The classic Greek text on the subject is the Hippocratic treatise *On Airs, Waters, and Places*. Later Zoroastrian literature shows some interest in the topic, although nothing so strong or systematic as is found in the Hippocratic corpus. See, for instance, Greater Bundahišn 11, 11b, 11c, and 12, which deal with lakes and rivers.

<sup>32</sup> On the nature of this ailment, see the *Assyrian Dictionary of the Oriental Institute* 2: 350-51. Most revealing, perhaps, is the text that suggests it was understood as a hot-moist affliction of the mucous membranes: "If a man's nostrils are feverish and his saliva runs, *būšānu*-disease has infected him" (*šumma amēlu na-ḫi-ri-šū emmu illātušu illaku būšānu išbassu*, cited from R. Campbell Thompson, *Assyrian Medical Texts* (London: J. Bale, 1924-26) 36,2: 1.

<sup>33</sup> Cited by Potts, "Elamite Ulā, Akkadian Ulaya, and Greek Choaspes," p. 28 and taken from Walter Farber, "mannam lušpur ana Enkidu: Some New Thoughts about an Old Motif," *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 49 (1990): 315. Cf. Wayne Horowitz, *Mesopotamian Cosmic Geography* (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbraun, 1998), p. 304.

In truth, the distance between these two interpretations is not so great as it seems, although the notion of "taboo" must surely be jettisoned. That said, drawing any clear categorical distinction between religion and medicine is both anachronistic and misleading as regards Achaemenian Persia, where — as we have repeatedly seen — the Wise Lord's original creation of "happiness for mankind" included the ideal conditions to ensure health and well-being, i.e. the qualities of warmth and moisture.<sup>34</sup> These same qualities were understood to have been particularly intense at Susa, where the strongest sun destroyed life-assaulting vermin, and where the lightest, sweetest, and purest of waters sustained the health of the King. (In truth, the royal drink combined moisture and heat, for the King imbibed the Choaspes' splendid water only after it had been further perfected by boiling, then stored in precious containers).

#### IV

There is one last datum that completes the picture: a piece of herbal medicine preserved by Pliny and conceivably transmitted to the west via Magian mediators.<sup>35</sup>

*The theombroton springs forth 30 schoeni (c. 5 miles) from the Choaspes. It resembles pictures of peacocks and is outstanding in its fragrance. It is drunk by the Kings of Persia as an antidote for all bodily troubles, also for instability of mind and of justice. It is also called semnion from the greatness of its power.*<sup>36</sup>

The power of this plant to heal all disorders of body, mind, and moral sensibility (*omnia corporum incommoda instabilitatemque mentis et iustitiae*) is explicitly thematized, but its religious nature is also attested in the two names it is given. Thus, Latin *theombroton* seems to derive from an earlier Greek compound of θεός and ἀμβροσία, i.e. "divine-immortality-substance,"<sup>37</sup> while Latin *semnion* is similarly built on Greek

<sup>34</sup> One might also cite Zoroastrian evidence on this point, specifically the existence of two "Beneficent Immortals" (*Amāša Spəntas*) bearing the names "Health" (*Haurvatāt*, literally "wholeness, [bodily] integrity") and "Immortality" (*Amərətāt*). Personified abstractions in large measure, they are also identified with — and embodied in water and plants, respectively.

<sup>35</sup> Thus Joseph Bidez and Franz Cumont, *Les mages hellénisés. Zoroastre, Ostanès et Hystaspe d'après la tradition grecque* (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1938) 1: 116-17.

<sup>36</sup> Pliny, *Natural History* 24.162: *Theombroton xxx schoenis a Choaspe nasci, pavonum picturis similem, odore eximio. Hanc a regibus Persarum bibi contra omnia corporum incommoda instabilitatemque mentis et iustitiae, eandem semnion a potentiae maiestate appellari.*

<sup>37</sup> Charlton T. Lewis and Charles Short, *A Latin Dictionary* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1980), p. 1867, suggest derivation from Greek θεομβρώτιον, which is unattested in

σεμνός, “revered, august, holy.” The aesthetic qualities of the plant also have strong paradisaal associations. Thus, Iranian texts commonly make an exquisite perfume a sign of the divine as sensuously exquisite, but non-material.<sup>38</sup> Similarly, the herb’s polychrome appearance suggests what is said of the first plant in Zoroastrian myth: “all species of plants were in this one species.”<sup>39</sup> One of the fullest and most important descriptions of heaven in any Iranian text, the culminating vision of the Arda Wirāz Nāmag, combines precisely these features: plants, perfumed fragrance, and polychromy.

*And I saw the best world of the righteous/truthful, which is light, all-bliss, and abundance. And there were many fragrant flowers all-colored (harwisp-pēsīd), all in bloom and radiant, full of glory. And there was all-happiness (wisp šādīh) and all-peace, of which a person cannot know satiety.*<sup>40</sup>

Finally, the peacock — to which the *theombroton* is compared — shares its polychrome quality, in token of which it too bore a most significant name, being called in Old Persian, as in later Iranian languages, “Wonder-bird,” i.e. the bird so complete in its nature and so splendid in appearance as to be comparable to the palace at Susa and the Wise Lord’s creation, both of which were also termed *frašas*.<sup>41</sup>

Greek, although τὸ θεό-βρότιον does appear in Pseudo-Dioscorides 4.89, where it is glossed as ἀεὶζών τὸ μικρόν (“the small thing forever-living”).

<sup>38</sup> A perfumed fragrance frequently has Ohrmazdian and paradisaal associations, as at Hādōxt Nask 2.7-8, Yasna 10.4, Dādestān ī Dēnīg 25.2, Dēnkard 5.8.3, Mēnōg ī Xrad 2.142-44, 7.13-16, Pahlavi Rivāyat accompanying the Dādestān ī Dēnīg 23.5-6, Selections of Zādspram 30.52-56, 35.50.

<sup>39</sup> Pahlavi Rivāyat accompanying the Dādestān ī Dēnīg 46.13: u-š hamāg sardag urwarān andar būd be ē sardag. Cf. Greater Bundahišn 1a.11 (TD<sup>2</sup> MS. 20.8-11) and Selections of Zādspram 2.6-7.

<sup>40</sup> Arda Wirāz Nāmag 15.10: u-m dīd ān pahlom axwān ī ahlawān rōšn ī hamāg xwārīh frāxīh ud wā \*sprahm ī hubōy harwisp-pēsīd ī harwisp škuftag ud bāmīg purr xwarrah ud wisp šādīh ud wisp rāmišn kē kas u-š sagrīh nē dāned. Note that the phrase *wisp šādīh* (“all happiness”) is cognate to the name given to one of the Achaemenian paradise gardens: \**Vispašiyātiš*, on which see Prods O. Skjærvø, “Achaemenid \**Vispašiyātiš*-, Sasanian *Wispšād*,” op cit.

<sup>41</sup> It has long been noted that the peacock was named *fraša-murw* in Middle Persian texts found at Turfan and in the Georgian loanword of Iranian origin, *pharša-mangi* (Carl Salemann, *Manichäische Studien*, Vol. 1 *Die Mittelpersische Texten* [St. Petersburg: Académie Impériale des Sciences de St.-Petersbourg, 1908], p. 199). Recently, Matthew Stolper has discovered comparable data in an unpublished tablet from Persepolis (Fort. 00013-101), which states that 249 *MUSENMEŠ pirrašam* (“wonder birds”) were present at the paradise (Elam. *partetaš*) located at Matezziš, *pirrašam* representing the Elamite transcription of Old Persian *fraša*. The later Iranian evidence suggests the “wonder-bird” terminology designates the peacock, although it could have been used for another avian species judged equally wondrous (if one can imagine just what that might be). I am grateful to Stolper and to Wouter Henkelmann for having shared and discussed this intriguing datum with me.

## V

The picture is now more or less complete. Within the Achaemenian imaginary, Susa was construed as that place where the best of all things were concentrated: the healthiest plant (= the *theombrotion*), the purest water (= the Choaspes), the warmest sun, the most productive soil, the most gorgeous product of human labor, built of the rarest, most precious materials (= the wonder-palace), the wisest, bravest, and most truthful human (= the King). Several interrelated factors participate in the construction of these entities as "the best," including the sense that they were a) supremely beautiful, b) exceptionally complete, c) eminently sustaining of life, and d) as free of corruption/duplicity as is possible in historic time.

In all these ways, Susa and the items associated with it were represented as best preserving, maintaining, or — in the case of the palace — restoring the primordial perfection created by the Wise Lord. At the same time, Susa was imagined as the center of the world, and the connection between these two facts is hardly coincidental. Rather, it seems justified to infer a causal relation that the texts and their logic only imply, understanding first, that the Wise Lord was understood to have created his perfect entities at the very center of the world, where they also suffered the Lie's original assault. Second, that this assault fragmented their primordial unity, introducing corruption into all the creations. It did so in unequal measure, however, with the result that some items retain more, and some less of their original goodness, purity, and perfection. Third, the spatial distribution of corrupted beings and matter was not random. Rather, some principle of moral inertia determined the pattern through which they were scattered across the globe. As a consequence, the very best items — including people — tended to remain at the center, while others spread out to distances that varied with the extent of their corruption. Finally, the unique privileges of the center included responsibility for restoring the unity and goodness of creation, consistent with the Wise Lord's original intentions. This project unfolded in history and involved two complementary motions: the extension of life-sustaining, moral power from the world's center to its peripheries, and the subsequent absorption of peripheral peoples and matter back to the center, where they could be reunited and purified. Or so the Achaemenians saw it.

## CHAPTER TWELVE

### REPRESENTING THE LIE IN ACHAEMENIAN PERSIA\*

#### I

Within the Achaemenian corpus of royal inscriptions, demonic entities first appear in DB §10, a passage we considered in Chapters One and Two, but which also contains some grammatical subtleties that demand our attention. Having recounted how Cambyses killed his brother, hid the deed, then embarked on foreign conquests in 525 B.C.E., the text records the consequences of his actions.

*When Cambyses went to Egypt, then the people/army became vulnerable to deception (kāra arīka abava) and the Lie became great (drauga... vasaj abava) throughout the land/people — in Persia and Media and other lands/peoples.<sup>1</sup>*

In Chapter Two, we saw that the adjective *arīka* denotes a certain weakness of character or intellect that renders a person susceptible to believing a falsehood. All other occurrences of this word treat situations early in the reign of Darius (i.e. between 522-520) and in that context *arīka* is always the object of the verb “to be” (Old Persian *ah-*).<sup>2</sup> Only in DB §10 is it governed by the verb “to become” (Old Persian *bav-*), signaling that at the earlier historic moment of 525, this state of gullibility was newly emergent, for the change signaled in this passage is qualitative, not quantitative: the people are said to become *arīka*, not to become *more arīka*. The causal chain is thus threefold: 1) The King committed certain wrongs, the most grievous of which was hiding the truth from his people;<sup>3</sup> 2) The

\* This chapter was originally presented at a conference on Iranian demonology held in honor of Jean Kellens, Liège, 5 February 2008.

<sup>1</sup> DB §10: yaθā Kambūjiya Mudrāyam ašiyava, pasāva kāra arīka abava utā drauga dahyaūvā vasaj abava, utā Pārsaj utā Mādaj utā aniyāuvā dahyušuvā.

<sup>2</sup> The term occurs only in the Bisitun inscription. Twice, it describes aspects of the situation in 522-21 B.C.E. (DB §§8 and 63); twice, that of 521-20 (DB §§72, and 75). In all four passages, use of the verb *ah-* is stative, denoting a condition that persists unchanged in the present from what it was in the past.

<sup>3</sup> Nowhere does the text assert it was wrong for Cambyses to commit fratricide and such an act may have fallen within his royal powers. Hiding the deed may suggest guilt, but more importantly this constitutes a wrongful act itself, for such concealment is an offense against the truth, on which moral and cosmic order depend. One probably should also understand the King's prolonged absence from the imperial center as a wrongful act that disrupts proper order.

people's ability to discern reality was consequently diminished and they became vulnerable to falsehood; 3) A worse evil then entered the world, as is signaled in the phrase *drauga... vasaj abava*, which I, like others, have to this point translated inadequately as "the Lie became great."

The verb of that phrase is *bav-* once more, and once more its force is inchoative.<sup>4</sup> Its usage here is unusual, however, and that in two ways. First, in the overwhelming majority of cases (47/52), *bav-* occurs with a predicate that specifies some qualitative transformation of the verb's subject, as when someone not (yet) a king somehow is installed in the royal office with full power and dignity, or when a previously docile population suddenly acts in ways that make manifest its simmering discontent and challenges the ruling order.<sup>5</sup> While most translators treat the phrase that concerns us as if it possessed the same kind of predicate (e.g. "the Lie became great"), this is, in fact, a distortion, for *vasaj* is not an adjective, but an adverb.<sup>6</sup> As such, it modifies the action, describing the way the Lie came-into-being, rather than what it became.

<sup>4</sup> On the semantics of this verb and its Indo-Iranian cognates, see Batholomae, *Altiranisches Wörterbuch* col. 927-33, Mayrhofer, *Etymologisches Wörterbuch des Altindischen* 2: 255-57, and Hans Hendriksen, "On the Meaning of Skr. *bhavati*," *Acta Orientalia* 20 (1948): 206-15.

<sup>5</sup> The passages where *bav-* occurs with a noun, pronoun, or adjective as predicate can be tabulated as follows. In none of these does any adverb appear.

	Subject	Nominal, pronominal, or adjectival predicate
DB §§10, 12, 13, 15, 24, 40, 49, 52, 71, DSm §2, XPh §§3, 4 (2x), XPh §4a, XSe §2	I ( <i>adam</i> ), he ( <i>hau</i> ), or Darius	King ( <i>xšāyaθiya</i> )
DB §§11, 16 (2x), 21, 24, 33, 35, 38, 40, 49 (2x), 54, 71	A land/people ( <i>dahyu</i> ) or a people/army ( <i>kāra</i> )	Rebellious ( <i>hamiçiya</i> )
DB §10	The people/army ( <i>kāra</i> )	vulnerable to deception ( <i>arika</i> )
DB §37, 39, 48, 71, 74	A land/people ( <i>dahyu</i> )	mine ( <i>manā</i> )
DB §10, DNa §4 (2x)	A piece of information	Known ( <i>azdā</i> )
DB §§60, 64, 66	The Wise Lord or the future King	friend ( <i>dauštā</i> )
DB §§61, 67	The Wise Lord	your slayer ( <i>-taī jantā</i> )
XPh §4d (2x)	One whose religious comportment has been proper	happy when living and righteous when dead ( <i>utā jīva šiyāta... utā mṛta rīvā</i> )
DSf §3e	A building site	Excavated ( <i>katam</i> )

DNb §§2b and 3b have predicates of a somewhat more complex sort and these passages have not been included in this table. They do not change the general point, however, that in the vast majority of cases, *bav-* takes a nominal, pronominal, or adjectival predicate and is not modified by an adverb.

<sup>6</sup> Translations treating *vasaj* as an adjective include Meillet and Benveniste, *Grammaire de vieux perse*, p. 231: "le mensonge est devenu abundant (litt. 'beaucoup') dans

## II

Most often, *vasaī* occurs with verbs of smiting or building. In both instances, it suggests the vast extent of what has been done and the number of those affected. This is consistent with the accepted etymological analysis, which establishes it as the locative form of an unattested noun (*\*vasa* or *\*vas*) derived from the verb *\*vas-*, “to will, wish, desire.”<sup>7</sup> Literally, then, *vasaī* means “at will,” and it is used when one speaks of destroying a great many enemies (DB §29: “my army smote that rebel army at will,” *kāra haya manā avam kāram tayam hamīçiyam aja vasaī*), building many good things (XPf §4: “I built that which is superior at will,” *vasaī taya fraθaram akunavam*), and similar examples.<sup>8</sup>

The only other time *vasaī* appears with the verb *bav-* is a formulaic blessing-and-curse Darius addressed to future readers of his inscription at Bisitun.

*If you do not conceal this declaration and you proclaim it to the people/ army, may the Wise Lord become a friend to you, may your progeny become great [lit.: come into being at will], and may you live long... If you conceal this declaration and do not tell the people/army, may the Wise Lord become your slayer and may your progeny not come into being.*<sup>9</sup>

The binary structure of this passage is elegant in its simplicity. Either one assists Darius in propagating his message, or one does not. If one does, three blessings follow; if not, two corresponding curses. The verb *bav-* is used in four of the five anticipated outcomes, always in the optative mood.

les provinces;” Asmussen, *Historiske tekster fra Achæmenide tiden*, p. 46: “blev løgnen stor i landet;” and Lecoq, *Les inscriptions de la Perse achéménide*, p. 190: “le mensonge fut considerable parmi les peuples.” The alternative is no better, for those who preserve the adverbial force of *vasaī* regularly distort the sense of the verb it modifies. Thus, Herzfeld, *Altpersische Inschriften*, p. 140: “drauga schaltete nach belieben;” Kent, *Old Persian*, p. 119: “the Lie waxed great in the country;” Schmitt, *The Old Persian Inscriptions of Naqsh-e Rostam and Persepolis*, p. 51: “Falsehood grew greatly in the land.”

<sup>7</sup> Thus, Meillet and Benveniste, *Grammaire du vieux-perse*, pp. 149 and 230-31, Kent, *Old Persian*, pp. 33, 35, 66, and 207, Brandenstein and Mayrhofer, *Handbuch des Altpersischen*, p. 152. Cf. the Avestan *vasā* (adverb, based on the singular accusative of *vasah* < *vas-*, thus “at will”) and the adverbial use of *uštā* (singular locative of *ušti*, also < *vas-*) in the blessing formula of Yasna 41.4: “May you aid us long and at will,” *rapōišcā tū nō darəgəmcā uštācā*.

<sup>8</sup> *vasaī* occurs with the following verbs: *jan-* “to smite, smash, defeat” (16x); *ava-jan-* “to kill” (1x); *kar-*, “to build, make, do” (6x); *ah-*, “to be” (3x); *bav-*, “to become” (3x); *¹dā-*, “to give” (1x).

<sup>9</sup> DB §§60-61: *yadi imām handugām naī apagaūdayāhi, kārahyā θāhi, Auramazdā θuvām dauštā biyā, utātaī taumā vasaī biyā, utā dargam jīvā... yadi imām handugām apagaūdayāhi, naī θāhi kārahyā, Auramazdātaī jantā biyā, utātaī taumā mā biyā*. Much the same formula recurs at DB §§66-67.

Of greatest interest to us, however, are the two phrases that speak of progeny, which are identical save for one word. Here, the crucial contrast is between becoming “at will” (*vasaī*) and “not” (*mā*) becoming (Table 12.1).

	<i>Blessings to the Inscription-Proclaimer</i>	<i>Curses on the Inscription-Concealer</i>
<b>Relation to the Divine</b>	May the Wise Lord become a friend to you, <i>Auramazdā θuvām dauštā biyā,</i>	May the Wise Lord become your slayer, <i>Auramazdātaī jantā biyā,</i>
<b>Lineage continuity</b>	And may your progeny come into being at will, <i>utātaī taumā vasaī biyā,</i>	And may your progeny not come into being. <i>utātaī taumā mā biyā.</i>
<b>Personal life-span</b>	And may you live long <i>utā dargam jīvā.</i>	

Table 12.1 Contrasted blessings and curses in DB §§60-61 (cf. §§66-67).

The combination of the verb *bav-* and the adverb *vasaī* thus denotes a process of transformation that is both quantitative and qualitative, punctual and ongoing: a move from potentiality to existence to proliferation and abundance. Thus, the man whom Darius addresses is imagined to have no children at the moment he reads the inscription, for if he behaves badly, it is promised he will die without offspring and thus be relegated to utter non-being. In contrast, should he behave well, not only will he live a long life, but descendants will follow and his line will flourish for countless generations to come.

Beyond this formula of blessing (repeated verbatim at DB §66), the only other passage in which the verb *bav-* and the adverb *vasaī* occur together is that with which we began: DB §10, which describes the inception of the Lie as an event that has continuing consequences (with the verb in the imperfect). Accordingly, we are meant to understand that in 525 B.C.E., when Cambyses left Persia for Egypt, “the Lie” came into being “at will,” much like the progeny described above. Which is to say, the Lie emerged from nothingness, ramified, mutated, multiplied, and spread: a contagious, corrupting evil.<sup>10</sup>

<sup>10</sup> Both the Akkadian and the Elamite versions of DB §10 also stress multiplicity, translating *vasaī* by *mādu* and *iršeikki*, respectively, both of which mean “many.” The Akkadian further underscores the point by translating Old Persian *drauga* (“The Lie,” singular) by *piršātu* (“lies,” plural).



## III

The phrase *drauga... vasaj abava* thus announced the expectation that once extant, the Lie would reproduce and disseminate rapidly. According to Bisitun, the Lie made itself felt in 525 and by 521 nine different individuals had falsely claimed to be king of one land/people or another. In each case, it is said "he lied" (*adurujiya*, from *duruj-*, the verbal root corresponding to *drauga*)<sup>11</sup> and these lies infected vulnerable populations who consequently turned rebellious.<sup>12</sup> A consistent pattern is traced in these events: deception produces delusion, which produces disorder.<sup>13</sup> At every step, one is meant to perceive the insidious force of the Lie.

*Proclaims Darius the King: These are the lands/peoples that became rebellious. The Lie made them rebellious, because these men lied to the people/army.*<sup>14</sup>

Several questions remain, however: Was the Lie theorized as a personified entity or an abstract force? Comparisons to the arch-demons of Zoroastrianism (whether known as Anra Mainiu, Ahreman, or Gannag Mēnōg) suggest the former, but nothing in the Achaemenian inscriptions really speaks to this question.<sup>15</sup> Further: How does the Lie operate? Who is vulnerable to it? Does it exist apart from the act of lying? Or is it always embedded in the practice of certain deceitful humans?

<sup>11</sup> For philological analysis of the related verbal and nominal forms in the various Indo-Iranian languages, see Mayrhofer, *Etymologisches Wörterbuch des Altindoirischen* 2: 760-61.

<sup>12</sup> DB §52 summarizes the historic narrative developed in DB §§10-51, naming all nine of the rebel-kings and saying of each "He lied (*adurujiya*). He proclaimed 'I am X (= his given name or lineage). I am King in Y.' He made Y rebellious." The same assertions are repeated in the minor inscriptions at Bisitun, which are treated in Chapter Thirteen and displayed in Table 13.1.

<sup>13</sup> The formulaic accounts of rebellion that appear in DB §§11-12, 16, 22, 24, 33, 38, 40, and 49 thus follow a regular sequence: 1) A pretender rises up (*haṇ udapatatā*); 2) he lies to the people/army (*kāram* [or: *kārahyā*] *avaθā adurujiya*); 3) the people/army becomes rebellious (*pasāva kāra... hamičiya abava*) 4) and defects to the pretender (*abi avam ašiyava*); 5) he seizes the kingship/kingdom (*xšaçam haṇ agrbāyatā*); 6) and assumes the title of King (*haṇ xšāyaθiya abava*).

<sup>14</sup> DB §54: *θāti Darāyavauš xšāyaθiya: dahyāva imā, tayā hamičiya abava draugadiš hamičiya akunauš, taya imaj kāram adurujiyaša.*

<sup>15</sup> The usual tendency is to treat the Lie as robustly personified. As Herzfeld, p. 140 put it, with reference to the warning of DB §55 ("Protect yourself boldly from the Lie," *hacā draugā dršam patipayauvā*): "Das heißt nicht 'cave sis mentiare', sondern fast 'cave satanam'." All six occurrences of *drauga* (DB §§10, 54, 55, 56, DPd §3 [2x]) are ambiguous on this point and can accommodate either a personified or a wholly abstract understanding of what "the Lie" represents.

## IV

Avestan texts provide only a bit more information about the Lie's nature. Still, use of the adjective *dušciθra* "of evil seed" calls attention to the Lie's uncanny ability to multiply and spread, consistent with our reading of the Achaemenian data.<sup>16</sup> This theme also recurs in the longest description of the Lie in any Avestan text, Vidēvdāt 18.30-59, which exploits the feminine gender of the noun (Avestan *drug*) to personify the Lie as female. In response to the question "Do you, alone of all embodied beings, really give birth without consort?,"<sup>17</sup> the Lie describes how she is constantly being impregnated by certain human offenders (e.g., those who refuse to give charity when asked, or men who experience nocturnal emissions), a trope that not only emphasizes her extraordinary powers of reproduction, but suggests an ongoing symbiosis between flawed human actors and impersonal-cum-demonic forces, leading to the multiplication of both.

## V

Older Avestan texts shed a bit more light on this symbiosis, calling attention to defects of human hearing that are simultaneously enabling conditions and adverse consequences of the Lie's assault, a situation signaled by compounds where privative *a-* is prefixed to verbs of hearing (Avestan *a-guš-* and *a-sru-*).<sup>18</sup> Thus, for instance, Yasna 31.1 contrasts

<sup>16</sup> The term appears at Yašt 19.94 and 95 only. Translators are divided on the question of whether this adjective signals the Lie's evil parentage (thus Almut Hintze, *Der Zamyād-Yašt* [Wiesbaden: Ludwig Reichert, 1994], p. 390, Helmut Humbach and Pallan R. Ichaporia, *Zamyād Yasht. Yasht 19 of the Younger Avesta. Text, Translation, Commentary* [Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1996], p. 169) or her evil progeny (thus Karl Friedrich Geldner, *Drei Yasht aus dem Zendavesta* [Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer, 1884], p. 58, Herman Lommel, *Die Yāsts des Awesta* [Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1927], p. 186, and others). Arthur Christensen, *Essai sur la démonologie iranienne*, p. 14, associated the use of this adjective with the feminine gender of the Lie, but stated the point very delicately, observing that "son individualité est peu marquée dans les Yašts, où elle a conservé, généralement, son caractère abstrait d'anti-type de *Ṛta*."

<sup>17</sup> Vidēvdāt 18.30: *tūm zī aēuua vīspahe aṇhēuš astuuatō anaīḫiāstīš hunahi*. Significantly, the question is posed by Sraoša, the personification of properly attentive hearing and full obedience to the divine word, who is occasionally construed as the Lie's chief adversary (thus Yasna 57.15 [= Yašt 11.10] and Yašt 11.3).

<sup>18</sup> The two relevant verbs seem to differ in their emphasis. Avestan *guš-*, *gaoš-* refers chiefly to the physical act of hearing, as is indicated by formation of the word for "ears" on this root (Av. *gaoša*, Old Persian *gauša*; cf. also Av. *gaošāvara*, "earrings," *gaošō. bərəz* "height of the ear," and *gaošō.srūta* "heard by ear," on which see Bartholomae, *Altiranisches Wörterbuch*, cols. 485-87). In contrast, *sru-*, *sra-* encompasses also the social,

two audiences addressed by the speaker: the faithful, who find his words "best" (*vahištā*) and those under sway of the Lie, by whom the same words go "unheard" (*a-guštā*).

*Remembering these rules of yours, we proclaim unheard words (aguštā vacā)  
To those who destroy the creatures of Truth by the rules of the Lie,  
But these (words) are best for those who would be faithful to the Wise Lord.<sup>19</sup>*

The hope is that the words in question will transform men of violence. Should the latter remain unable to hear them, however, the Lie's continuing influence will produce further acts of destruction. The argument is circular, treating what others might differentiate as cause and effect as mutually supportive conditions, both of which are necessary and neither of which has (temporal or logical) priority. Thus, those affected by the Lie develop defects of hearing that make them susceptible to lies and hostile to Truth.

The situation is similar in Yasna 44.13, which contrasts proper and improper hearers, i.e. persons who are and those who are not deeply attentive to the teachings of the good religion.<sup>20</sup> Proceeding from this, it thematizes the former group as resistant, and the latter receptive to the Lie, while subtextually implying that the Lie produces the very non-hearing that is the condition of its own hospitable reception.

*This I ask you, speak truly to me, Ahura:  
How do we drive the Lie from ourselves  
To those full of non-hearing (asruštōiš pərənānhō)?  
They do not delight in associating with Truth.  
They do not derive pleasure from asking questions of Good Mind.<sup>21</sup>*

political, moral, and religious aspects of hearing, as is evident in *sravah* "word, speech, teaching," *sruta* "that which is heard, known, celebrated, famed," and *sraoša* "hearkening, attentive hearing, obedience, and the discipline that comes from listening to what has been commanded" (Bartholomae, cols. 1634-36, 1643-44, and 1648). Most fully on the last term, see G. Kreyenbroek, *Sraoša in the Zoroastrian Tradition* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1985) and Emile Benveniste, "Deux noms divins dans l'Avesta. I. Sraušā," *Revue de l'histoire des religions* 130 (1945): 13-14.

<sup>19</sup> Yasna 31.1: tā vō uruuātā marəntō, aguštā vacā sēnghāmahi  
aēibiiō yōi uruuātāiš drujō, ašahiā gaēθā vīmərəncaitē  
atcīt aēibiiō vahištā, yōi zarazdā anhən mazdāi.

<sup>20</sup> Regarding the nature of such attentive hearing ("hearkening") in the Zoroastrian context, see the discussion of Kreyenbroek, op cit.

<sup>21</sup> Yasna 44.13: tat θβā pərəsā, ərəš mōi vaocā ahurā  
kaθā drujəm, niš ahmat ā niš.nāšāmā  
tāng ā auuā, yōi asruštōiš pərənānhō  
nōit ašahiā, ādīuuieinū hacēnā  
nōit frasaiiā, vanhēuš cāxnarē manānhō

## VI

Several Younger Avestan passages use the same vocabulary to develop the same kind of argument, as in the formula that concludes Vidēvdāt 16 and 17.

*All liars are embodiments of the Lie, who are unconstrained by proper religious choice, who are unhearing/disobedient (asraošō). All those who are unhearing/disobedient are untruthful. All those who are untruthful are criminals whose bodies are forfeit.*<sup>22</sup>

Similar imagery recurs a celebrated narrative from Herodotus: the episode in which Otanes charged his daughter Phaidyme to discover if her husband was the rightful King, as he claimed, or an imposter, as Otanes suspected. The problem was difficult, for as we were previously told, not only did the imposter bear the same name as the man he supplanted, but their appearance was near identical.<sup>23</sup> Describing the sole way to differentiate the two, Otanes instructed Phaidyme: "Now, therefore, you must do this. When he lies with you and you know he has fallen asleep, handle his ears. If he seems to have ears, consider that it is Smerdis [= Old Persian Bardiya], son of Cyrus, who lives with you; if not, you are with Smerdis the Magus."<sup>24</sup>

Also relevant is Yasna 43.12, where the Lie is not named, but where Truth (Aša) and Obedience/Attentive Hearing (*Sraoša*) are associated with the negation of non-hearing (*nōit asruštā*) to set up the following relations.

Truth : (Lie)

Obedience/Attentive Hearing : (Disobedience/Inattentive Hearing)

Not non-hearing (*nōit asruštā*) : Non-hearing (*asruštā*)

<sup>22</sup> Vidēvdāt 16.18 (= Vd. 17.11): *vīspe druuantō tanu.drujō yō adərətō.tkaēšō yō asraošō vīspe asraošō yō anašauuanō vīspe anašauuanō yō tanu.pərəθō*. Cf. Yasna 60.5: "In this house, may Attentive Hearing/Obedience (*Sraoša*) vanquish non-hearing (*asruštīm*), may peace vanquish non-peace, may generosity vanquish non-generosity, may reverence vanquish irreverence, may the word rightly spoken vanquish the word falsely spoken, and may Truth vanquish the Lie." *vainit ahmi nmāne sraošō / asruštīm āxštiš anāxštīm / rāitiš arāitiš ārnaitiš / tarōmaitīm aršuxdō vāxš / miθaoxtam vācim aša.drujam*. Also relevant is Yašt 11.2, where the bodily defects associated with the Lie are construed much more broadly: "(Obedience [*Sraoša*]) is the best repeller of the enmity of the liar (and) of liars. This is the best binder-and-eradicator of the foul eyes, foul understanding, foul ears, foul hands, foul feet, foul mouth of the male liar (and) of the female liar." *tat druuatō druuatam auruaθō.paiti.dārəšta tat druuatō druuatiiāasca aši uši karəna gauua duuarəθra zafarə dərəzuuān pairi.uruaēštəm*.

<sup>23</sup> Herodotus 3.61.

<sup>24</sup> Herodotus 3.69: *vūn ὃν ποιήσον τάδε· ἐπεὰν σοὶ συνεύδῃ καὶ μάθῃς αὐτὸν κατυπνωμένον, ἄφασον αὐτοῦ τὰ ὦτα· καὶ ἥν μὲν φαίνεται ἔχων ὦτα, νόμιζε σεωυτὴν Σμέρδι τῷ Κύρου συνοικέειν, ἥν δὲ μὴ ἔχων, σὺ δὲ τῷ Μάγῳ Σμέρδι.*"

Many ingenious explanations have been offered for this curious detail (found only in classical sources).<sup>25</sup> In it, some have seen a folkloric motif taken from Oriental romance,<sup>26</sup> some the result of folk etymology (assuming that the title of Magus was misinterpreted as meaning "no ears," *mā guš*),<sup>27</sup> and some imagine it resulting from conventions of Greek art, which gave Persians helmets, crowns, or coiffures that normally covered their ears.<sup>28</sup> More simply, one may understand that whatever its ultimate origin may be, the Herodotean narrative posits the same syllogism we have already observed in Avestan texts.

Smerdis, son of Cyrus	:	Smerdis the Magus
:: +Ears	:	-Ears
:: King	:	Imposter
:: Truth	:	Lie

Explaining how the imposter came to suffer this defect, Herodotus alludes to an earlier episode, but supplies no relevant details, saying only that "during his rule, Cyrus had cut off the ears of Smerdis the Magus, for no small reason," suggesting that this was the royal response to some serious offense.<sup>29</sup> An unrelated scene makes clear the crime for which ear-lopping was judged appropriate.

*Intaphernes wished to enter (the royal chambers), thinking it was his right to be admitted because he was one of the Seven.<sup>30</sup> The gatekeeper and the usher would not permit it, saying that the king was in bed with a woman. Believing that they told lies (pseudea legein), Intaphernes did these things. Drawing his sword, he cut off their ears and noses, and having threaded these on the bridle of a horse, he tied this around their necks and let them go.<sup>31</sup>*

<sup>25</sup> The same detail is found in Justinus 1.91 (where Cambyses, not Cyrus is said to have cut off the ears of the Magus). Nothing similar is recounted in the Bisitun inscription and the accompanying relief actually contradicts the story, Gaumāta's left ear there being fully apparent.

<sup>26</sup> Wolf Aly, *Volksmärchen, Sage und Novelle bei Herodot und seinem Zeitgenossen* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1921), pp. 99-100.

<sup>27</sup> G. Bertin, "Herodotus on the Magians," *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* (1890), pp. 821-22, accepted by W.W. How and J. Wells, *A Commentary on Herodotus* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1912) 1: 275.

<sup>28</sup> Alexander Demandt, "Die Ohren des falschen Smerdis," *Iranica Antiqua* 9 (1972): 90-101.

<sup>29</sup> Herodotus 3.69: τοῦ δὲ Μάγου τούτου τοῦ Σμέρδιος Κύρος ὁ Καμβύσεω ἄρχων τὰ ὅτα ἀπέταμε ἐπ' αἰτῇ δὴ τι νὺ σμικρῇ.

<sup>30</sup> Herodotus describes the privileges granted to the "Seven Noble Persians" who overthrew Gaumāta at 3.84 and the role played by these men is confirmed by DB §68. See further Fritz Gschnitzer, *Die sieben Perser und das Königtum des Dareios. Ein Beitrag zur Achaimenidengeschichte und zur Herodotanalyse* (Heidelberg: Carl Winter Universitätsverlag, 1977) and Briant, *Histoire de l'empire perse*, pp. 119-27 and 140-49. The episode of Intaphernes is discussed by Gschnitzer at pp. 26-29 and by Briant at pp. 143-44.

<sup>31</sup> Herodotus 3.118: οὐκ ὄν δὴ Ἰνταφέρνης ἐδικαίον οὐδένα οἱ ἐσαγγεῖλαι, ἀλλ' ὅτι ἦν τῶν ἐπτά, ἐσιέναι ἤθελε. ὁ δὲ πυλὺρὸς καὶ ὁ ἀγγελιηφόρος οὐ περιώρων,

The case is clear. One cuts off the ears — perhaps along with other organs of sense and communication — to mark those convicted of lying. In doing so, one gives tangible form to the moral, spiritual, or dispositional defect that inclines such people to falsehood in the first place. For it is their failure to hear and heed the truth that lets the Lie penetrate their minds and bodies, from which vantage point it can reproduce itself as they begin to speak and practice deceit.

## VII

Darius inflicted much the same punishment on two of the rebels he suppressed in his first year on the throne (522-521 B.C.E.), Fravarti and Tritantaxma.<sup>32</sup>

*Fravarti was captured. He was led before me. I cut off his nose, his ears, and his tongue and I put out one of his eyes. He was held bound at my gate. All the army/people saw him.*<sup>33</sup>

Here, it is worth noting that the Assyrians and Babylonians do not seem to have employed this same pattern of mutilation, although a copper head was found at Nineveh (Figure 12.1) that had both its ears cut off, both eyes gouged, with deep damage to the left eye, and its beard broken (conceivably a substitute for the impossible task of extracting a statue's tongue). Having studied this object closely, Carl Nylander concluded that the damage was inflicted by Median troops when they took Nineveh

φάμενοι τὸν βασιλέα γυναίκι μίσγεσθαι. ὁ δὲ Ἴνταφρένης δοκέων σφέας ψεύδεα λέγειν ποιέει τοιάδε· σπασάμενος τὸν ἀκινάκεια ἀποτάμνει αὐτῶν τὰ τε ὦτα καὶ τὰς ῥίνας, καὶ ἀνείρας περὶ τὸν χαλινὸν τοῦ ἵππου περὶ τοὺς αὐχένας σφέων ἔδησε, καὶ ἀπῆκε. One probably should understand the same accusation of untruth to be implicit when similar mutilations were inflicted on Zopyros (Herodotus 3.154, where the victim's lies follow his self-mutilation) and the wife of Masistes (Herodotus 9.112, where punishment is inflicted on the malefactor's mother, rather than the lying/adulterous woman herself). Xenophon, *Anabasis* 1.9.13 is also relevant, but much more general in its description.

<sup>32</sup> It is not clear why these two rebels were treated more harshly than the other seven. It may be relevant that they both — and they alone — claimed to be descendants of Cyaxares, last king of the Medes, thus representing themselves as rightful heirs to the royal line usurped by Cyrus. If valid, this claim was stronger than that made by any other rebel and thus may have demanded particularly emphatic refutation.

<sup>33</sup> DB §32: Fravartiš agrabiya anayatā abi mām, adamšaj utā nāham utā gaušā utā hizānam frājanam utāšaj ajvam cašma āvajam, duvarayāmaš basta adāriya, haruvašim kāra avajna. The Akkadian version of DB §33 gives the same description of how Tritantaxma was treated, but the Old Persian text omits extraction of his tongue. Presumably, this was a scribal error (thus Lecoq, p. 200), but the detail may hold some deeper significance.



Fig. 12.1 Mutilated copper head (of Sargon?) discovered at Nineveh.  
Note damage to the ears, eyes, and beard.

and overthrew Assyrian power in 612 B.C.E., drawing on an Iranian symbolic repertoire that used (literal) defacement to inflict humiliation and dishonor.<sup>34</sup>

Whether or not Nylander was correct in adding this datum to the dossier, we can offer a more precise interpretation of the Achaemenian practices. Although the disfigurements inflicted on Fravarti and Tritan-taxma were surely meant to cause both shame and pain, their purpose was also didactic. Toward that end, the faces of captured rebels were made into object lessons, on which otherwise invisible forces and processes were given concrete form. Those who beheld poor Fravarti were meant to read from his mangled features that he was both a victim and

<sup>34</sup> Carl Nylander, "Earless in Nineveh: Who Mutilated 'Sargon's Head?," *American Journal of Archaeology* 84 (1980): 329-33. Martha Roth and Matt Stolper have been kind enough to confirm for me that Nylander was correct in his assessment of the Assyro-Babylonian punitive repertoire. See further, Martha T. Roth, "On Amputation, Beating, and Illegal Seizure," in Martha T. Roth, et al., eds., *Studies Presented to Robert D. Biggs* (Chicago: The Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, 2007), pp. 207-18.

an agent of the Lie, drawing these further conclusions. 1) This is how the Lie enters and infects men who cannot hear and whose senses are defective. 2) This is how the Lie reproduces itself, when such men say garbled things that infect and mislead others. 3) Lies and liars thus produce confusion and violence by misperceiving and misrepresenting the truth. 4) Ultimately, such people suffer retributive violence from the defenders of truth, led by the King, and this restores proper order.

Conceivably, Darius and his agents — scribes, as well as soldiers and hangmen — made these points with a sincere and ingenuous belief that inspired confidence in the empire and the rightness of its mission. Like all human subjects, however, they too were capable of misrecognition and misrepresentation. And here opens the epistemological and moral abyss of lies about the Lie, lies about the lying other, and lies about the truthful self...



## CHAPTER THIRTEEN

### REPRESENTING THE LIE IN MAZDAEAN IRAN

#### I

The religiously valorized (and ideologically loaded) contrast of Truth and Lie is well attested throughout the Indo-Iranian religious tradition. This is not to say it was consistently the centerpiece of ethics and politics, nor that it always found expression in identical fashion. Rather, it was a longstanding theme of considerable, but varying interest, capable of embroidery and elaboration in various texts, contexts, and eras.

In Vedic India, primary attention was focused on the principle of truth and all that is right (*ṛtá*), which was construed as the ordering principle of the cosmos<sup>1</sup> and only occasionally juxtaposed to the countervailing principle of the lie (*drúh*).<sup>2</sup> In ancient Iran, by contrast, the Lie was theorized in more robust fashion as the essence and source of evil: that which is most radically corrosive to order in every form (social, political, moral, aesthetic, and cosmic). Even a relatively crude statistical comparison shows the extent to which Iranians' interest shifted from Truth toward the Lie. Thus, in the *R̥g Veda*, occurrences of *ṛtá* and *ṛtávan* outnumber those of *drúh* and *drúhvan* by a ratio of 15:1 (417/28).

<sup>1</sup> For the etymology of this term, cognate with Avestan *aša*, Younger Avestan *ərəta* (e.g. in the name of the eschatological hero Astuuat.ərəta, "Embodied Truth"), Old Persian *ṛtá*, and Mitanni *arta* (as an element in proper names), see Mayrhofer, *Etymologisches Wörterbuch des Altindoarischen* 1: 254-55, following the analysis of Bernhard Geiger, "Rta und Verwandtes," *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlande* 41 (1934): 107-26. The Indo-Iranian languages preserve two different terms for "truth," preserving an older Indo-European distinction between truth as that which is right (*ṛtá*, etc.) and truth as that which is real (Sanskrit *satyá*, Avestan *haiθya*, Old Persian *hašiya*, all of which are extensions in *-ya*, built on the present participle of the verb "to be"). See further, Hjalmar Frisk, *Wahrheit und Lüge in den indogermanischen Sprachen: Einige morphologische Beobachtungen* (Göteborg: Elander, 1936), esp. pp. 28-32.

<sup>2</sup> The Vedic passages in which *ṛtá* and *drúh* form a binary opposition were collected and discussed in comparison to the Avestan evidence by Bernhard Geiger, *Die Aməša Spəntas: Ihr Wesen und ihre ursprüngliche Bedeutung* (Vienna: Alfred Hölder, 1916), pp. 175-87. The only verses in which both terms appear are RV 1.121.4, 1.133.1, and 7.75.1, although the juxtapositions within different verses of the same hymn are also occasionally of interest, as in the case of RV 2.23.15-17 and 4.23.7-10. Regarding the etymology of Vedic *drúh*, Avestan *drug*, Old Persian *drauga*, and related forms, see Mayrhofer, *Etymologisches Wörterbuch* 1: 760-61.

In striking contrast, the ratio for corresponding terms in the Older Avesta (*aša* and *ašāuuan*, *drug* and *drəguuant*) is just a bit more than 3:1 (198/62) and the relation is actually reversed in the Achaemenian inscriptions, where *drauga* and *draujana* occur twice as often as *ṛta* and *ṛtāvan* (10/5).<sup>3</sup> Tabulating the relevant verbs would skew results even further, since Old Persian has no verbs with an etymological connection to *ṛta*, while the verb *duruj-* makes a full twenty-seven appearances. Thus, what in ancient India was a contrast of occasional, but not dominating interest or persistent utility played a much larger role in Mazdaean Iran, where it became one of three mutually reinforcing binary oppositions (Truth/Lie, light/darkness, Ohrmazd/Ahremen) that served as central organizing principles for a dualistic cosmology and ethics.

As the statistics cited above suggest, the position of the Lie was most salient in the Achaemenian inscriptions, where the other two binaries were somewhat attenuated. There, the contrast of light and darkness figured rather little, appearing only in the practice of blinding rebels (who, as liars, dwell in darkness)<sup>4</sup> and the alternation of night and day (which is mentioned once only).<sup>5</sup> An explicitly Ahremenian discourse is likewise absent, for in Old Persian the Wise Lord's adversary never takes any name except "the Lie."

As it happens, the Ahremenian is only a bit better attested in Older Avestan texts (i.e. the Gāthās and Yasna Haptanhaiti), which contain just one verse that employs the name "Evil Spirit" and even on that occasion, the text inverts what later comes to be the standard order of adjective and noun (i.e. *mainiiu... angra*, and not *angra mainiiu*).<sup>6</sup>

<sup>3</sup> These tabulations are based on data taken from Hermann Grassmann, *Wörterbuch zum Rig-Veda* (Leipzig: F.A. Brockhaus, 1873; 4th ed., Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1964), Jean Kellens and Eric Pirart, *Les textes vieil-avestiques. Vol. II. Répertoires grammaticaux et lexique* (Wiesbaden: Ludwig Reichert, 1990), and Kent, *Old Persian*.

<sup>4</sup> DB §§32-33, on which see Chapter Twelve.

<sup>5</sup> DB §7, where Darius states: "What was proclaimed to them by me, by night or by day, that was done." *tayašām hacāma aθanhya xšapanvā raucapativā, ava akunavayantā*. On the formulaic phrase, see further David Testen, "Old Persian <x-š-p-v<sup>(a)</sup> r<sup>(a-i)</sup>-u-c-p-t<sup>(a-i)</sup>-v<sup>(a)</sup>-a> 'by night or by day'," *op cit*.

<sup>6</sup> Yasna 45.2: *I will proclaim the two first spirits of existence, The more beneficent of which could say to the one who is evil: "Neither our minds, nor our proclamations, nor our intellects, Nor our choices, nor our utterances and deeds, Nor our religions, nor our souls are in agreement."*

*at fravaxšiiā, aṇhōuš uš mainiiū paouruiiē  
yaiiā spaniiā, ūitī mrauuat yēm angrēm  
nōit nā manā, nōit sēnghā nōit xratauuō  
naēdā varanā, nōit uxōā naēdā šiiāoθanā  
nōit daēnā, nōit uruuanō hacaintē.*

Further, this Evil Spirit was not juxtaposed to the Wise Lord, but was set against a "More Beneficent Spirit" (*mainiiu... spaniiā*) that was theorized as its twin.<sup>7</sup> Elsewhere, the Older Avesta continues to speak of the adversarial force as "the Lie" (*drug*), a term that recurs sixteen times. Here, however, as in the Achaemenian inscriptions, it is often unclear whether the word denotes an impersonal abstraction, a personified demonic power, or — more likely — something that mediates these alternatives, for it is always difficult (and frequently impossible) to tell if Old Avestan *drug* and Old Persian *drauga* are the proper names of an archdemon or common nouns of uncommon importance.<sup>8</sup>

## II

Only in the Younger Avesta does one begin to encounter fully personified descriptions of the Lie, alongside passages where *drug* denotes a powerful abstraction. There, a terminological innovation serves to distinguish between the incorporeal essence of falsehood and the archdemonic being who embodies that force, via an adjective that defines the former as the "spiritual Lie" (*mainiiava drug*).<sup>9</sup>

When this modifier is lacking, "the Lie" is personified, although the relevant passages are not consistent in the depictions they offer. Some treat the Lie as female, taking their lead from the gender of the noun, and these texts emphasize its reproductive powers, as we saw in Chapter Twelve.<sup>10</sup> Others treat it as male and stress its aggressive nature,<sup>11</sup> while some leave the Lie's sex indistinct and still others treat it as a monstrous being possessed of three mouths, three heads, six eyes, and a thousand

In no other passage from the Older Avesta does the adjective *ayra* modify the noun *mainiiu*, but it does occur in two other verses (Yasna 43.15 and 44.12), where it is associated with a patterned contrast drawn between followers of the Truth (the *ašaуuan*) and followers of the Lie (the *dragvānt*). A "bad spirit" (*aka mainiiu*) is named at Yasna 30.3 at 32.5.

<sup>7</sup> The twinship of the two first spirits (*mainiiū paouruiiē*) is established at Yasna 30.3, where they are also identified as "the better one and the bad one" (*vahiiō akəmčā*).

<sup>8</sup> Among the most ambiguous occurrences of *drug* in the Older Avesta, see Yasna 30.8, 30.10, 31.4, 32.3, 44.13, 44.14, 46.6, 46.11, 49.11, 51.14. With a little ingenuity, the others can also be understood as referring to a demonic power, although it is by no means necessary to do so. That which we perceive as ambiguity most probably reflects a situation in which the categories and distinctions we bring to the text (moral abstraction vs. demonic personification) simply do not obtain.

<sup>9</sup> The "spiritual Lie" appears at Yašt 1.19, 11.3, and 13.71. All other occurrences lack the modifier.

<sup>10</sup> Thus Yašt 19.95 and, above all, Vidēvdāt 18.30-59, discussed in Chapter Twelve above.

<sup>11</sup> Thus, e.g., Vidēvdāt 10.1, Yašt 11.2-3, 13.12-13.

senses, all of them defective, distorting, demonic.<sup>12</sup> In all these contexts, the question regularly arises how the Lie can be overcome and the response is always the same: A righteous/truthful person (i.e. an *ašauuan*) need only recite prayers, ritual formulae, divine names to emerge unscathed, which is to say: true and pure speech overpowers the Lie.<sup>13</sup>

The narrative in which the Avesta makes these points most vividly is probably Vidēvdāt 19.1-3, where it treats the Lie as a subordinate instrument of the Evil Spirit.<sup>14</sup>

*From the northern side, from the northern regions, [i.e. the direction associated with cold, dryness, death, and destruction] slithered forth the Evil Spirit, he of many deaths, demon of demons. Thus babbled the Evil Spirit, he of many deaths, whose vision is evil: "Lie, slither forth and kill Righteous/truthful Zarathuštra." The Lie slithered about, with the demon Būiti and the catastrophe of decrepitude. Zarathuštra proclaimed the Ahuna Vairiia prayer. He offered sacrifice to the good waters of the Good Dāitiia River. He professed the Mazdā-worshipping religion. Cast down, the Lie slithered away, with the demon Būiti and the catastrophe of decrepitude. The Lie babbled back: "Evil Spirit, I do not at all see destruction for Zarathuštra. Zarathuštra is righteous/truthful (ašauuan) and has much glory/good fortune (pouru.x'arənah)." Zarathuštra saw in his own mind: "The lying demons, whose vision is evil, conspire at my destruction." <sup>15</sup>*

<sup>12</sup> Yasna 9.8, Yašt 5.34, 9.14, 14.40, 17.34, and 19.37, where the usurper Aži Dahāka is described as "the strongest Lie the Evil Spirit spawned to destroy the corporeal creation of the creatures of Truth" (*aš.aojastəmąm drujim fraca kərəntat anrō mainiiuš aoi yəm astuuaitim gaēθm mahrkai ašahe gaēθanqm*). The lexemes used for the monster's mouths, eyes, heads, and senses are all part of the Avesta's daēvic vocabulary, which marks their deviant nature. The classic treatment of this linguistic pattern remains Güntert, *Über die ahurischen und daēvischen Ausdrücke im Awesta*, op cit.

<sup>13</sup> Thus, Vidēvdāt 10.1-2 recommends reciting the Gāthās; Yašt 1.19, the names of the Wise Lord; Yašt 11.3, the Maθra Spənta, Vidēvdāt 19.1-3, the Ahuna Vairiia prayer; Yašt 4.4-5, a spell unattested elsewhere. In Yasna 60.5 and Yašt 19.95, Truth (*Aša*) itself serves as the instrument for overcoming the Lie.

<sup>14</sup> This is actually a fairly unusual arrangement. Yašt 13.13 treats the Lie and the Evil Spirit together and the formulaic verses describing Aži Dahāka describe him as a Lie created by the Evil Spirit (Yasna 9.8, Yašt 5.34, 9.14, 14.40, 17.34, and 19.37). In all its other Avestan occurrences, the Lie appears to be independent (in the Older Avesta, Yasna 30.8, 30.10, 31.1, 31.4, 32.3, 32.12, 33.4, 44.13-14, 46.6, 46.11, 49.3, 49.11, 51.14; in the Younger, Yasna 61.5, Vidēvdāt 10.1-2, 16.18, 17.11, 18.30-59, 20.8, Yašt 1.19, 4.4-5, 11.2-3, 13.71, 13.129, 19.93, 19.95).

<sup>15</sup> Vidēvdāt 19.1-3: *apāxtarat haca naēmāt apāxtaraēibiio haca naēmaēibiio fraduuarat anrō mainiiuš pouru.mahrkō daēuuanam daēuuō. uiti dauuata hō yō duždā anrō mainiiuš pouru.mahrkō druxš upa.duuāra mərəncanūha ašaum zaraθuštra. druxš hē pairi.duuarat būiti daēuuō iθiejō maršaonəm dauuažā. zaraθuštrō ahunəm vairīm frasrūuuiat yaθā ahū vairiio... vāstārom. āpō vaḡuhiš frātiiazaēta vaḡhuiiā dāitiiaiiā daēnam mazdaiiasnīm fraorənaēta. druxš hē stərətō apa.duuarat būiti daēuuō iθiejō maršaonəm dauuažā. druxš hē paiti.dauuata skutara agra mainiio nōit hē aošō pairi.vaēnāmi spitamāi zaraθuštrāi pouru.x'arənanhō ašauua zaraθuštrō. zaraθuštrō mananjhō pairi.vaēnāt. daēuua mē druuantō duždānhō aošəm*

This scene is a centerpiece of Zoroastrian theology, fraught with significance and promise. Not only does the action take place on the banks of the Good Dāitiia river, first and best of all places created by the Wise Lord at the heart of the Iranian homeland,<sup>16</sup> it also takes place at the midpoint of history, when the cosmic struggle turns decisively against the forces of evil as the result of Zarathuštra's intervention. The instrument of that intervention also has extraordinary significance, for the Ahuna Vairiia prayer (Yasna 27.13) is the very first verse of the Gāthās and thus the first act of sacred speech attributed to Zarathuštra. Later Zoroastrianism theorized (not to say, fetishized) its twenty-one syllables as the condensation of all true and all ritually effective speech. Each time these words are properly pronounced — which happens every day in performance of the Yasna sacrifice — the good creation is purified and renewed, its eschatological renovation anticipated, and the corrupting force of the Lie and the Evil Spirit are in that moment routed.<sup>17</sup> Certain Pahlavi texts also maintain that the Wise Lord uttered the same prayer when he first confronted the Evil Spirit and that the power of these true words knocked the latter unconscious for three thousand years, during which time Ohrmazd effected the original material creation.<sup>18</sup>

ham.pərəsənte. A few notes to the translation are necessary. 1) All the verbs that have the Lie or the Evil Spirit as their subject are daēvic in nature (*fra-duuar-*, *upa-duuar-*, *pairi-duuar-*, *apa-duuar-*, *dauu-*, *paiti-dauu-*, *marək-*). 2) Following Kaj Barr, *Avesta* (Copenhagen: Gyldendal, 1954), p. 176, I translate the vocative *ašāum zaraθuštra* as doing service for the accusative *ašāvanəm zaraθuštrəm* in Vd 19.1. 3) On the demons accompanying the Lie, see Christensen, *Essai sur la démonologie iranienne*, pp. 12-13 and Carsten Colpe, ed., *Altiranische und zoroastrische Mythologie* (Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 1974-82), pp. 314 and 389-90.

<sup>16</sup> Thus Vidēvdāt 1.2. On the significance of this river, see further Chapters Eleven and Twenty-eight. Regarding its relation to the Iranian homeland, see Émile Benveniste, "L'Ērān-vēž et l'origine légendaire des Iraniens," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies* 7 (1933-35): 265-74. Other Avestan texts identify it as the place where the Wise Lord met with the other spiritual deities (Vidēvdāt 2.20) and where he performed sacrifice (Yašt 5.17, 15.2). Vištāspa, Zarathuštra's patron, is also said to have sacrificed there (Yašt 9.29, 17.61), as did Zarathuštra himself (Yašt 5.104, Vidēvdāt 19.2).

<sup>17</sup> On the significance attributed to the Ahuna Vairiia (the translation of which is much debated), see Émile Benveniste, "La prière Ahuna Vairya," *Indo-Iranian Journal* 1 (1957): 77-85, Molé, *Culte, mythe et cosmologie dans l'Iran ancien*, pp. 143, 154-55, 290, 483-84, Mary Boyce, *A History of Zoroastrianism. Vol. 1: The Early Period* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1975), pp. 260-61, and Yuhān Sohrab-Dinshaw Vevaina, "Textual Taxonomies, Cosmological Deixis, and Canonical Commentaries in Zoroastrianism," *History of Religions* 50 (2010): 111-43. Yasna 19.1-3 and 8-9 describe the Wise Lord himself as having uttered this prayer before his original deeds of creation. For other Avestan testimony regarding the prayer's importance, see Vidēvdāt 18.42-43, 19.9, Yašt 11.3, 19.81, Yasna 9.14, 61.1-2, and Yasna 19 in general.

<sup>18</sup> Thus Greater Bundahišn 1.29-32 (TD2 MS. 7.6-8.2), Mēnōg ī Xrad 27.68-71, Selections of Zādspram 1.12-24.

In the same way that the Avesta constitutes Zarathuštra's prototypical act of true-speech-cum-prayer as the crucial moment in the history of the cosmos, so Darius represented a speech-act of his own as a similar turning point. For it was with a prayer — an act of pure and true speech — that he shattered the fear, silence, and deceit that held an evil regime in place, obtaining the divine assistance that let him topple the Lie, as embodied in the usurper.

*Proclaims Darius the King: There was not a man — not a Persian, nor a Mede, nor anyone of our lineage — who could have deprived that Gaumāta the Magus of the kingship/kingdom. The people/army feared him mightily... No one dared to proclaim anything about Gaumāta the Magus until I arose. Then I prayed to the Wise Lord for assistance. The Wise Lord bore me aid. Ten days of the month Bāgayādi had passed (29 September 522) when I, with a few men, slew that Gaumāta the Magus.*<sup>19</sup>

### III

It is Pahlavi literature, however, that offers the most elaborate personification of the Lie, expanding on the narrative of Vidēvdāt 11.1-3. This is found in the legendary biography of Zarathuštra presented in the 7th book of the Dēnkard.

*(The Wise Lord said): "The Lie slinks up to you, Zarathuštra. In the form of a woman, with gold on her breast, she slinks up to request friendship from you. And the woman-form, with gold on her breast, requests friendship from you, requests consultation from you, requests collaboration from you. Do not give her friendship, nor consultation, nor collaboration. Order her to turn her rear to the front and recite that victorious act of speech, the Ahuna Vairiia prayer."*

*Zarathuštra went to the inhabited, friendly world in order to see to the conversion of corporeal beings. There he met the Lie... Female in form, with gold on her breast, she asked him for friendship, consultation, and cooperation. And she snarled at him: "I am Spandarmad [i.e. the Beneficent Immortal associated with the Earth, known for her beauty]."*

*Zarathuštra said to her: "I have seen Spandarmad in the clear light of a fine day and it seems to me that Spandarmad is fair in front, fair in back,*

<sup>19</sup> DB §13: θāti Dārayavauš xšāyaθiya: naj āha martiya naj Pārsa naj Māda naj amāxam taumāyā kašci, haya avam Gaumātām tayam magum xšačam dītam caxriyā, kārāšim hacā dīšam atīsa... kašci naj adīšnauš cišci θanstanaj pari Gaumātām tayam magum, yātā adam ārsam, pasāva adam Auramazdām patiyāvanhyai, Auramazdāmaj upastām abara, Bāgayādaj māhya daθā raucabiš θakatā āha, avaθā adam hadā kamnaibiš martiyaibiš avam Gaumātām tayam magum. On the verb *wah-* "to supplicate, pray to, worship," see Oswald Szemerényi, "Iranica II. 17. OP *patiyāvahyai*," *Die Sprache* 12 (1966): 208-9.

*fair all around, beautiful in every place. Turn your rear to the front and I will recognize if you are Spandarmad."*

*And the Lie said to him: "Spitāma Zarathuštra, we who are women are beautiful from the front and odious from the rear. Do not order me to show my rear." The Lie resisted three times, then turned her rear. And then Zarathuštra saw that between her raised haunches, she was full of snakes, hedgehogs, lizards, worms, and frogs. Zarathuštra proclaimed that victorious act of speech, the Ahuna Vairiia prayer. Then that Lie did not exist and the form of Cēšmag stormed forth."<sup>20</sup>*

This text has been much discussed and holds many nuances and complexities.<sup>21</sup> Some of its features are so complex as to require a separate discussion, as is true of the role played by the demon Cēšmag, which will be treated in the next chapter. Others, however, are already familiar to us, including the text's personification of the Lie as female, its use of a daēvic vocabulary to mark her actions as perverse and destructive, and the use of the Ahuna Vairiia prayer to overcome her power. Beyond this, one should also note that the only speech-acts attributed to this character are inherently false: she is not Spandarmad and normal women are not "beautiful from the front and odious from the rear."<sup>22</sup>

Other authors have noted the misogyny in the narrative, while comparing it to European traditions associated with a similarly ambiguous female figure known as "Frau Welt."<sup>23</sup> They have also pointed out the

<sup>20</sup> Dēnkard 7.4.55-61 (Madan MS. 635.14-636.15): abar-iz ō tō Zarduxšt druz bē dwārēd ud mādag-kirb zarrēn-pusēn kū pestānbān darēd. ud hamhāgih ī az tō \*zastan dwārēd. ud mādag-kirb zarrēn-pusēn hampursagih az tō zāyēd ud ham-kardārīh az tō zāyēd. u-š ma hamhāgih dahē ud ma hampursagih ud ma \*ham-kardārīh. framāyē ōy ōy pasih frōd waštan ān ī pērōzgar. gōwišn frāz gōwē Yata-Ahū-Wērōyōg. be raft Zarduxšt ō ān ī \*mānišnōmand \*dōstōmand gehān ān hāzišn ī axw ī astōmand be nigerišnih rāy. ēg ō druz frāz mad ka... \*mādag-kirb zarrēn pad sēn u-š hamhāgih ud hampursagih ud ham-kardārīh az ōy \*zast. u-š jōyid kū az hōm \*Spandarmad. guft-aš Zarduxšt kū be-m ān nigerēd \*kē \*Spandarmad andar ān ī rōšn rōz ī xwābar ud ān man sahist \*Spandarmad hu-ōrōn ud hu-parrōn ud hu-tarist kū hamāg gyāg nēk būd. pasih frōd ward šnāsom agar tō hē Spandarmad. u-š ō ōy druz guft kū: Zarduxšt ī Spitāmān kū awēšān amā hēm kē mādagān \*nēkōg az pēš nēmag ud duš-zišt az pasih ma man ō pasih framāyēn. pas az sidīgar pahikārīd druz ō pasih frōd wašt. u-š ōy dīd Zarduxšt pas andarag haxt ka ahrāft estād purr gaz ud \*udrag ud karbunag ud pazūg ud wazag. u-š ān ī pērōzgar gōwišn frāz guft Zarduxšt Yata-Ahū-Wērōyōg. ēg ān druz be \*nēst ud Cēšmag kirb [also legible as *karb*] frāz dwārīd.

<sup>21</sup> I will discuss some of these complexities in the next chapter. Others I have treated in "Cēšmag, the Lie, and the Logic of Zoroastrian Demonology," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 129 (2009): 45-55.

<sup>22</sup> Dēnkard 7.4.59: amā hēm kē mādagān \*nēkōg az pēš nēmag ud duš-zišt az pasih.

<sup>23</sup> The physically and morally ambiguous Frau Welt appears in Walther von der Vogelweide, Wolfram von Eschenbach's *Parzīfal* and other versions of the Grail myth, where she also takes the name of Kundry. Similarities to the Dēnkard description of the Lie are sufficiently striking that some have suggested a common Indo-European heritage,

coarse physicality in descriptions of the Lie as a superficially alluring woman, whose seductive flesh hides a disgusting inner core, replete with reptiles and worms. Within the European context, these surely suggest death and decay, while the full vignette reveals the intimate connection of mortality and sex. The same points inform the Zoroastrian perspective, within which the creatures in question should also be read as *xrafstras*: the verminous beings Ahreman made from his own bodily filth to assault the Wise Lord's good creation.<sup>24</sup>

It is also important to stress that whereas the European allegory speaks of the world ("Frau Welt"), the female, sexuality, and life in general, the Iranian is most immediately and explicitly concerned to depict falsehood and the Lie. In this regard, one ought stress the literal *duplicity* expressed in the image of a woman who is internally divided (front and back, outside and inside, good and evil, life and death, attraction and repulsion) such that she is able to misrepresent herself, deceptively presenting one side only of what is, in actuality, a much more complex, fragmented, and disquieting reality. If duplicity of this sort is the essence of the Lie, then duality — the fracturing of primordial unity — is its precondition. The point is not that the beautiful side is false and the ugly side true. Rather, both sides are equally real. The Lie simplifies, distorts, seduces, enchants and misleads by emphasizing the most attractive part of an

while others have argued for transmission of the imagery and themes from Iran to Europe via the Arabs, Manichaeans, or others. See, inter alia, Heinrich Junker, "Frau Welt in Iran," *Zeitschrift für Indologie und Iranistik* 2 (1923): 237-46, Hermann Güntert, *Kundry* (Heidelberg: Carl Winter, 1928), esp. pp. 44-46, Franz Rolf Schröder, *Die Parzivalfrage* (Munich: C.H. Beck, 1928), pp. 33-35, idem, "Cundrie," in Dietrich Schmidtke and Helga Schüpert, eds., *Festschrift für Ingeborg Schröbler zum 65. Geburtstag* (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1973), pp. 187-95, Lars-Ivar Ringbom, "Diktens 'Fru Värld' och 'Världens Furste' i kyrkoportalen," in Martin Olsson, ed., *Studier tillägnade Henrik Cornell på 60-årsdagen* (Stockholm: Nordisk Rotogravyr, 1950), pp. 44-66, Walther Hinz, "Persisches im 'Parzival,' *Archaeologische Mitteilungen aus Iran* 2 (1969): 177-81, Hermann Goetz, "Die Herkunft der 'Frau Welt,'" in Manfred Mayrhofer, Wolfgang Meid, Bernfried Schlerath, and Rüdiger Schmitt, eds., *Antiquitates Indogermanicae. Studien zur indogermanischen Altertumskunde und zur Sprach- und Kulturgeschichte der indogermanischen Völker. Gedenkschrift für Hermann Güntert* (Innsbruck: Innsbrucker Beiträge zur Sprachwissenschaft, 1974), pp. 145-46, and Jes P. Asmussen, "'Frau Welt,' eine Orientalisch-Europäische Beziehung," in *Orientalia J. Duchesne-Guillemin emerito oblata* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1984), pp. 35-39. Essentially, Junker opened this problematic by incorporating the way the Lie is represented in Dēnkard 7.4.55-61 into the paradigm of the "Frau Welt" type that Hermann Güntert had introduced in his pioneer work, *Kalypso* (Halle: Max Niemeyer, 1919).

<sup>24</sup> Regarding the Evil Spirit's creation of vermin and their deployment in his primordial assault, see Greater Bundahišn 1.47 (TD<sup>2</sup> MS. 11.10-12), 4.15 (TD<sup>2</sup> MS. 43.2-6), and 22.0-6 (TD<sup>2</sup> MS. 142.2-143.5).



infinitely more complicated, more problematic whole. Reality is not one side or the other, but the contradictory whole, and truth must first acknowledge this totality before it can dispel it.

Within historic time, truth consists first, of the knowledge that all things are some mixture of good and evil, qualities locked in ceaseless struggle, and second, of a commitment to help the good prevail. Once that is accomplished and evil annihilated, all things will return to that state of *integrity* — i.e. a unity so profound and so total as to admit no duplicity — that was the Wise Lord's original intent for creation.

#### IV

The Dēnkard narrative thus provides an allegorical description for the kind of action Darius recounted in the minor inscriptions at Bisitun, the brief texts that identify each of the rebels depicted on the Bisitun relief (Table 13.1). Formulaic in nature, each one begins by naming the man in question, after which it says "he lied" (*adurujiya*). Next, it quotes his lie, in which the man normally claims a) a name, b) descent from the old royal family of a given land/people, and c) kingship over that land/people. Not every lie contains all three parts, but the claim to kingship is a constant. What makes these false is not spelled out and it is not certain that the dissonance between the names Darius gives for the liars and that which the latter claimed for themselves constituted proof of their deceit. Notwithstanding the fact that the two always differ, this difference may signal a change from birth-name to throne-name, as when Xerxes' son Arses assumed the name Artaxerxes upon his accession to royal power.<sup>25</sup> As regards claims b) and c), Darius offers no evaluative comment and it is possible to read his silence as tacit rejection: a disdainful way of suggesting these men had neither a lineage nor a title worthy of mention.

There is, however, a more intriguing possibility, i.e. that the text tacitly accepts the genealogical claim, but treats it as neither necessary, nor sufficient to support any claim to royal office insofar as kingship does not depend on lineage alone, but requires divine election. One does not become King simply by being "son of Nabonidus," for instance, but only by a divine grace, charisma, and favor that becomes evident, *inter alia*, in dramatic battlefield success that can be attributed to "the Wise Lord's will" (*vašna Auramazdāha*; see further, Chapter Twenty-one).

<sup>25</sup> For the fullest discussion of this practice, which is attested in both Greek and Babylonian sources, see Rüdiger Schmitt, "Achaemenian Throne-names," *Annali del Istituto Orientale di Napoli*, Sezione Linguistica 42 (1982): 83-95.

	<i>Identity and falsity of speaker</i>	<i>Abusive proclamation</i>	<i>Claim of identity</i>	<i>Claim of lineage</i>	<i>Claim of royal status</i>
<b>Formula</b>	This X lied.	Thus he proclaimed:	I am Y,	Descendant of Z.	I am King (in A).
<b>DBb</b>	This Gaumāta the Magus lied. <i>iyam Gaumāta haya maguš adurujiya.</i>	Thus he proclaimed: <i>avaθā aθanha:</i>	"I am Bardiya, <i>adam Bṛdiya ami,</i>	son of Cyrus. <i>Kūrauš puça.</i>	I am King." <i>adam xšāyaθiya ami.</i>
<b>DBc</b>	This Ācina lied. <i>iyam Ācina adurujiya.</i>	Thus he proclaimed: <i>avaθā aθanha:</i>			I am King in Elam." <i>adam xšāyaθiya ami Ūjaī</i>
<b>DBd</b>	This Nidintu-Bēl lied. <i>iyam Nidintabairā adurujiya.</i>	Thus he proclaimed: <i>avaθā aθanha:</i>	"I am Nebuchadnezzar, <i>adam Nabu-kudracara ami,</i>	the son of Nabonidus. <i>haya Nabu-naītahya puça.</i>	I am King in Babylon." <i>adam xšāyaθiya ami Bābaraū.</i>
<b>DBe</b>	This Fravarti lied. <i>iyam Fravartiš adurujiya.</i>	Thus he proclaimed: <i>avaθā aθanha:</i>	"I am Xšaθrita, <i>adam Xšaθrita ami,</i>	of the lineage of Cyaxares. <i>Uvaxštrahya taumāyā.</i>	I am King in Media," <i>adam xšāyaθiya ami Mādai.</i>
<b>DBf</b>	This Martiya lied. <i>iyam Martiya adurujiya.</i>	Thus he proclaimed: <i>avaθā aθanha:</i>	"I am Imani, <i>adam Imaniš ami,</i>		King in Elam." <i>Ūjaī xšāyaθiya.</i>
<b>DBg</b>	This Tritantaxma lied. <i>iyam Çiçantaxma adurujiya.</i>	Thus he proclaimed: <i>avaθā aθanha:</i>		of the lineage of Cyaxares. <i>Uvaxštrahya taumāyā.<sup>26</sup></i>	I am King in Sagartia." <i>adam xšāyaθiya ami Asagartaī.</i>
<b>DBh</b>	This Vahyazdāta lied. <i>iyam Vahyazdāta adurujiya.</i>	Thus he proclaimed: <i>avaθā aθanha:</i>	"I am Bardiya, <i>adam Bṛdiya ami,</i>	the son of Cyrus. <i>haya Kūrauš puça.</i>	I am King." <i>adam xšāyaθiya ami.</i>
<b>DBi</b>	This Araxa lied. <i>iyam Araxa adurujiya.</i>	Thus he proclaimed: <i>avaθā aθanha:</i>	"I am Nebuchadnezzar, <i>adam Nabu-kudracara ami,</i>	the son of Nabonidus. <i>haya Nabu-naītahya puça.</i>	I am King in Babylon." <i>adam xšāyaθiya ami Bābaraū.</i>
<b>DBj</b>	This Frāda lied. <i>iyam Frāda adurujiya.</i>	Thus he proclaimed: <i>avaθā aθanha:</i>			I am King in Margiana." <i>adam xšāyaθiya ami Margau.</i>

Table 13.1 Minor inscriptions at Bisitun,  
where Darius formulaically accuses his adversaries of having lied.

<sup>26</sup> In contrast to the other minor inscriptions, in DBg, the claim of lineage follows the claim of royal status.

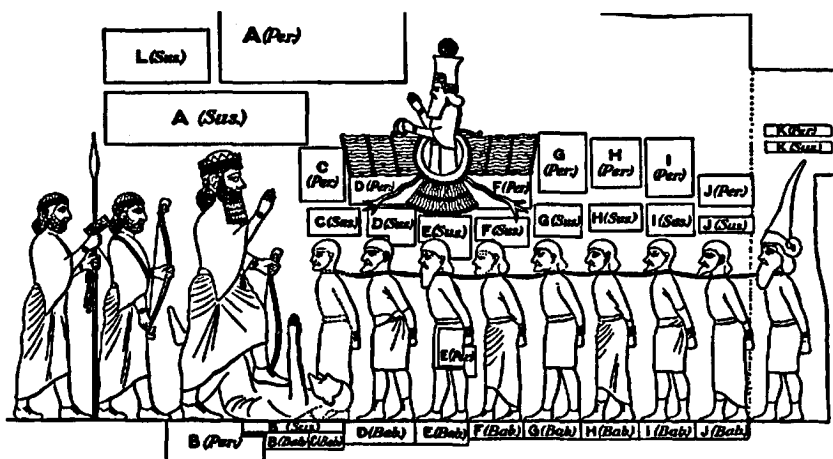


Fig. 13.1 Bisitun relief, line drawing.

The capital letters show the location of the minor inscriptions  
 (B[Per] = DBb, Old Persian text, B[Sus] = DBb, Elamite, etc.).

Here, the master narrative Darius recounted at Bisitun — the story of how he overcame all adversaries and defied all odds — supports his claim to be God's chosen and thus the rightful King, regardless of any other considerations. At the same time, his rivals are shown to lack divine favor, which means that notwithstanding their genealogy, popular support, or self-image, events reveal them as lacking the only qualification that really matters. Bereft of divine support, at best they are deluded and deluding imposters, unwitting agents of the Lie.

The accompanying relief sculpture, which was executed before the inscriptions and thus represents the first draft of the story, makes much the same point (Figure 13.1). Toward that end, it represents Darius as the only true King. As such, he is marked by a crown, his size (which indexes his power), his military success (implied by the spearbearer and bowman who stand behind him, as well as the bow in his right hand), and his privileged relation to the Wise Lord, who hovers above. In the most pointed contrast, the defeated rebels are much smaller, lack any trappings of royal office, and have been disarmed after defeat at Darius's hands. Bound at the neck, like animals, their hands are also tied behind their backs, and their postures are those of abject submission (bowing slightly or, in the case of Gaumāta, fully supine, with hands upraised in supplication).

These are the men who claimed to be King, and the intent of the relief — like that of the inscription, and that of Darius's propaganda in general — is not just to falsify their claims, but to reveal the men who advanced them as agents of falsehood. As in the case of Zarathuštra and the Lie, they are shown to be duplicitous creatures, who put forward only their best side and concealed all that was darker, more disturbing, more divisive and destructive. On the battlefield and in his proclamations, Darius disclosed their true nature, which may be summarized in the formula -Truth/-Unity/-God/-Victory/-King. In so doing, he construed himself as representing just the opposite.

## CHAPTER FOURTEEN

### ON ZOROASTRIAN AND ACHAEMENIAN DEMONOLOGY

#### I

When considering the Dēnkard story of Zarathuštra's encounter with the Lie, we opted not to dwell on the narrative's dénouement. Most other scholars who studied this text made the same choice, closing their citation just before its culmination, which comes with the following passage.<sup>1</sup>

*Zarathuštra proclaimed that victorious act of speech, the Ahuna Vairiia prayer. Then that Lie did not exist and the form of Cēšmag stormed forth.*<sup>2</sup>

Conceivably, the decision to omit the second sentence was prompted by two textual problems that interfere with its proper translation. One of these is fairly simple, involving the word that follows Cēšmag's name. Written *klp* (with omission of short vowels, as is standard), this could represent either of two Pahlavi nouns: *kirb* "the external, visible form of living beings" (from Avestan *kəhrp*)<sup>3</sup> or *karb* "a priest hostile to Zoroaster" (from Avestan *karapan*).<sup>4</sup> Previous translators have preferred the latter solution,<sup>5</sup> presumably because here and elsewhere Cēšmag is,

<sup>1</sup> Thus Junker, "Frau Welt in Iran," Schröder, *Die Parzivalfrage*, pp. 33-34, Güntert, *Kundry*, pp. 44-45, and Asmussen, "'Frau Welt,' eine Orientalisch-Europäische Beziehung" omit both these sentences, while Nyberg, *Manual of Pahlavi*, 1: 58, omits the second.

<sup>2</sup> Dēnkard 7.4.61 (Madan MS. 636.13-15): u-š ān ī pērōzgar gōwišn frāz guft Zarduxšt Yata-Ahu-Wēryōg. ēg ān druž be \*nēst ud Cēšmag kirb [also legible as *karb*] frāz dwārid.

<sup>3</sup> Nyberg, *Manual of Pahlavi* 2: 113 (who cites the term as *karp*, using an older system of transliteration) and D.N. MacKenzie, *A Concise Pahlavi Dictionary* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1971), p. 51 (who offers a simpler translation: "body, form"). Bartholomae, *Altiranisches Wörterbuch*, col. 467-68, provided a nuanced discussion for the term's Avestan antecedent: "das sichtbare Äussere jedes Wesens und Dings, äussere Erscheinung, sichtbare Gestalt... insbesondere von lebenden Wesen; auch vom gestalteten Stoff selbst 'Leib, Körper,' von Menschen und Göttern... und Tieren." See also the brief discussions of Bailey, *Zoroastrian Problems in the Ninth-Century Books*, pp. 91 and 118.

<sup>4</sup> Nyberg, *Manual of Pahlavi* 2: 112 (transliterating *karap*), MacKenzie, *Concise Pahlavi Dictionary*, p. 49, Bartholomae, *Altiranisches Wörterbuch*, col. 454-55.

<sup>5</sup> Thus, E.W. West, *Pahlavi Texts, Part V: Marvels of Zoroastrianism* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1897), p. 63 and Marijan Molé, *La légende de Zoroastre selon les textes pehlevi* (Paris: C. Klincksieck, 1967), pp. 52-53. The little-known article of Lars-Ivar Ringbom, "Diktens 'Fru Värld' och 'Världens Furste' i kyrkoportalen," op cit., is unique in interpreting *klp* as *kirb* when stating "the woman resumed her rightful shape as the demon Cēšmag ("kvinnan återfick sin riktiga skepnad som demonen Cheshmak"), p. 60.

indeed, hostile to the prophet.<sup>6</sup> His consistent identification as a demon (*dēw*) more than suffices to explain this hostility, however, and one need hardly imagine he was both a *dēw* and a *karapan*.<sup>7</sup> Conclusive, moreover, is the fact that our text uses the grapheme *klp* in utterly unambiguous fashion, when stating — three separate times — that directly before Cēšmag entered the story, the Lie appeared to Zarathuštra “in the form of a woman” (*mādag-kirb*).<sup>8</sup>

The story thus suggests that having no proper form of its own — “form” (Pahlavi *kirb*) being an aspect of material existence — the Lie is able, but also obliged, to assume the shape of appropriate others when it seeks to take physical action. Thus, when trying to seduce Zarathuštra, it adopts the appearance and bodily form of a beautiful woman. That fails, however, when the demonic presence is revealed by its hidden, ugly, monstrous aspects that distort the body it temporarily occupies. Whereupon, the Lie changes its plans (if not its intent) and assumes the form of Cēšmag.

To make sense of this, one must know what shape this relatively obscure demon was imagined to possess. What little was said of Cēšmag proper may be found in the chapter of the Bundahišn devoted to demonology.

*Cēšmag is that one who makes earthquakes and who also makes the whirlwind and goes forth in opposition to the clouds.*<sup>9</sup>

<sup>6</sup> The other episode where Cēšmag shows hostility to Zarathuštra is Dēnkard 7.2.43-45 (Madan MS.608.4-16, B MS. 483.6-16), cited by West, *Pahlavi Texts* 5: 63 to support his view of Cēšmag as a *karapan*. For a fuller discussion of this text and the issues it raises, see my article “Cēšmag, the Lie, and the Logic of Zoroastrian Demonology,” op cit., William Darrow, “Zoroaster Amalgamated: Notes on Iranian Prophetology,” *History of Religions* 27 (1987): 109-32 has also studied this narrative, without treating the detail in question.

<sup>7</sup> Cēšmag is identified as a demon (*dēw*) at Greater Bundahišn 27.29 (cited below) and Dēnkard 7.2.43. The latter text has Cēšmag make his appearance “at that time when the demons gathered in assembly” (*ēg abar pad ān zamān dēwān hanjamanēnīd*, Madan MS. 608.6, B MS. 483.7-8). Ahreman (“the demon of demons” *dēwān dēw*, Madan MS. 608.7, B MS. 483.9) asks one of them to attack the future parents of the prophet and Cēšmag volunteers for the assignment.

<sup>8</sup> Dēnkard 7.4.55 (Madan MS. 635.15 and 16), 7.4.57 (Madan MS. 636.2).

<sup>9</sup> Greater Bundahišn 27.29 (TD<sup>2</sup> 185.9-10): Cēšmag ān kē wizandag kunēd ud wād-girdag-iz kunēd, ud ō petyāragih ī abr šawēd. Previous discussions of Cēšmag mostly restate what is found in this passage and the two Dēnkard narratives (7.2.43-45 and 7.4.61) where he appears. Thus, A.V. Williams Jackson in Wilhelm Geiger and Ernest Kuhn, *Grundriss der iranischen Philologie* (Strassburg: Karl J. Trübner, 1895-1904) 2: 660, idem, *Zoroastrian Studies* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1928), p. 93, Louis H. Gray, *The Foundations of the Iranian Religions* (Bombay: D.B. Tarapolevala, 1930), p. 204, Christensen, *Essai sur la démonologie iranienne*, p. 50, and Carsten Colpe, “Ältere und jüngere Dämonologie,” in Colpe, *Iranier-Aramäer-Hebräer-Hellenen. Iranische Religionen und ihre Westbeziehungen* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2003), pp. 471-72.

What one sees when the Lie discards the form of Spandarmad for that of Cēšmag is thus an escalation of enemy activity. Having begun his campaign by trafficking in misrepresentation, illusion, and seductive appearance, when this phase of operations fails the Antagonist shifts tactics and unleashes violent physical force: a force that is theorized not as “natural,” but demonic.

## II

If one does not press the point too strongly, one can perceive a similar logic in the way Darius's formulaic descriptions of rebellion are structured in the Bisitun inscription. The text treats nine separate insurrections, each of which surely had its own nuances, particularities, and rhythms (on which, see Chapter Twenty-three). Still, these are presented as minor variants on a pattern that has the same, relatively invariant sequence of events (Table 14.1).

	<i>One man, named A (son of B)</i>	<i>He rose up (in C)</i>	<i>He lied (proclaimed) to the people/ army:</i>	<i>“I am X, son of Y (King in C).”</i>	<i>Then (all) the people/army (of C) became rebellious</i>
<b>Gaumāta DB §11</b>	<i>aiva martiya maguš āha, Gaumāta nāma</i>	<i>haū udapatatā</i>	<i>haū kārāhyā avaθā adurujiya</i>	<i>adam Bṛdiya ami, haya Kurauš puça, Kambujiyahyā brātā</i>	<i>pasāva kāra haruva hamiçiya abava</i>
<b>Ācina DB §16</b>	<i>aiva martiya Ācina nāma, Upad(a) ramahyā puça</i>	<i>haū udapatatā Ūjai</i>	<i>kārāhyā avaθā aθanha</i>	<i>adam Ūjai xšāyaθiya ami</i>	<i>pasāva Ūjiyā hamiçiya abava</i>
<b>Nidintu-Bēl DB §16</b>	<i>aiva martiya Bābiruviya Nadintabaiṛa nāma Aīnaiṛahyā puça</i>	<i>haū udapatatā Bābiraū</i>	<i>kāram avaθā adurujiya</i>	<i>adam Nabuku- dracara ami, haya Nabu- naītahyā puça</i>	<i>pasāva kāra haya Bābiruviya haruva abi avam Nadintabaiṛam ašiyava, Bābiruš hamiçiya abava</i>
<b>Martiya DB §22</b>	<i>aiva martiya Martiya nāma, Cincaxraiš puça</i>	<i>haū udapatatā Ūjai</i>	<i>kārāhyā avaθā aθanha</i>	<i>adam Imaniš ami, Ūjai xšāyaθiya</i>	

	<i>One man, named A (son of B)</i>	<i>He rose up (in C)</i>	<i>He lied (proclaimed) to the people/ army:</i>	<i>"I am X, son of Y (King in C)."</i>	<i>Then (all) the people/army (of C) became rebellious</i>
<b>Fravarti DB §24</b>	<i>aīva martiya Fravartiš nāma Māda</i>	<i>haṇ udapatatā Mādaī</i>	<i>kārahyā avaθā aθanha</i>	<i>adam Xšaθrita ami, Uvaxštrahyā taumāyā</i>	<i>pasāva kāra Māda ... haṇ hacāma hamiçiya abava</i>
<b>Tritantaxma DB §33</b>	<i>aīva martiya Ciçantaxma nāma Asagartiya</i>	<i>haṇmaī hamiçiya abava</i>	<i>kārahyā avaθā aθanha</i>	<i>adam xšāyaθiya ami Asagartai, Uvaxštrahyā taumāyā</i>	
<b>Frāda DB §38</b>	<i>aīva martiya Frāda nāma</i>	<i>avam maθištam akunavantā</i>			<i>Marguš nāma dahyauš, haṇmaī hamiçiya abava</i>
<b>Vahyazdāta DB §40</b>	<i>aīva martiya Vahyazdāta nāma</i>	<i>haṇ duvitīyam udapatatā Pārsaī</i>	<i>kārahyā avaθā aθanha</i>	<i>adam Bṛdiya ami, haya Kurauš puça</i>	<i>pasāva kāra Pārsa... haṇ hacāma hamiçiya abava</i>
<b>Araxa DB §49</b>	<i>aīva martiya Araxa nāma Armīniya, Halditahya puça</i>	<i>haṇ udapatatā Bābirau</i>	<i>haṇ kārahyā avaθā adurujiya</i>	<i>adam Nabuku- dracara ami, haya Nabunaiṭahya puça</i>	<i>pasāva kāra Bābiruviya hacāma hamiçiya abava</i>

Table 14.1 Descriptions of rebellions from DB §§11-49.

As is clear from this table, trouble was always described as beginning with an isolated individual (*aīva martiya*, "one man") who "rose up" (*ud-pat-*), an ominous verb reserved to describe overreaching individuals who seek to elevate themselves far beyond their rightful station.<sup>10</sup> Toward that end, each rebel lied (the verb used is normally *adurujiya*, but in some instances *aθanha*),<sup>11</sup> assuming a name and identity that would make him heir to an old royal lineage and addressing his claims

<sup>10</sup> See Émile Benveniste, "Études iraniennes," *Transactions of the Philological Society* 44 (1945): 64-66, who rightly observed that all three occurrences of *us-pat-* in Avestan are daēvic in nature: Vidēvdād 13.42-43 (the aggressive behavior of bastards spawned by dogs and wolves), Yašt 19.57 (Fraṇgrasyan, the foreigner who tried to seize the Iranian royal charisma [*xʾarənah*], rising up from the world-sea to menace the good creation), and Yašt 19.44 (the Evil Spirit rising up from hell). The Vedic cognate *ūd-pat-* has no such associations, suggesting this is a semantic development specific to Iran, but pan-Iranian in nature.

<sup>11</sup> Regarding the use of the verb *aθanh-* "to proclaim" in this context, see Chapter Two.



to the people/army (*kāra*) of the nation in question. As this falsehood penetrated their consciousness and gained hold, these people became openly rebellious (*hamiçiya abava*), engaging in physical actions that included the seizure of territory and active prosecution of war.<sup>12</sup>

This scenario effectively brings two different structures and processes into correlation. First is a transition from the realm of incorporeal spirit to that of concrete matter; second, the shift from the One to the Many. Things thus move from the unscrupulous thoughts of a single rebel to his false words and imposture, and thence to the violent deeds of a great multitude engaged in mass insurrection.<sup>13</sup> Although the comparison is less than perfect, in a general fashion, Darius's account of rebels and rebellions parallels the Dēnkard's description of how the Lie initially sought to sway others by assuming the beautiful — if false and (therefore) flawed — form of Spendarmad, then waged a campaign of physical destruction after adopting the violent (and equally false) form of Cēšmag, demon of whirlwinds and earthquakes.

The chief point of difference is that the Dēnkard narrative has Zarathuštra defeat the Lie at every stage of its operations. Failure of its imposture as "Spendarmad" is thus the precondition for reconstituting itself in the form of Cēšmag. Darius's master narrative, in contrast, has the Lie move almost seamlessly from thought to word to deed, gaining strength as it moves from one level to another. It is only defeated at the end of this trajectory by an exercise of physical force on the battlefield (in seven of the nine cases) or a bloody coup d'état (as with Gaumāta and Āčina). The difference between the Achaemenian scenario and that of the Dēnkard narrative reflects the difference between priestly and royal perspectives, the former taking victory to be possible at the levels of thought and speech, while the latter associates it exclusively with forceful action.

<sup>12</sup> The Old Persian states that the *kāras* in question "became rebellious" (*hamiçiya abava*), after which acts of war commenced (as recounted in DB §§17-20, 23, 25-32, 33-36, 38, 41-42, 45-47, and 50). The term translated as "rebellious" is usually analyzed as representing *ham-miθr-īya*, derived from *miθra* "compact, binding pledge," and denoting those who join in a subversive plot, with comparison to Latin *con-iurati* and Greek σύν-ορκoi. Thus, Benveniste and Meillet, *Grammaire du vieux-perse*, p. 64, Kent, *Old Persian*, p. 213, Brandenstein and Mayrhofer, *Handbuch des Altpersischen*, p. 124. A less likely, but still possible interpretation was proposed by Herzfeld, *Altpersische Inschriften*, pp. 184-86, with comparison to Avestan *hamaēstar* "opponent, combatant" and Vedic *mith-* "to combat, contest, be hostile to." The best indication of what the expression *hamiçiya bav-* entails is its translation by Akkadian *nakāru*, "to become hostile to, to be or become an enemy, to engage in hostilities, to be at war, to rebel against a ruler, to be an alien, an outsider, to become estranged from" (*Assyrian Dictionary of the Oriental Institute* 11: 159).

<sup>13</sup> This follows the familiar sequence of thought-word-deed, as discussed by Schlerath, "Gedanke, Wort und Werk im Veda und im Awesta" and Gignoux, "Thought, Word and Deed: A Topic of Comparative Religion," *op cit*.

## III

Returning to the Dēnkard text, it is time to consider its second difficulty. This involves emendation of the phrase that reads (in the only extant manuscript):<sup>14</sup> *ADYN ZK dlwc BRA w* [or: *n*] *kst*. The first four of these words are unproblematic and can be confidently transliterated as *ēg ān druž be* ("Then that Lie...").<sup>15</sup> Where one expects the verb, however, one finds *w kst* (or: the homographic *n kst*), which makes no sense and is best explained as a scribal error.

Attempting to resolve this problem, H. S. Nyberg eliminated the space and read *\*wkst*, which he transliterated as *\*vikast*, for which he reconstructed a verb *\*vikastan*, "to disappear," while labeling the attempt "uncertain."<sup>16</sup> Marijan Molé also collapsed the letters into one word, but took the ambiguous initial letter as *n*, rather than *w* (perfectly possible, since the same grapheme does service for both phonemes) and read the next ligature as *sy*, rather than *ks* (also possible, given the formal resemblance of the letters involved). Accordingly, he transcribed *\*nsyt*, transliterated *\*nasit*, and posited a verb *\*nasitan* "to perish," which — like Nyberg's *\*vikastan* — is unlisted in the standard dictionaries and attested in no other text.<sup>17</sup> Preferable, in my opinion, is to transcribe *\*nyst* (understanding the *-k-* of the manuscript as a not uncommon scribal error for *-y-*) and transliterate *nēst*, i.e. the regular negative copula.<sup>18</sup> The sentence then reads *ēg ān druž be \*nēst*, "Then that Lie did not exist."

Such an interpretation is consistent with statements made about Ahreman and other demonic powers in several Pahlavi texts, as Shaul

<sup>14</sup> Unfortunately, the story of Zarathuštra's encounter with the Lie falls in a portion of the Dēnkard that is lacunary in the B Manuscript, as discussed by Dresden at pp. 15-16 and 35. We thus have only the Madan MS. to go on.

<sup>15</sup> Dēnkard 7.4.61 (Madan MS. 636.15).

<sup>16</sup> Nyberg, *Manual of Pahlavi* 2: 212. Nyberg's analysis reflects his uncertainty: "It could be < *vi* + Av. (459 sq.) *kas-* 'to perceive', v.s.v. *ākast*, a SW form with *-st* instead of *-št*; the NW form would be *\*vikašt*. Perhaps better *\*vi[n]jkist* 'she was cut to pieces, she split' < *\*vi-* or *ni-kirst* < *vi-* or *ni-* + *kysta-* from Av. (452 sqq.) *karat-*, v. *kirrēnitān*." West, *Pahlavi Texts* 5: 63, translated the verb "was destroyed," but offered no supporting explanation.

<sup>17</sup> Molé, *La légende de Zoroastre*, p. 52. Molé listed this verb in his glossary at p. 292, with reference to other occurrences at Dēnkard 7.7.34 and 7.7.39, but it does not show up in Nyberg, *Manual of Pahlavi*, MacKenzie, *Concise Dictionary of Pahlavi*, nor in the glossaries to other, more recently published Pahlavi texts.

<sup>18</sup> Nyberg, *Manual of Pahlavi*, pp. 87 and 137, MacKenzie, *Concise Dictionary of Pahlavi*, p. 59. One must acknowledge, however, that *nēst* is most often represented by the logogram *LOYT*, rather than being spelled out.

Shaked, Jes Asmussen, and Hanns-Peter Schmidt have all pointed out.<sup>19</sup> The Arda Wirāz Namāg, for instance, enjoins one to believe in "the being (*astīh*) of the gods and Beneficent Immortals, and the non-being (*nēstīh*) of the Evil Spirit and demons."<sup>20</sup> Somewhat more precise is the Dādestān ī Dēnīg, which specifies: "It is said of the Evil Spirit that *as material being* he does not exist (*gētīg nēst*)."<sup>21</sup>

Implicit in this last statement is a sophisticated point that receives fuller explication when the same text develops an argument that can be summarized as follows: 1) There are two different types, modes, or levels of existence: that which is spiritual, invisible, and incorporeal (*mēnōg*) and that which is material, tangible, and embodied (*gētīg*).<sup>22</sup> 2) The Wise Lord's creatures enjoy both types of existence and were entirely good at the time of their original creation. 3) In contrast, the Evil Spirit's creatures possess spiritual (*mēnōg*) existence only and were created entirely evil. 4) In order to acquire material (*gētīg*) existence, demonic beings are thus obliged to penetrate, corrupt, and (partially) colonize one or more of the Wise Lord's creatures. 5) This produces a mixed state, where good and evil coexist not only in the world at large, but within individual creatures, albeit in differing proportions. 6) Embodied material existence has thus become the battleground in which good

<sup>19</sup> Shaked, "Some Notes on Ahreman, the Evil Spirit, and his Creation," op cit., Jes P. Asmussen, "Some Remarks on Sasanian Demonology," in *Commémoration Cyrus. Actes du Congrès de Shiraz* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1974), pp. 236-41, Hanns-Peter Schmidt, "The Non-Existence of Ahreman and the Mixture (*gumēzišn*) of Good and Evil," in K.R. Cama Oriental Institute. *Second International Congress Proceedings* (Bombay: K.R. Cama Oriental Institute, 1996), pp. 79-95. See also Antonio Panaino, "A Few Remarks on the Zoroastrian Conception of the Status of Angra Mainyu and of the Daēvas," in Rika Gyselen, ed., *Démons et merveilles d'Orient* (Bures-sur-Yvette: Groupe pour l'Étude de la Civilisation du Moyen-Orient, 2001), pp. 99-107 and Albert de Jong, "Eeuwige, ongeschapen, maar zonder 'bestaan': de Boze Geest en zijn werkelijkheid in het zoroastrisme," in Rob Wiche, ed., *Des Duivels. Het kwaad in religieuze en spirituele tradities* (Leuven: Acco, 2005), pp. 51-64, esp. 61-2.

<sup>20</sup> Arda Wirāz Nāmāg 5.7: *astīh yazdān ud Amahraspandān ud nēstīh Ahreman* <ud> *dēwān*. Cf. Aṣṭiyādgār ī Wuzurg-Mihr: "I have no doubt concerning the existence (*astīh*) of the gods and the non-existence (*nēstīh*) of the demons." *pad astīh* <> *yazdān ud nēstīh ī dēwān*... *abēgumān ham*. Cited by Asmussen, "Some Remarks on Sasanian Demonology," p. 236.

<sup>21</sup> Dādestān ī Dēnīg 18.2: *Ahreman rāy guft estēd kū gētīg nēst*. Cited by Shaked, "Some Notes on Ahreman, the Evil Spirit," p. 228.

<sup>22</sup> On the distinction of *mēnōg* and *gētīg*, see Shaul Shaked, "The notions *mēnōg* and *gētīg* in the Pahlavi texts and their relation to eschatology," *Acta Orientalia* 33 (1971): 59-107, reprinted in *From Zoroastrian Iran to Islam* and Stausberg, *Die Religion Zarathushtras* 1: 333-38.

and evil struggle. Although this battle will continue for a long time, it is finite and will resolve with the definitive triumph of good.<sup>23</sup>

Similar views are also concisely summarized in a passage from a late Zoroastrian catechism that enjoins believers to defend their bodies — i.e. the core of their material (*gētīg*) being — against demonic assault.

*The cultivation of one's proper duty and obligation is this: (1) to consider the Wise Lord in his existence (astīh), the totality of his being and totality of his becoming; his immortal sovereignty, infinity, and purity; (2) to consider the Evil Spirit in his non-being (nēstīh) and ruination; (3) to keep one's body in the possession of the Wise Lord and the Beneficent Immortals; (4) to become separate from (i.e. independent of) the Evil Spirit, demons, and demon-helpers.*<sup>24</sup>

These materials help us appreciate how stark and powerful is the finale to the Dēnkard's narrative of Zarathuštra and the Lie. Thus, Dēnkard 7.4.61 reports two events that follow on the prophet's initial proclamation of the Ahuna Vairiia. The first is far the more striking of the two: "Then that Lie did not exist" (*ēg ān drūz be +nēst*). Conceivably, one might understand that Zarathuštra's act of truthful, sacred speech annihilated his deceitful adversary.<sup>25</sup> A still deeper reading is available, how-

<sup>23</sup> Dādestān ī Dēnīg 36.51 reads as follows.

*The Wise Lord's creation is spiritual and also material. That of the Lie is not material. The Lie joins bad spiritual being to the material being (of the Wise Lord's creations). As surely as four triumph over one, so the victory of good spiritual-and-material beings over evil spiritual beings is revealed.*

dām ī Ohrmazd mēnōg ud gētīg-iz. ōy <1> druz nēst gētīg be wad mēnōgīh abyōzēd ō gētīg. ciyōn andar \*hāwand \*cahār-iz andar ēk abarwēzīh paydāg ī mēnōgān ud gētīgān ī weh abar mēnōgān ī wad.

Cf. Dēnkard 5.7.2 (Madan MS. 440.6-8), which analyzes deceit and delusion as resulting from the capacity of Ahreman and his demons to invade the substance of the Wise Lord's creations, while speaking of the need to guard against

*the deceit and delusion-production of the Evil Spirit and demons as the process of their subtly mixing themselves into good creations; their concealment of the right path and way; their false-guiding of being into non-being (ast pad nēst); their brigandage in the mind, thought, speech, and action of corporeal beings; and their contentment in spoil-making.*

frēštārīh ud wiyābāngārīh ī Ahreman ud dēwān ciyōn gumēxtagīh ī-šān bārīkīhā andar wehdahišnān nihuftārīh ī-šān rāh ī ristag ī rāst ud zūr-nimūdārīh ī-šān ast pad nēst rāh-dārīh ī-šān andar axw ud menišn gōwišn kunišn ī astōmandān ud āsūdagīh ī-šān pad wināhišngārīh.

<sup>24</sup> Cīdag Andarz ī Pōryōtkēšān 3: u-š warzišn ī xwēškārīh ud frēzbānīh ēn kū Ohrmazd pad astīh hamāg būdīh hamāg bawēdīh ud anōšag xwadāyīh ud akanāragīh ud abēzagīh Ahreman pad nēstīh ud wany-būdīh menīdan ud xwēš tan pad xwēšīh ī Ohrmazd ud Amahrspandān dāštan ud az Ahreman ud dēwān ud dēw-ayarān judāg budān, parts of which are cited by Schmidt, "The Non-Existence of Ahreman," p. 79. On this text, which is of post-Sassanian date, see R.C. Zaehner, *The Teachings of the Magi* (London: Allen & Unwin, 1956), pp. 17-28 and Cereti, *La Letteratura Pahlavi*, pp. 184-85.

<sup>25</sup> That speech acts of absolute truth (\*satyakriyā) have the power to reshape (physical) reality is a familiar topos in Vedic and later Sanskrit literature. The classic discussion

ever, for as we have seen, use of the verb *nēst* here and elsewhere suggests that the Lie did not suddenly cease to be, since it always-already *was-not*, as it never possessed autonomous *gētīg* existence. Zarathuštra's act of truth thus did not destroy something extant; rather, it dispelled an illusion or, more precisely, it exorcised an evil spiritual (*mēnōg*) being from the good substance (*gētīg*) and form (*kirb*) it had temporarily appropriated.

The second event confirms this interpretation, as it states "and the form of Cēšmag stormed forth" (*ud Cēšmag kirb frāz dwārīd*). As we have seen Cēšmag is the demon responsible for earthquakes and whirlwinds, whom we — given our own cultural predilections — are inclined to imagine as fully personified. The Bundahišn, however, is equally disposed to theorize this as an impersonal force: a disembodied, intangible, but eminently destructive energy.<sup>26</sup> It is not the earthquake or whirlwind per se, but the malevolent spirit, desire, or energy that enters two of the Wise Lord's original material creations — earth and sky — making them move in violent, irregular, unpredictable ways (*dwāristan*), while also distorting (or de-forming) their pristine beauty, as is evident, for instance, in the production of mountains, valleys, and rubble by earthquakes.<sup>27</sup>

Cēšmag thus represented neither the earth, nor the wind, but the trembling of the former and swirling of the latter. Nor was he theorized as a malevolent *being*, at least not in the material (*gētīg*) sense. Rather, earthquake and whirlwind are negative forces, qualities, energies, or spirits that ripple through matter, without being material themselves. Like Ahreman, the Lie, and other demons, Cēšmag thus seems to have been theorized as an aspect of non-being (*nēstīh*) that can — and does — assume material form, with extremely destructive results.

is W. Norman Brown, "Duty as Truth in Ancient India," *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 116 (1972): 252-68, idem, "The Metaphysics of the Truth Act (*\*satyakriyā*)," in *Mélanges d'Indianisme à la Mémoire de Louis Renou* (Paris: E. de Boccard, 1968), pp. 171-77. More recently, see George Thompson, "On Truth-Acts in Vedic," *Indo-Iranian Journal* 41 (1998): 125-53.

<sup>26</sup> Ambiguity on this point is embedded in the phrase *ān kē* in the Bundahišn passage devoted to Cēšmag, which can equally well identify the demon as "he who" or "that which" makes earthquakes. (Greater Bundahišn 27.29: Cēšmag *ān ke* wizandag kunēd).

<sup>27</sup> Here, it is worth recalling that the Evil Spirit's initial assault on the earth manifested itself in the form of an earthquake (*wizandišn* or *wizandag*) that distorted the perfection of its original flatness and created the first mountains. Cf. Greater Bundahišn 6c.0-1 (TD<sup>2</sup> MS 65.12-14), Selections of Zādspram 2.5, 3.28. I have discussed this motif in *Discourse and the Construction of Society*, pp. 38-50.

## IV

Returning to the Bundahišn's chapter on demonology, we find that this understanding of Cēšmag has much wider applicability. There, approximately fifty demons are identified by name.<sup>28</sup> Included in this group are three Indo-Iranian deities (Indra, Saurva, Nāhaθya) who had already been demoted and denounced as demons in the Younger Avesta.<sup>29</sup> The Buddha is also listed,<sup>30</sup> as are the planets, whose unpredictable pattern of retrograde motion led to their identification as demons.<sup>31</sup> With these exceptions, virtually all the other demons represent a moral or physical quality characterized by absence, lack, or failure of some sort: a void that threatens to overwhelm any creature it comes to inhabit. These include mental or emotional states in which consciousness of what one does not have prompts destructive desires, dispositions, and behaviors, such as Envy or Jealousy (Pahlavi *Arešk*), Greed or Appetite (*Āz*), Lust (*Waran*), Miserliness (*Penih*), and Meanness, Arrogance, or Contempt (*Tarōmat*). Others involve situations of material deprivation that produce physical suffering and feelings of despair, as with Need, Want, Misery, or Poverty (*Niyāz*), Trouble or Distress (*Sēj*), Pain (*Dard*), Grief and Sorrow (*Bēš* and *Zarīg*). Other demons reify failures to know and speak the truth, as with Evil Mind (*Akōman*), Falsehood or "the Lie of doubt" (*Mihōxt... druz ī gumānīgih*), "the Lie of denial" (*Akātāš... druz ī nakkīrāyih*), Betrayal or Deceit (*Frēftar*), Untruth (*Arāst*), and Slander (*Spazg*). Several represent non-material forces that destroy the body: Old Age (*Zarmān*), Fever (*Tab*), the Evil Eye (*Aš* and *Sūrcašmih*), the Onset of Death (*Astwiḥād* and *Wizarš*), Death itself (*Marg*), the Corruption and Pollution of the decomposing Corpse (*Nasu*). Others are harder to classify, although the same threat of non-being can readily be perceived

<sup>28</sup> The text in question is Greater Bundahišn 27 (TD<sup>2</sup> 181.8-189.2), which deserves much fuller study than it has received to date. Most recently, see Éric Pirart, *Georges Dumézil face aux demons iraniens* (Paris: Harmattan, 2007), pp. 74-81.

<sup>29</sup> Vidēvdād 10.9 and 19.43. The historic trajectory through which those beings whom the Indo-Iranian languages designated as \**daiva* came to be regarded as gods, then old gods who had made bad choices, then as demonic beings or forces has been much discussed. Proper understanding of this process begins with Émile Benveniste, "Hommes et dieux dans l'Avesta," in Gernot Wießner, ed. *Festschrift für Wilhelm Eilers* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1967), pp. 144-47.

<sup>30</sup> Greater Bundahišn 27.42 (TD<sup>2</sup> 186.11-12), where the Buddha is identified as a demon whose spirit (*waxš*) enters into the form of idols so it can receive worship. But *dēw ān kēš pad Hindūgān paristēnd u-š waxš pad ān butihā mehmān ciyōn Būtāsp paristid*.

<sup>31</sup> Greater Bundahišn 27.52 (TD<sup>2</sup> 188.2-11). See further, Bruce Lincoln, "Anomaly, Science, and Religion: Treatment of the Planets in Medieval Zoroastrianism," *History of Religions* 49 (2009): 270-83.

in such entities as Sloth (*Būšāsp*), Rottenness (*Pudagīh*), Wickedness or Vileness (*Odag* and *Wadagīh*), and Anger, Rage, or Wrath (*Xēšm*). The same is true of those forces that threaten nonhuman creations, like the Earthquake and Whirlwind (*Cēšmag*), Drought (*Apōš*), and the Darkness that holds up the rain (*Aspenjarvya*).

In different ways, all these various demons represent and personify specific aspects of non-being. It is an error, however, to see them as the incarnation or embodiment of these negative qualities, for it is quite precisely the nature of non-being that it has no bodily form of its own and is antithetical to being on the plane of matter (*gētīg*). What demonic non-being can — and does — do is to penetrate, invade, or appropriate the material substance of the Wise Lord's creatures, occupying and using them for a finite period of time, while it also de-forms its hosts by introducing dissolution, decay, and corruption (both moral and physical) into their material substance.

## V

Given the preceding analysis, we are now able to ask whether a similar construction of the demonic might be found in the Achaemenian texts. Regrettably, the most obvious source — Xerxes's famous "Daiva-inscription" (XPh) — tells us virtually nothing about how the *daivas* ("Demons"? "Old gods"? "Foreign gods"?) were conceived, only that they ought be rejected.<sup>32</sup> There were other entities, however, that were understood to manifest the threatening, intrusive and destructive powers of non-being, as becomes evident when one considers the prayer formulae in which Achaemenian kings requested divine protection against some menacing evil.<sup>33</sup> There are six such passages, as listed in Table 14.2.

<sup>32</sup> XPh §4: "And among these lands/peoples there was one where formerly *daivas* were worshipped. Then, by the Wise Lord's will, I demolished that *daiva*-temple. And I ordered that the *daivas* not be worshipped there, where formerly *daivas* were worshipped." utā antar aitā dahyāva āha, yadātaya paruvam daivā ayadiya; pasāva vašnā Auramazdahā adam avam daivadānam viyakanam utā patiyazbayam: daivā mā yadiyaiša. Much has been written on this frustrating passage including, most recently, Chiara Riminucci, "Les *daiva* dans l'inscription de Xerxès (XPh): entités étrangères ou anciennes divinités iraniennes?," in Antonio Panaino and Andrea Piras, eds., *Proceedings of the 5th Conference of the Societas Iranologica Europaea* (Milan: Mimesis, 2006), 1: 183-99. Also attentive to the vagueness and ambiguity of the text is the discussion of Sancisi-Weerdenburg, *Yaunā en Persai*, op. cit., pp. 1-47, esp. 4-6 and 21-27, which is preferable to the more procrustean certainties of Boyce, *History of Zoroastrianism* 2: 174-75 or Ugo Bianchi, "L'Inscription 'des daivas' et le zoroastrisme des Achéménides," *Revue de l'histoire des religions* 192 (1977): 3-30.

<sup>33</sup> The verb *pā-* "to protect" occurs 30 times in the Achaemenian corpus. Of these, one is in the 1st person singular imperfect (XPf §4, where Xerxes states that he has

	<i>Protector</i>	<i>Object to be protected</i>	<i>Threat</i>
DPd §3	May the Wise Lord protect <i>Auramazdā pātu</i>	this land/people <i>imām dahyāuṃ</i>	from the enemy horde, from famine, from the Lie <i>hacā haṇnāyā hacā dušiyārā hacā drauḡā</i>
DNa §5 and XPh §5	May the Wise Lord protect <i>Auramazdā pātu</i>	me and my house and this land/people <i>mām... utāmaḡ viθam utā imām dahyāuṃ</i>	from evil <i>hacā gastā</i>
A <sup>2</sup> Sa and A <sup>2</sup> Ha §2	May the Wise Lord, Anahita and Miθra protect <i>AM Anahata utā Miθra... pātu</i>	me <i>mām</i>	from all evil <i>hacā vispā gastā</i>
A <sup>2</sup> Sd §2	May the Wise Lord, Anahita and Miθra protect <i>AM Anahita utā Miθra... pātu</i>	me and that which I built <i>mām... utāmaḡ kartam</i>	from all evil <i>hacā vispā gastā</i>

Table 14.2 Prayer formulae in which the king seeks divine protection against identified threats.

We have already discussed the three menaces specified in DPd §3 — the enemy horde (*haṇnā*), “famine” (more literally, “bad year,” *dušiyārā*), and the Lie (*drauḡa*) — in Chapters One and Nine, and we will return to them once again in Chapter Twenty-four. For the moment, suffice it to say these three form a logical series, which the order of presentation traces back to its source, showing how negativity moves from thought and word (the Lie) to material effects exercised by impersonal forces (bad year) and human agency (enemy horde), with increasing

protected his father’s buildings), one in the 2d person singular imperative and one is a past passive participle (both DPe §3, where Darius instructs future kings to protect the Persian people/army). The remaining twenty-seven are all in the 3rd person imperative (usually singular, but occasionally plural). All of these are prayer formulae, seeking divine protection against menaces that are sometimes identified (the six cases treated in Table 14.2), but more often not.



turbulence, confusion, suffering, and destruction as non-being gradually acquires the ability to distort physical existence.

For the moment, however, let us note that five of the six formulae in question all identified the same dire threat, which they named "Evil" (*gasta*). This word, however, has a much more vivid set of associations than this bland translation suggests. More precise is the way *gasta* is rendered in the Babylonian versions of these inscriptions, where one finds Akkadian *bīšu*, "1) malodorous; 2) of bad quality; 3) (morally) evil."<sup>34</sup> In point of fact, this choice shows real philological acumen, for *gasta* itself most literally means "Stench," being derived from an old Iranian verb \**gand-* (or possibly \**gant-*), "to stink," with comparison to Avestan *gainti* "foulness, stench," Khotan Saka *gganānaa* "reeking," Pahlavi *gandag* "foul, stinking," *gandagīh* "stench," and *Gannāg Mēnōg*, the most common by-name of Ahreman, which identified him as "the Foul (i.e. Stinking) Spirit."<sup>35</sup>

Avestan and Pahlavi sources associate this stench with death, decay, moral and physical corruption, rottenness, disease, and putrefaction, while also treating it as an unmistakable sign that demonic beings have penetrated and are actively destroying some material part of the Wise Lord's good creation.<sup>36</sup> It is, in effect, the scent released as something once-alive slowly turns into nothing: a disquieting aroma that is

<sup>34</sup> *Assyrian Dictionary of the Oriental Institute* 2: 270-71.

<sup>35</sup> Thus Herzfeld, *Altpersische Inschriften*, pp. 173-77, Meillet and Benveniste, *Grammaire du Vieux-Perse*, pp. 105-6, and Kent, *Old Persian*, p. 183.

<sup>36</sup> The Avesta locates stench either at the funerary platforms (*daxmas*) where bodies decay and demons congregate (thus Vidēvdād 7.53-57) or with the wind of death that blows from hell to the north and greets the soul of a liar three days after his decease (Hadoxt Nask 2.25-26). The relevant Pahlavi sources are more numerous and more varied. See, inter alia, Greater Bundahišn 1.49, 27.53, Arda Wirāz Nāmag 5.5, 17.8-10, 18.2-4, 54.1-6, Dēnkard 3.235, Dādestān ī Dēnīg 16.10, 40.4, Pahlavi Rivāyat accompanying the Dādestān ī Dēnīg 8c4-5, 23.22-27, 23.31, Mēnōg ī Xrad 7.21-30, 43.3-5 and 14, Selections of Zādspram 3.83, 34.39. After listing those demons it specifies by name, the Bundahišn goes on to state:

*It says [in the Avesta] that there are also a great many nameless demons. These demons, who are the powers of trouble and pain, the creators of grief and sorrow, self-damagers, seeds of darkness, bringers of stench (gandagīh), rottenness/corruption (pudagīh), and vile-ness (wadagīh), who are a great, great many in number. A portion of those [nameless demons] are mixed in the bodies of all people.*

dēwān-iz anāmagān pad was maragīh gōwēd. awēšān dēwān ī sēj ud dard ud \*zōrān bēš ud zariḡ dādārān ud xwēš-zinēnidārān ud tom tōhmagān gandagīh ud pudagīh ud wadagīh awurdārān kē was ud was marag was nāmcišt u-šān hamāḡ andar tan ī mardomān bahr gumēxt estēd. Greater Bundahišn 27.46, TD<sup>2</sup> 187.2-7.

Also revealing is the detailed exposition of Dēnkard 5.24.19-19a (Madan ed. 463.6-16).

immediately recognizable to the senses (both aesthetic-sensory and moral) for all that it is neither visible, tangible, nor embodied. All of which is to say, the olfactory associations of Old Persian *gasta* construe "evil" as an immaterial (*mēnōg*) force that brings the formidable powers of non-being to bear against embodied beings.

## VI

When one perceives essential evil in the smells produced by the decay of organic matter, considerations of time have their relevance. Indeed, the notion of time-as-destroyer is well-attested in Iran,<sup>37</sup> while Old Age — or, to put it differently, the corrosive effects of time on human bodies — is emphatically demonized in Zoroastrian sources.<sup>38</sup> The same destructive force also appears in the Achaemenian corpus, albeit under a different name (Old Persian *hanatā*,<sup>39</sup> as opposed to Avestan *zaurvan*

*Pollution is entirely demonic; it all comes from demons. The more one's body is inhabited by demons, the more pollution there is. And when the body is dead, Astwihād, the death-maker, the author of powerlessness, the defeater of the soul, comes to it triumphantly. He seizes it and brings his brothers to the body, to inhabit its every place of life. These are the stench-makers, creators of foulness, and other demons who make the body useless and who drive off the opponents antithetical to themselves, like sweet fragrance, purity, good conduct, beauty and others that are necessary. Residing in the body, they increase, so there are more of them all together in the body, so that they breathe corpse-pollution and all illnesses. One can say, without dispute, that the residence of demons is in that pollution.*

ud rēmanīh hamāg dēwīh az dēwān harw kū dēw mēhmāntar rēmanīh wēš ud tan ka murd abarwēzīhā madan \*margīhkardār ud agārēnidār Astwihād stōwēnidār ī gyān u-š abāz grift i-š gyāg gyāg ī zindagīh ud pad mehmānīh andar burdan i-š brādarān gandēnidārān \*pudagēnidārān abārig ān-abēdān kardārān dēwān ō tan \*ānāftan i-šān jud jud xwēš hambadīg ciyōn hubōyīh pākīh huburdīh hucīrīh ud abārig ī abāyišnīg az tan mehmānīh wālidan i-šān andar ham tan owōn frāyīhā kū ō-iz bē nasuš wisp wēmārīh \*damēnd ud ānōh kū dēwān mēhmānīh pad ān ewēnag rēmanīh guftan abē-pahikār spēd bawēd.

<sup>37</sup> Most broadly, see R.C. Zaehner, *Zurvan; A Zoroastrian Dilemma* op cit. Subsequent discussions have rendered problematic Zaehner's view of a "Zurvanite heresy," but the materials he assembled clearly demonstrate the extent of speculation on the status and power of time (Avestan *zruuān*).

<sup>38</sup> Inter alia, see Vidēvdād 19.43, Greater Bundahišn 27.28, Dādestān ī Dēnīg 36.31 and 40. Particularly striking are Selections of Zādspram 34.32-33, where Zarmān is one of the four commanding generals of the demonic hordes and Pahlavi Rivāyat accompanying the Dādestān ī Dēnīg 5.1, where Ahreman commissions Zarmān ("Old Age, Decrepitude") to destroy all living beings and Ohrmazd is forced to acknowledge that no escape is possible from him. (Some texts, including Yasna 9.5, Yašt 19.10, Dādestān ī Dēnīg 22.3, and Selections of Zādspram 3.40 are more ambiguous, treating Old Age as something that might equally well be understood as personified or an abstraction).

<sup>39</sup> Old Persian *hanatā* is an abstract substantive formed on \*hana "old" (cf. Avestan *hana*, Vedic *sāna*, Greek *ēvoç*, Latin *sen-ex*, etc). DSe §5, where this word appears, is

and Pahlavi *zarmān*)<sup>40</sup> and with effects that manifest themselves on inanimate, as well as animate objects, for the only inscription that mentions *hanatā* describes how it made a wall crumble.<sup>41</sup> The passage is suggestive, but probably not enough to force the conclusion that age (or time) was construed as demonic. In any event, human energies could reverse its effects and Darius rebuilt the wall, without invoking divine assistance or protection.<sup>42</sup>

## VII

Darius did, however, take pride in this project and it may have been tacitly understood that as king he enjoyed special qualities, granted by the Wise Lord, that made it possible for him to stave off the Lie, the Stench, the ravages of time, and other forces antithetical to life and material being. Such an argument is, in fact, developed at length in the remarkable inscription Darius placed at his tomb on the rock-face of Naqš-e Rostam (DNb, copied by Xerxes in XPl). That text begins with a highly significant variant of the creation account. The unique way it treats the Wise Lord's original creations has already been discussed in Chapters Five and Ten, and will occupy us again in Chapter Twenty-one. At present, we are more concerned with the way it describes the final act of creation, which contrasts with all other versions, as summarized in Table 14.3.

badly damaged and *hanatā* was restored by Roland Kent, "More Old Persian Inscriptions," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 54 (1934): 46, on the basis of its translation by Akkadian *labāru* "long duration, longevity, growing to old age, disrepair (said of buildings)." The specific phrase used in this passage — *lābariš illik* — asserted that the corrosive force of time had rendered a structure old and weak, and was formulaic in Assyrian and Babylonian texts. For examples, see the *Assyrian Dictionary of the Oriental Institute* 9: 13 (under *lābaru* c) and 1: 317 (under *alāku* 4b-1').

<sup>40</sup> Both *zaurvan* and *zarmān* derive from a verbal root (Iranian *zar-*, cognate to Vedic *ṛjar-*) that describes the process of aging as one of gradual erosion and decay. Cf. Mayrhofer, *Etymologisches Wörterbuch des Altindoirischen* 1: 577-78, Pokorny, *Indogermanisches etymologisches Wörterbuch*, pp. 390-91.

<sup>41</sup> DSe §5: "In a town named X, a wall had fallen down as a result of old age." ++++ *nāma vṛdanam didā hanatāyā avagmatā*.

<sup>42</sup> Thus, having lamented the fact that in the past the crumbled wall in question had gone unrepaired (*akṛtā*, literally "unmade"), Darius went on to state (DSe §5): "I made another wall [that will endure] from that time into the future." *hacā avadaša ā pasāva didām aniyām akunavam*.

	<i>Creator</i>	<i>Creation of King</i>	<i>Elaboration</i>
DSt §1, DSab §1	A great god is the Wise Lord... <i>baga vazrka</i> <i>Auramazdā...</i>	who made Darius king. <i>haya Dārayavaum</i> <i>xšāyaθiyam akunauš.</i>	
DNa §1 and 12 others	A great god is the Wise Lord... <i>baga vazrka</i> <i>Auramazdā...</i>	who made X king, <i>haya X-m xšāyaθiyam</i> <i>akunauš,</i>	one king over many, one commander over many. <i>aivam parūnām xšāyaθiyam,</i> <i>aivam parūnām framātāram.</i>
XE §1, XV §1, A <sup>2</sup> Hc §1	A great god is the Wise Lord, who is greatest of the gods... <i>baga vazrka Auramazdā,</i> <i>haya maθišta bagānām...</i>	who made X king, <i>haya X-m xšāyaθiyam</i> <i>akunauš,</i>	one king over many, one commander over many. <i>aivam parūnām xšāyaθiyam,</i> <i>aivam parūnām framātāram.</i>
DZc §1	A great god is the Wise Lord... <i>baga vazrka</i> <i>Auramazdā...</i>	who made Darius king, <i>haya Dārayavaum</i> <i>xšāyaθiyam akunauš,</i>	who bestowed the kingship/ kingdom on King Darius, which is great, which has good horses, which has good men. <i>haya Dārayavahauš XŠyā xšačam</i> <i>frābara taya vazrkam taya</i> <i>uvaspam umartiyam.</i>
DPg §1	Great is the Wise Lord, who is greatest of all the gods... <i>ilu-ú-ru-ma-az-da ra-bi ša</i> <i>ra-bu-ú ina muḥ-ḥi</i> <i>ilani<sup>meš</sup> gab-bi</i>	who made Darius king <i>ša a-na 'Da-a-ri-ia-muš</i> <i>šarru ib-nu-ú</i>	and gave King Darius kingship over this broad earth, which has many lands/peoples inside it. <i>u a-na 'Da-a-ri-ia-muš šarri</i> <i>šarru-ú-tu id-din-nu ina qaq-qar</i> <i>a-ga-a rap-ša-a-tum ša matate<sup>meš</sup></i> <i>ma-di-e-tum ina lib-bi-šu.</i>
DPd §1	Great is the Wise Lord, who is greatest of the gods. <i>Auramazdā vazrka haya</i> <i>maθišta bagānām.</i>	He created Darius (as) king. <i>hay Dārayavaum</i> <i>XŠyam adā.</i>	He bestowed the kingship/ kingdom on him. By the Wise Lord's will, Darius is king. <i>hayšaj xšačam frābara; vašnā</i> <i>Auramazdāhā Dārayavauš</i> <i>xšāyaθiya.</i>
DSp	Great is the Wise Lord, who is greatest of the gods. <i>Auramazdā vazrka haya</i> <i>maθišta bagānām.</i>	He created Darius (as) king. <i>hay Dārayavaum</i> <i>XŠyam adā.</i>	He bestowed the kingship/ kingdom on him, which is good, which has good chariots, which has good horses, which has good people. <i>hayšaj xšačam frābara taya</i> <i>naibam taya uraḥam uvaspam</i> <i>umartiyam.</i>

DSs §1	A great god is the Wise Lord... <i>baga vazrka</i> <i>Auramazdā...</i>		who makes good horses and good chariots. On me he bestowed them. <i>haya uvaspā uraθacā kunauti.</i> <i>manā haūdiš frābara.</i>
DNb §1, XPI §1	A great god is the Wise Lord... <i>baga vazrka</i> <i>Auramazdā...</i>		who deposited wisdom and physical prowess in X the king. <i>haya xraθum utā aruvastam upari</i> <i>X-m xšāyaθiyam niyasaya.</i>

Table 14.3 Formulae describing the Wise Lord's final act of creation.

As this table makes clear, all other variants focus on the Wise Lord's creative act of making a man into a king. Some of them simply state this fact (most often using the verb *kar-*, but occasionally <sup>2</sup>*dā-*), while others dilate a bit on the king's paramount status ("one king over many, one commander over many") or the assets of his kingdom ("which has good horses, which has good men," "which has many lands/peoples," etc.). In contrast, only DNb §1 (and XPI §1, which is modeled on it) makes no direct mention of kingship, focusing instead on the two qualities this man received from the Wise Lord, which it construes as his qualifications for royal office. These are, moreover, unique gifts, for the terms used — *xraθu* ("wisdom")<sup>43</sup> and *aruvasta* ("physical prowess")<sup>44</sup> — appear in no other inscription and are bestowed on no other recipient.

<sup>43</sup> XPI §1 has *xratu* where DNb §1 has *xraθu*, reflecting a sound shift or dialect variation (cf. Avestan *xratu*). The term is translated in Akkadian by *tēme hiṣṣatu* "reason, intelligence" (Assyrian Dictionary of the Oriental Institute 19: 94-95 and 6: 201-2). The Iranian terms denote an over-all excellence of mind and spirit that includes intelligence, will, moral force, and spiritual power, reflecting a semantic narrowing in Iranian from the broader semantics of Vedic *krātu*, which is used for both bodily and mental abilities in different contexts. More distant still are the etymologically related Indo-European terms denoting "hardness" (Gothic *hardus*, "hard, strong," Attic *κράτος*, "strength," etc.). See Benveniste, *Vocabulaire des institutions indo-européennes* 2: 71-83, Herzfeld, *Altpersische Inschriften*, pp. 235-37, Klaus Strunk, "Semantisches und Formales zum Verhältnis von indoiran. Krātu-/xratu- und gr. κράτος," in *Monumentum H. S. Nyberg* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1975) 2: 265-96, and Kasten Rönnow, "Ved. *krātu-*," *Le Monde Oriental* 26 (1932): 1-90.

<sup>44</sup> Old Persian *aruvasta* is an abstract noun related to adjectives (Avestan *aurvant*, Vedic *árvaṭ*) used of fast, agile horses and heroes. Most literally, it would thus seem to denote "agility, vivacity, athletic abilities." Its pairing with *xraθu* and translation by Akkadian *iḫārūtu* "skill," from *abāru* "to be strong," a term that also does service for Old Persian *ūnara* "skill, prowess; good quality of a martial male," suggests that it was meant to encompass physical excellence in general, as given by God and perfected with exercise and training. See further Chapter Twenty and discussions of the term by Hans Heinrich Schaefer, "Altpersisch *aruvastam* 'Rüstigkeit,'" *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung* 43 (1940): 289-93 and Benveniste, "Études iraniennes," op cit., pp. 40-41.

The two form a set, conjoining excellence of mind and that of body, the force grounded in spirit and that which acts on matter. Together, they identify the special charisma of the Achaemenian king, who is able to grasp the fundamental principles of truth and justice through his *xraθu*, then renders them effective in concrete practice via his *aruvasta*.<sup>45</sup>

With this established, the text proceeds to enumerate a variety of threats the Great King was able to master and the faculties that let him do so, as listed in Table 14.4.

	<i>(Demonic) Threat</i>	<i>(Divine) Quality that permits the King to triumph</i>
DNb §1		A great god is the Wise Lord... who deposited wisdom ( <i>xraθu</i> ) and physical prowess ( <i>aruvasta</i> ) in Darius the King.
DNb §2a	I am not a friend to Wrong ( <i>miθa</i> ).	By the Wise Lord's will, I am the sort of person that I am a friend to Right ( <i>rāsta</i> ).
DNb §2b	I am not friend to a lying man ( <i>martiya draujana</i> ).	The Right ( <i>rāsta</i> ), that is my desire.
DNb §2b	I am not hot-tempered ( <i>manauviš</i> ).	That which comes into being from me in conflict, I hold firmly under control with my mind ( <i>manah</i> ).
DNb §2c	It is not my desire that a man should do harm ( <i>vinasta</i> ).	He who causes harm, I interrogate/punish ( <i>fraθ-</i> ) him according to the harm caused.
DNb §2g	I see him who is rebellious ( <i>hamiçiya</i> ) and I see him who is not	Once my understanding ( <i>ušī</i> ) stands in place
DNb §2g	I consider myself above panic ( <i>afuvā</i> )	With understanding ( <i>ušī</i> ) and command ( <i>framāna</i> )
DNb §2i		Those virtues ( <i>ūnarā</i> ), which the Wise Lord bestowed on me, I was strong (enough) to bear them. By the Wise Lord's will, that which has been done by me — I did these things by the virtues that the Wise Lord deposited in me.

Table 14.4 Binary contrasts drawn in DNb.

<sup>45</sup> Thus, Clarisse Herrenschildt, "Le moi mazdéen et les âmes," *Iranian Journal of Anthropology* 1 (2002): 19-31 and esp. pp. 22-25, which is the most perceptive study of DNb to date.

For the most part, the positive qualities listed here are well-known and easy to interpret. They involve powers of thought and interiority (*xraθu* and *manah*, literally “mind”);<sup>46</sup> perception, i.e. the processing of information from the phenomenal world (*ušī*, which means “understanding” in a deep and general sense, but is based on an old word for “ears”);<sup>47</sup> authoritative speech (*framānā*, the ability to command<sup>48</sup> and *fraθ-*, a verb that describes the use of interrogation and judiciary ordeals to extract the truth, even from recalcitrant liars).<sup>49</sup> Also included are physical abilities and skills that permit one to take decisive action, transforming the world at large (*aruvasta* and *ūnara*, discussed above).

More unusual is some of the terminology used to denote the threatening evils, which has taken specialists some years to sort out. Most difficult of all are *afuvā*, which Karl Hoffmann has shown to denote “paralyzing terror, panic, anxiety in the face of death,”<sup>50</sup> and *manauvīš*, which

<sup>46</sup> Old Persian *manah*, which occurs twice in DNb (= XPI) and nowhere else, is cognate to Avestan *manah*, Vedic *mānas*, and derived from the verb *man-* “to think.” Intriguingly, one of the two occurrences is translated by Akkadian *ṭēme ḥissatu* “reason, intelligence” (also used for *xraθu* at DNb §1), while the other is rendered by *libbu* “1) heart, abdomen, entrail, womb; 2) inside (or inner part) of a building, an area, a region, of a container, parts of the human body, parts of the exta, inside, pith of plants, a type of document, etc.; 3) mind, thought, intention, courage, wish, desire, choice, preference” (*Assyrian Dictionary of the Oriental Institute* 9: 164-72).

<sup>47</sup> The text also acknowledges the king’s faculties of sight when it speaks of his ability to see (*vaiṇa-*, on which see Chapter Ten) a rebel and a non-rebel, thereby distinguishing one from the other on the basis of their appearance (DNb §2g). Primacy is granted, however, to the sense of hearing, as seems appropriate for a culture whose cosmology and ethics were centered on Truth. The word for “understanding” in its broadest and most profound sense was thus *ušī*, a word that always occurs in the dual, reflecting its origin in an old Iranian word for ears (cf. Avestan *uši*, which is reserved for the ears of ahuric beings, Bartholomae, *Altiranisches Wörterbuch*, col. 414). The physical — as opposed to the internal or spiritual — organ of hearing was then denoted by *gauša* in Old Persian (= Avestan *gaoša*).

<sup>48</sup> Old Persian *framānā* corresponds to the agent noun *framātar* “commander,” which figures in the formula that identifies the Achaemenian ruler as “one ruler over many, one commander over many” (DNa §1 et al.). It is translated by Elamite *te-nu-um* “command, order” and (less perfectly) by Akkadian *dibbu* “word, talk.”

<sup>49</sup> Although *fraθ-* is often translated “to punish,” both its etymology (cf. Avestan *pərəsaiti* “he asks,” *frašna* “question;” Sanskrit *pr̥cchāti* “he asks,” *praśná* “question”) and the way it is rendered in Akkadian (*šālu*, “to investigate thoroughly, vigorously prosecute”) make clear that its primary sense was “to ask, question, interrogate.” The Elamite translation (*miul-e hapi* “to squeeze out the sap,” elsewhere used for the act of pressing oil from sesame seeds) confirms this, while also showing that such interrogation often involved the application of physical force as a means to extract the truth from a reluctant witness or suspect. I have discussed this term and its significance in “An Ancient Case of Interrogation and Torture,” *Social Analysis* 53 (2009): 157-72.

<sup>50</sup> Karl Hoffmann, “Altpersisch ‘afuvāyā’ (DNb 38),” in Hans Krahe, ed., *Corolla Linguistica: Ferdinand Sommer zum 80. Geburtstag Ferdinand Sommer* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1955), pp. 80-85, with comparison to Skt. *apvā*. His arguments have been

Rüdiger Schmitt identified as meaning "passionate, hot-blooded, rash, raging, impetuous."<sup>51</sup> These two unusual terms identify extreme forms of what we would call extreme emotional states — fear and anger, respectively — but it is Clarisse Herrenschmidt's merit to have recognized that within an Old Iranian *imaginaire*, these would have been theorized differently, i.e. as demonic forces.<sup>52</sup>

Here, we can go further still, for it is not just rage and panic that have the character attributed to demons in the Zoroastrian scriptures, or whose names correspond to those of demons in specifically religious texts,<sup>53</sup> for the same can be said of virtually all the threats mentioned in DNb. Neither Wrong (*miθa*),<sup>54</sup> Lying (*draujana*, cf. *drauga* and *duruja*-), Harm (*vinasta*),<sup>55</sup> nor Rebellion (*hamiçiya*) possess any concrete, substantive

endorsed, inter alia, by Brandenstein and Mayrhofer, *Handbuch des Altpersischen*, p. 101, Schmitt, *Old Persian Inscriptions of Naqsh-e Rostam and Persepolis*, p. 43, Lecoq, *Les inscriptions de la Perse achéménide*, p. 223, and Mayrhofer, *Etymologisches Wörterbuch des Altindoirischen* 1: 89.

<sup>51</sup> Rüdiger Schmitt, "Altpersisch *m-n-u-vi-i-š* = *manauviš*," in George Cardona and Norman Zide, eds., *Festschrift for Henry Hoenigswald* (Tübingen: G. Narr, 1987), pp. 363-66. Schmitt's interpretation does not dramatically change the meaning of the word, but provides a much sounder philological analysis than the earlier attempts of Kent, *Old Persian*, p. 202, idem, "Old Persian Texts VI. Darius' Naqš-e Rostam B Inscription," *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 4 (1945): 47, and Herzfeld, *Altpersische Inschriften*, pp. 242-43. Interpretation has consistently been guided by the Akkadian translation, which offers no precise equivalent of *manauviš*, but captures the general sense of the phrase in which it appears, by stating "Not one that is (easily) angered am I" *ul man-ma ša i-ga-a-ga ana-ku*.

<sup>52</sup> Herrenschmidt, "Le moi mazdéen et les âmes," pp. 25-28.

<sup>53</sup> Old Persian *manauviš* is thus comparable to the Pahlavi demon *Xēšm* ("Wrath, Anger, Rage") in its semantics and phenomenology, for all that they have no etymological relation; *afuvā* corresponds to Pahlavi *Sahm* ("Terror," treated as a demon at Dādestān ī Dēnīg 36.40) in similar fashion.

<sup>54</sup> Old Persian *miθah*, which occurs only at DNb §2a is an abstract substantive built on the root *\*mith-* "to be counterposed in opposition; to be hostile or antithetical." Its Avestan cognate occurs chiefly as the first element of compounds, including *miθaoxta*, *miθōxta* "wrongly uttered" (i.e. in opposition to acts of truthful, righteous speech), *miθah-vacah* "whose word is wrong" (Y. 31.12), *miθō.aog* "speaking wrongly," *miθō.mata* "wrongly thought" and *miθō.varšta* "wrongly done." Particularly important, then, are the uncompounded adverb *miθō*, "wrongly, falsely," and the adjective *miθahiia* "wrong, false" which stands in contrast to *ārəzuuā* "right, straight, true" in Yasna 33.1. The Babylonian version of DNb translates *miθah* in two different ways, treating it negatively as *la kittum* "not truth," and positively as *pirku* "harm, wrong, fraud" (*Assyrian Dictionary of the Oriental Institute* 12: 403-4). In Pahlavi, *dēw Mihōxt* ("the demon Falsehood") appears at Greater Bundahišn 27.15 and elsewhere.

<sup>55</sup> Formally, Old Persian *vi-nasta* is a past passive participle derived from the verb *vi-naθ-*, which occurs only in the causative, with the meaning "to injure, harm." *\*naθ-* is unattested without the preverb, but is cognate to Avestan *nas-* "to vanish, disappear, pass away," which takes the preverb *vi-* only at Yasna 32.15 (also with the sense "to disappear, pass away"). The broader etymological connections make clear, however, that this kind of disappearing and harm are of the type that comes with death and decomposition,



being of their own. Rather, like panic and rage, these are aspects of non-being that invade the bodies (i.e., the material substance and form) of large numbers of people, whom they pervert, deform, corrode, corrupt, and ultimately kill in the process. Only through the exercise of the antithetical qualities — Right (*rāsta*)<sup>56</sup> and all the others (Mind, Understanding, Command, etc.) — can these demonic forces be overcome. While arduous, that struggle can be waged and won, provided it is led by the Achaemenian King, who was chosen by the Wise Lord for his antipathy to the Lie,<sup>57</sup> then uniquely endowed with the supreme gifts of Wisdom and Physical Prowess (*xraθu* and *aruvasta*).

as is most evident in Avestan *nasu* “corpse, corpse-pollution (often personified as a demon),” Vedic *nās-* “to disappear, to perish” *vi-nās-* (in the causative) “to destroy, annihilate,” Tocharian A *nāk* “to disappear, perish,” B *nāk-*, *nek-* “to destroy, perish,” Greek *vékuç* “corpse,” Latin *necare* “to kill,” Breton *ankou* “death,” *negein* “to kill” (Pokorny, *Indo-germanisches etymologisches Wörterbuch*, p. 762, Gamkrelidze and Ivanov, *Indo-European and Indo-Europeans*, p. 721). In Pahlavi, the cognate verb *wināhidan* and the abstract noun *wināhišn* are used for destructive demonic action that spoils, harms, or ruins that against which it is directed by corrupting it and dissolving its bodily integrity (MacKenzie, *Concise Pahlavi Dictionary*, p. 91, Nyberg, *Manual of Pahlavi* 2: 213). Cf. Greater Bundahišn 27.45, Dādestan ī Dēnīg 36.31, 39, and 40, Dēnkard 5.7.2, and Selections of Zādspram 2.18. Significantly, these terms are also related to the root noun *wināh*, conventionally translated “sin, crime,” but more precisely denoting the demonically-inspired kinds of action that gradually dissolve the moral and physical being of their perpetrators. As Bailey, *Zoroastrian Problems in the Ninth-Century Texts*, p. 82 pointed out, in Pahlavi texts most influenced by Aristotelian philosophy, *wināhišn* serves as the antithesis of *bawīšn* “becoming” and thus denotes the (dāēvic) process of passing-away, de-creation, dissolution. A different contrast is drawn at DNb §2c, where *vi-nasta* is set in binary opposition to *han-krta* “cooperation” or, more concretely, the positive results of coordinated, cooperative labor. The contrast thus pits the process of falling-apart against that of coming-together.

<sup>56</sup> Old Persian *rāsta* is cognate to Avestan *rāsta*, Latin *rectus*, Gothic *raihts* and other terms that constitute that which is righteous, moral, and sustaining of proper order with the geometric form of a straight line, in contrast to all that may be construed, either literally or metaphorically, as crooked, perverse, and distorted, as shown by Benveniste, *Vocabulaire des institutions indo-européennes* 2: 9-15.

<sup>57</sup> DB §63 anticipates much of the argument that is developed in DNb. The two differ, however, in that the earlier text emphasizes the gifts Darius possessed that caused the Wise Lord to choose him, while the later text focuses on those the deity bestowed upon him, further augmenting his already exceptional nature.

*Proclaims Darius the king: For this reason the Wise Lord bore me aid, he and the other gods that are: Because I was not vulnerable to deception, I was not a liar, I was not a deceit-doer, neither I nor my lineage. I conducted myself according to rectitude (rštām). I did deceit neither to the lowly, nor to the powerful. That man who worked effectively for my house, I bore him that which is good to bear; he who did harm (viyanaθaya), I interrogated/punished him so he is well-interrogated/punished.*

θāti Dārayavauš xšāyaθiya: avahyarādīmaj Auramazdā upastām abara utā aniyāha bagāha, tayaj hanti, yaθā naj arika āham, naj draujana āham, naj zūrakara āham, naj adam najmaj taumā, upari rštām upariyāyam, naj škauθim naj tunuvantam zūra akunavam, martiya, haya hamataxšatā manā viθiyā, avam ubrtam abaram, haya viyanaθaya avam ufraštam aprsam.

## CHAPTER FIFTEEN

### HAPPINESS REGAINED

#### I

As we saw in the preceding chapter, DNb begins with a variant of the cosmogonic myth that looks back to the creation of happiness (*šiyāti*) and wonder (*fraša*), then identifies the unique qualities the Wise Lord bestowed on Darius that qualified him to be king (DNb §1).<sup>1</sup> After detailing the demonic forces these gifts permitted the king to master (DNb §§2a-2h), the inscription returns to speak of *šiyāti* once more in its concluding paragraph (DNb §3b). The theme of happiness thus encompasses and informs the entirety of this text and, here as elsewhere, that theme has deep resonance and wide implications, carrying associations of perfect unity, perfect peace, perfect abundance, joy, and contentment.

The word *šiyāti* occurs twenty-four times within the Achaemenian corpus. Twenty-two of these, including DNb §1, are formulaic, appearing in variants of the cosmogony, where the last of the Wise Lord's original creations is always described as "happiness for mankind" (*šiyāti... martiyahyā*).<sup>2</sup> Although the Achaemenian texts do not spell this out, they make clear the ideal state was lost and they associate this fall from perfection with the Lie's initial appearance and subsequent growth.<sup>3</sup> Like other demonic forces, the Lie was understood as a power of non-being that invaded existence, corrupting its perfection, fragmenting its

<sup>1</sup> DNb §1: 1 A great god is the Wise Lord, who created this wonder (*fraša*) that sees itself, who created happiness for mankind (*šiyātim martiyahyā*), who deposited wisdom and physical prowess in Darius the King. *baga vazrka Auramazdā, haya adadā ima frašam, taya vajnatai, haya adadā šiyātim martiyahyā, haya xraθum utā aruvastam upari Dārayavaum xšāyaθiyam niyasaya.*

<sup>2</sup> There is some variation as regards the verbal form employed. In nineteen of the twenty-two cases, the text reads *haya šiyātim adā martiyahyā* (DNa §1, DNb §1, DSf §1, DSt §1, DSab §1, DE §1, DZc §1, XPa §1, XPb §1, XPc §1, XPd §1, XPf §1, XPh §1, XPl §1, XE §1, XV §1, A<sup>1</sup>Pa §1, D<sup>2</sup>Ha §1, A<sup>2</sup>Hc §1, A<sup>3</sup>Pa §1). DNb §1 and DSe §1 have the imperfect (*adadā*) instead of the aorist (*adā*), while DSs §1 rather surprisingly uses the verb *kar-* (thus: *haya šiyātim kunauti martiyahyā*). Also relevant is DPg §1, which exists in Akkadian only. The phrasing is thus different, but the creation of happiness (*dum-qī*) still occupies the culminating position in the set of original creations, preceding the assault of the Lie and the elevation of Darius to kingship.

<sup>3</sup> See further Chapters One, Four, Six, Eight, Ten, and Twenty-four.

unity, and drawing the Wise Lord's creatures toward death and dissolution. In response to this menace, the Wise Lord made Darius king and equipped him to lead the struggle against falsehood, fear, anger, rebellion, evil, wrong, harm, and other demonic forces.

Whereas all the formulaic occurrences of *šiyāti* refer to the time of creation, one of the two non-formulaic occurrences speaks of the later period of ontological mixture, moral confusion, and historic strife. The same is true for both occurrences of the related adjective *šiyāta* "happy." Let us consider these briefly, in sequence.

Thus, in DPe §3, Darius spoke to his successors, whom he advised to protect the group that represents the best of humanity and (therefore) provides the instrument with which to wage the ongoing struggle: the Persian nation-in-arms. "If the Persian people/army (*kāra*) should be protected," he promised, "happiness will be undestroyed for the longest time."<sup>4</sup> While earnest and hopeful, the promise is less sweeping than it might seem. In specific, the modifiers in this sentence mark the happiness in question as neither total, nor absolute, but qualified, finite, and partial. In the first place, a strong army ensures only that happiness will remain "undestroyed" (*a-xšatā*).<sup>5</sup> This is to say that the Lie and its forces have not (yet) succeeded in annihilating happiness utterly and will continue to be frustrated in this destructive ambition. It is implicitly granted, however, that all of his good creations have been compromised and damaged.<sup>6</sup> Some pieces of happiness thus endure, but these are only the fragments and adulterated residues of the primordial condition of perfect bliss. In the mixed state of historic conflict, this is all that remains, but these are sufficient for mortals to take some pleasure in their existence, to hope for more, and to continue the battle.

Second, the text signals that insofar as life is finite in historic time, so too is the kind of pleasure available in this era. This is implied in Darius's stipulation that the "undestroyed happiness" of which he speaks

<sup>4</sup> DPe §3: *yadi kāra Pārsa pāta ahati, hayā duvajštam šiyātiš axšatā*.

<sup>5</sup> Old Persian *a-xšata* represents the negative form (with privative *a-*) of the past passive participle of the verb *xšan-* ("to destroy, damage"), which is cognate to Sanskrit *kṣaṇōti* "to hurt, injure, wound" and Greek *κτείνω*, "to kill." Cf. Mayrhofer, *Etymologisches Wörterbuch des Altindoarischen* 1: 423, Hjalmar Frisk, *Griechisches etymologisches Wörterbuch* (Heidelberg: Carl Winter, 1973) 2: 33.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. passages in the Pahlavi literature that discuss the Evil Spirit's ability to damage, but not destroy the Wise Lord's good creation, e.g. Greater Bundahišn 1.24, 4.27, 22.29, 27.1, Dādestān ī Dēnīg 36.64, 36.68-69, Pahlavi Rivāyat accompanying the Dādestān ī Dēnīg 13.1-10, Dēnkard 5.8.11, 5.24.1-3, 5.24.7, 8.5.1-5, Selections of Zādspram 1.5-6, 2.15-17.

will persist “for the longest time.” The term used — Old Persian *duvaiṣtam* — is hapax legomenon, but relatively easy to interpret. The superlative of *dūra* “long,” it is employed adverbially as a temporal marker and denotes the longest conceivable expanse of time *that still falls short of eternity*.<sup>7</sup> However long that may be, it is thus fated to end when history closes and eschatological eternity begins. It is at that moment that “undestroyed” happiness will give way to enduring happiness, i.e. happiness of the same sort that existed *ab origine* and that will never be damaged or diminished again.

This is to say that a good king and a good army are sufficient to resist the Lie and his forces, keeping some measure of happiness alive, and this can go on for millennia. Definitive victory, however, is something else again. Should that be won, perfect — and not just “undestroyed” — happiness would be recovered and never menaced again by non-being. Time, death, and all degenerative processes would stop, and there would be no need for king or army. All that lies at history’s end, however, before which there is much to be done.

## II

The two occurrences of adjectival *šiyāta* also describe how some finite measure of happiness may be won and preserved, even in this troubled era. They appear in a passage where Xerxes addresses his successors concerning happiness and its pursuit.

*You who (come) hereafter, if you should think “May I be happy when living (šiyāta... jīva) and may I be truthful/righteous when dead,” conduct yourself according to that law which the Wise Lord set down. Worship the Wise Lord at the proper time and in the proper ritual style. The man who conducts himself according to the law that the Wise Lord set down and who worships the Wise Lord at the proper time and in the proper ritual style, he becomes happy when living (jīva šiyāta) and truthful/righteous when dead.*<sup>8</sup>

This passage has been much discussed and it is not my intention here to take up its many complexities.<sup>9</sup> For our current purposes, it suffices to note the restrictive modifiers that delimit the kind of happiness the

<sup>7</sup> Kent, *Old Persian*, pp. 66 and 191-92. Cf. Sanskrit *daviṣṭhām* “very far, very long” and the discussion of Mayrhofer, *Etymologisches Wörterbuch des Altindoarischen* 1: 739.

<sup>8</sup> XPh §4d: *tuvam kā, haya aparam, yadi mañiyāhaj; šiyāta ahani jīva utā mṛta ṛtāvā ahani, avanā dātā parīdi, taya Auramazdā niyaštāya; Auramazdām yadaiṣā ṛtācā brazmaniya; martiya, haya avanā dātā pariyaṣti, taya Auramazdā ništāya, utā Auramazdām yadataj ṛtācā brazmaniya, haṣ utā jīva šiyāta bavati utā mṛta ṛtāvā bavati.*

<sup>9</sup> We will return to this passage in Chapter Twenty-four.

inscription treats as currently being available. Thus, in addressing its reader's presumed desire to be "happy when living" (*šiyāta... jīva* or *jīva šiyāta*), the text imagines a state that is individual, not collective. That state, moreover, will end with death, it being understood that mortality remains a defining part of the (demonically-afflicted) human condition for the duration of historic time. Xerxes thus promises neither lasting happiness, nor immortality, nor the return of all humanity to its original idyllic state. Much more modestly, he offers assurance that certain select persons — those who follow the divine law<sup>10</sup> and who perform technically perfect sacrifice<sup>11</sup> — may win some finite measure of happiness as a result of these actions.<sup>12</sup> Conceivably, should everyone

<sup>10</sup> The law in question is "that which the Wise Lord set down" (*dātā... taya Auramazdā niyaštāya*), which is not the same thing as the royal laws that are at issue in XPh §3 and all other occurrences of the noun *dāta* (DB §8, DNa §3, DSe §§3 and 4). While important for the preservation of socio-political order, the king's law is an imperfect instrument that only approaches that of the deity.

<sup>11</sup> The verb is *yad-*, cognate to Avestan *yaz-* and Vedic *yáj-*, all of which terms denote worship in general, but most immediately reference acts of sacrifice. See the discussion of Émile Benveniste, "Sur la terminologie iranienne du sacrifice," *Journal asiatique* 252 (1964): 45-58. On the interpretation of the much-discussed phrase *ṛtācā brazmaniya* in XPh §4d, see Rüdiger Schmitt, "Ein altpersisches *ghostword* und das sog. 'inverse *ca*,'" *Orientalia* 32 (1963): 442-45.

<sup>12</sup> Significantly, the Avesta treats "happiness" (*šyāti*) as a post mortem reward, unavailable to the living for the duration of historic time. For discussion of the differences between the way happiness is construed in Avestan and Old Persian, see Jean de Menasce, "Observations sur l'inscription de Xerxès à Persepolis," *Vivre et penser* 49 (1943-44): 124-32 and Jean Kellens, "Sur un parallèle inverse à l'inscription des 'daiva,'" *Studi e Materiali di Storia delle Religioni* 40 (1969): 209-13. Émile Benveniste, *Titres et noms propres en iranien ancien* (Paris: C. Klincksieck, 1966), pp. 119-21, noted a similar difference in Achaemenian onomastics, where *šiyāti* (and its variant form *šāti*) figure in a great many names (e.g. *Paru-šiyāti* ["Much-happiness," whom the Greeks knew as Queen Parysatis, attested in the Elamite of the Persepolis Fortification Tablets as *Ba-ru-ši-ia-ti-iš*], *Rta-šiyāti* ["Happiness in Truth," found in the Fortification Tablets as *Ir-da-ši-ia-ti-iš*], *Šiyāti-farnah* ["Charisma of happiness," the Greek Satiphermes, found in the Fortification Tablets as *Ši-ia-ti-bar-na*], and numerous others) and those of the Avesta, where no such names are attested. His conclusions are worth repeating.

*L'onomastique personnelle doit refléter ici la différence des conceptions religieuses. Nous savons, depuis la découverte du texte de Xerxès contre les daivas, l'importance de cette notion de šyāti-; appanage de l'homme dans sa vie terrestre sous la loi d'Auramazda, la šyāti- nous apparaît comme une des représentations les plus caractéristiques de la religion achéménide. On n'a pas assez remarqué, par contre, que cette notion est absente de l'Avesta où les formes de šyā- (šā-) «se réjouir» d'ailleurs peu nombreuses, n'entrent pas dans la terminologie religieuse et n'ont aucun emploi que l'on puisse comparer à ceux du perse. On ne trouve pas dans l'Avesta l'adjectif šyāta- (šāta-) comme dénotant l'état idéal de la vie terrestre. C'est là une différence profonde entre les deux formes de croyances, et cet indice lexical en témoigne clairement. Il faudra donc compter l'abondance relative des noms propres en šyāti- comme un des traits marquants de l'onomastique du vieux-perse, illustrant un aspect spécifique de la religion achéménide (p. 121).*

follow this program, the Lie could be overcome and the consequent happiness would be general, universal, and enduring. That utopian prospect, however, once more lies at history's end.

### III

This brings us to the last occurrence of *šiyāti*, which is in the final paragraph of DNb and which is neither formulaic, nor restrictive. The inscription is so badly damaged, however, that the crucial word went unnoticed until 1981, when Nicholas Sims-Williams discovered an Aramaic version that let him recognize the fragmentary ]- 'i-y-a 't- 'i-y 'a as *šiyātiyā*, based on comparison to *ṭwbk* ("your happiness") in the Aramaic.<sup>13</sup>

Like the other non-formulaic (i.e. non-cosmogonic) occurrences of *šiyāti* (and *šiyāta*), the sentence in which this word appears is part of a longer discourse explicitly directed to a future reader.<sup>14</sup> DNb §§3a-3b thus repeatedly addresses an unnamed "Young Man" (*marikā*), a title that has been taken to identify him as a servant,<sup>15</sup> a representative of the warrior class,<sup>16</sup> Darius's own post mortem soul,<sup>17</sup> or perhaps a future king.<sup>18</sup> Three times, this form of address is used. With the first, the

<sup>13</sup> Nicholas Sims-Williams, "The Final Paragraph of the Tomb-Inscription of Darius I (DNb. 50-60): The Old Persian Text in the Light of an Aramaic Version," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 44 (1981): 1-7, with citation of the Aramaic text at p. 2 and attention to the question of Aramaic *ṭwbk* = Old Persian *šiyātiyā* at p. 6.

<sup>14</sup> Cf. DPe §3 and XPh §4d, both of which employ the construction *yadi* (*avaθā*) *maniyāhai* "If you should think...", then provide instructions for how the future addressee can realize the stated desire.

<sup>15</sup> This is the older view of Herzfeld, *Altpersische Inschriften*, pp. 251-53, Benveniste, "Études iraniennes," pp. 43-44, Kent, *Old Persian*, p. 202, which is based largely on the pejorative associations of Avestan *marya* and the Akkadian translation, which renders *marika* as <sup>LU</sup>*qalla* "slave," from an adjective meaning "of low standing" (*Assyrian Dictionary of the Oriental Institute* 13: 62-66). One needs also note that this same term is elsewhere used to translate Old Persian *bandaka* ("retainer, vassal," including those of high social status).

<sup>16</sup> Richard Frye, *The Heritage of Persia* (Cleveland: World, 1963), pp. 50-51, Geo Widengren, *Der Feudalismus im alten Iran* (Cologne: Westdeutscher Verlag, 1969), pp. 12-15, Lecoq, *Les inscriptions de la Perse achéménide*, p. 224, based on comparison to Sanskrit *mārya* "young man, warrior" and Mitanni *maryannu* "chariot-warriors." The controversial views of Stig Wikander, *Der arische Männerbund* (Lund: Gleerup, 1938) strongly influenced this attempt.

<sup>17</sup> Jean Kellens, "Quand Darius parle à Darius," in Maria Macuch, et al., eds., *Iranian Languages and Texts from Iran and Turan. Ronald E. Emmerick Memorial Volume* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2007), pp. 143-44, with comparison to the post-mortem encounter of one's soul (*uruuān*) and religion (*daēnā*), as narrated in the Hadoxt Nask. The attempt is original and fascinating, but not ultimately persuasive.

<sup>18</sup> Rüdiger Schmitt, "Bemerkungen zum Schlußabschnitt von Darioes' Grabinschrift DNb," *Altorientalische Forschungen* 26 (1999): 129-31 argued convincingly against an

"young man" is told to display his virtues (*ūnarā*) with pride and to listen carefully, both to courtiers and to the public at large.<sup>19</sup> With the second, he is counseled to perceive goodness (*naiba*) in the weak, as well as the strong.<sup>20</sup>

Immediately after the third interpellation, however, the text is so damaged that even with the help of the Aramaic version, one can make out only one sentence. It is, however, just this sentence that holds the keenest interest. "Do not be *ayaumaṇi*," it states, "in pursuit of happiness."<sup>21</sup>

Although various translations have been offered for this apparently simple phrase, interpretation hinges on the adjective *ayaumaṇi*, which is found here only. Its opposite, however — *yaumaṇi*, without the privative *a-* — appears earlier in the inscription (DNb §2h), where Darius boasts "I am *yaumaṇi* with both hands and feet."<sup>22</sup> The double negative of DNb §3b ("do not be *a-yaumaṇi*") thus encourages future heroes or kings to imitate him in this measure. The Babylonian translation of §2h also helps by rendering *yaumaṇi* with Akkadian *ga-āš-ra-ak* "I am

interpretation of *marika* as "slave" or "servant," since the content of the passage would be quite inappropriate for such an addressee. The Elamite translation of *marika* as *ma-ul-la* "child" also supports the case for taking it simply as "young man," but Schmitt also felt DNb §§3a and 3b were comparable to DB §§64 and 69, where Darius addressed "You who may be king hereafter" (*tuvam kā, xšāyaθiya haya aparam āhi*).

<sup>19</sup> DNb §3a: "Young man, make it well known what you are, what are your virtues (*ūnarā*), and what your conduct. Let that not seem best to you which one whispers in your ears. Hear also that which one says more distantly." *marikā, dṛšam azdā kušva, ciyākaram ahi, ciyākaramtaṭ ṭunarā, ciyākaramtaṭ pariyanam; mātaṭ ava vahištam θadaya, tayataṭ gaušāyā θanhyāti; avašci āxšnudi, taya paratar θanhyāti.*

<sup>20</sup> DNb §3b: "Young man, let that not seem good to you which the [strong man] does. That which the weak man does, see that too." *marikā, mātaṭ ava najbam θadaya, taya [+++] kunavāti; taya skauθiš kunavāti, avašci dīdi.*

<sup>21</sup> DNb §3b: *marikā [+++++] mā patiyātaya [++++] māpati šiyātiya ayaumaṇiṣ bavāhi [+++++] mā raxθa(n)tu [+++++]*. The focal sentence is placed in italics, as restored by Sims-Williams, "The Final Paragraph of the Tomb-Inscription," p. 3 and slightly improved by Schmitt, *The Old Persian Inscriptions of Naqsh-e Rostam and Persepolis*, p. 39. I take *šiyātiya* as a genitive, doing service for the dative of goal, as is common in Old Persian, where the dative proper disappeared and its functions were assumed by the genitive. Sims-Williams also considered it a genitive, while observing (p. 6): "It is not unlikely (in view of the well-known tendency towards syncretism of the feminine *ī-* and *i-*declensions) that feminine *i-*stems instead used the *ī-*stem ending *-iyā* for all the oblique cases of the singular (a possibility anticipated by Kent, *Old Persian* §179.II)." Alternatively, Schmitt, "Bemerkungen zum Schlußabschnitt von Dareios' Grabinschrift," pp. 136-37 and Kellens, "Quand Darius parle à Darius," p. 145 see *šiyātiyā* here as a singular instrumental, which is formally more regular, but involves real difficulties as regards content. In truth, there are so few examples of Old Persian feminine *i-*stem nouns in the oblique cases that no paradigm can be established with confidence.

<sup>22</sup> DNb §2h: *yāumaṇiṣ ami utā dastajbiyā utā pādajbiyā.*

Temporal setting	Text	Action	Phrasing	Modifiers
Primordial eternity	DNb §1 and twenty-one others	A great god is the Wise Lord... who created happiness for mankind <i>baga vazrka Auramazdā... haya adadā šiyātim martiyahyā</i>	+Formulaic	-Restrictive
Finite history	DPe §3	If the Persian people/army should be protected, happiness will be undestroyed for the longest time <i>yadi kāra Pārsa pāta ahati, hayā duvaṣṣtam šiyātiš axšatā</i>	-Formulaic	+Restrictive
	XPh §4d	The man who conducts himself according to the law that the Wise Lord set down and who worships the Wise Lord at the proper time and in the proper ritual style, he becomes happy when living... <i>martiya, haya avanā dātā pariyaṣṣti, taya Auramazdā nīštāya, utā Auramazdām yadatai ṛtācā brazmaniya, hau utā jīva šiyāta bavati...</i>	-Formulaic	+Restrictive
Eschatological eternity	DNb §3b	Do not be weak in pursuit of happiness <i>māpati šiyātiya ayaumaṣṣniš bavāhi</i>	-Formulaic	-Restrictive

Table 15.1 Occurrences of *šiyāti* and *šiyāta* and their temporal distribution.

strong,” from the verb *gašāru* “to become (all) powerful.”<sup>23</sup> As Ernst Herzfeld aptly observed, this “*ein starkes wort für ‘stark-sein’*,”<sup>24</sup> and it has a certain comparative force, establishing the superiority of a given ruler to his adversaries, as, for instance, when a text from the Kouyunjik

<sup>23</sup> *Assyrian Dictionary of the Oriental Institute* 5: 55-56. Several different forms for the verb are listed, all of which show the emphasis not just on strength, but on the possession and display of *superior* strength. Thus: “1. To become (all) powerful, 2. *Guššuru* “to concentrate (troops), 3. *Gutaššuru*, *gitaššuru* “to show oneself superior in strength, 4. *Gutaššuru* “to vie with one another.”

<sup>24</sup> Herzfeld, *Altpersische Inschriften*, p. 365.



Collection of the British Museum, dating to the time of Ashurbanipal states: "The king will become (all) powerful and will have no opponent."<sup>25</sup>

If one can interpret the Old Persian on the basis of the more transparent Akkadian, the Great King's meaning is clear: Do not be weak (i.e. un-strong, *a-yaumajini*) in striving after happiness. The happiness in question, moreover — in contrast to that mentioned in DPe §3 and XPh §4d — has no modifier attached to it, and in this it resembles the formulaic occurrences of the cosmogony. In this fashion, the text subtly suggests that the same unconditional, absolute, and ideal happiness that existed when the Lie had not yet invaded the material world will exist once more when all evil has been conclusively defeated by a king sufficiently strong (*yaumajini* = *gašru*) to accomplish that task.

One thus can separate three different ways in which happiness is described, which correspond to the three temporal eras we have repeatedly encountered, as is shown in Table 15.1.

#### IV

Were this all one could say on the topic, it would still hold considerable interest. In DNb §3b — which constitutes, in effect, the last words Darius bequeathed to posterity — the Great King contemplates history's end with equanimity and assurance, seemingly confident that the absolute, perfect, enduring happiness that is the ultimate goal of all human desire can, in fact, be realized if the Achaemenian king remains strong.<sup>26</sup>

Assigning such importance to strength follows from an interpretation of Old Persian *yāumajini* that is based entirely on Akkadian *gašāru*, a move that lets one avoid the notorious difficulty of seeking an etymology for *yāumajini*. No doubt, the verb *gašāru* (and its related adjective *gašru*)<sup>27</sup> captures some of what is expressed by the Old Persian, but it probably

<sup>25</sup> *Šarru i-ga-šir-ma māhira ul irašši* Manuscript K.2259 from the Kouyunjik collection, published in *Cuneiform Texts from Babylonian Tablets* 40 (1927): 42, cited by *Assyrian Dictionary of the Oriental Institute* 5: 56.

<sup>26</sup> While the final phrases of DNb §3b are so badly damaged in the Old Persian, Akkadian, and Aramaic versions, the Elamite is sufficiently intact as to permit restoration and provisional translation. Following the text established by Walther Hinz, *Altiranische Funde und Forschungen* (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1969), p. 58, one reads "Young man, he who is unruly/rebellious should not flourish. He should be driven out and banished." *v.ma]-ul-[l]a [ak]-qa li-na-a[k-k]án me-ni a-nu me-te-in [...]ša?-[ma] a-nu? [ni-en?] a-[ak] ša-réak pu-ti-qa? k[u-u]t-kal-rák-qa*. It is unclear if it is only human malefactors who are to be expelled, or if one is meant to understand such people as individual instantiations of the Lie.

<sup>27</sup> The *Assyrian Dictionary of the Oriental Institute* 5: 56-58 lists only one meaning for *gašru*: "strong." It is used of gods, humans (esp. kings), and animals.

does so imperfectly, for the language had a fairly large and nuanced vocabulary for strength of various types. The set includes adjectives like \**amavant* ("possessed of defensive force"),<sup>28</sup> *ugra* ("strong"),<sup>29</sup> \**tauma* ("physically strong"),<sup>30</sup> *taxma* ("valiant, bold, heroic"),<sup>31</sup> *tunuvant* ("powerful, physically and sociopolitically"),<sup>32</sup> and *narya* ("manly, martial, virile");<sup>33</sup> nouns like *ṛṣa(n)* ("bull"),<sup>34</sup> *uṣhamarankara* ("good warrior"),<sup>35</sup>

<sup>28</sup> *ama*- "defensive force" is found in several proper names, including *Ṛṣāma* ("Having the defensive force of a hero") and *Amadāta* ("Created with defensive strength"), on which see Walther Hinz, *Neue Wege im Altpersischen* (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1973), pp. 46-47, Benveniste, *Titres et noms propres*, pp. 77 and 85 and Mayrhofer, *Onomastica Persepolitana*, op cit., pp. 123-24, 153 and 168. The Avestan cognate takes a suffix to form the adjectival *ama-vant*- ("possessing defensive force") and the same process would have been readily available in Old Persian. On the meaning of *ama*-, see Émile Benveniste and Louis Renou, *Vṛtra et Vṛθragna* (Paris: Imprimerie nationale, 1934), p. 11.

<sup>29</sup> Attested in the Elamite name *Ukrakka* = Old Persian \**ugra-kā*, according to Benveniste, *Titres et noms propres*, p. 95 and Mayrhofer, *Onomastica Persepolitana*, p. 244. Cf. Avestan *ugra*, *uyra* ("strong, forceful") and Sogdian 'wyrk.

<sup>30</sup> The comparative adjective *tauvīyah* ("stronger") occurs at DSe §4 and presumes the positive form \**tauma*. Both are related to the abstract noun *tauman* ("strength") and the verbal root *tav*- "to be strong." See Kent, *Old Persian*, pp. 66 and 185.

<sup>31</sup> Old Persian *taxma* (cf. Avestan *taxma*) is present in the names *Ciça-taxma* ("He whose lineage is valiant"), \**Ṛtataxma* ("Truth-valiant"), and *Taxma-spada* ("He of the valiant army"), on which see Benveniste, *Titres et noms propres*, pp. 94 and 96, Mayrhofer, *Onomastica Persepolitana*, pp. 147, 166, 237, 240, 256, 257, and 299.

<sup>32</sup> *tunuvant*, from the verb *tav*- "to be strong," is found at DB §63, DNb §2a and XPI §2a. It indexes those who would be able to inflict harm on those weaker than themselves, were their aggression not checked by the law and a just king. Seemingly, such people possess a multivalent strength that has physical, social, and economic bases.

<sup>33</sup> In Avestan, the root noun *nar* is used in unmarked fashion to denote any male; its marked usage is reserved for those who evince typically male virtues, i.e. warriors. Cf. Sanskrit *nṛ* Ossetic *nart* ("hero"), Greek *ἄνθρωπος*, Welsh *ner* ("hero"), etc. A cognate term is found in Old Persian *anara* ("physical skill, ability," esp. one characteristic of a martial male). The adjectival form \**narya* is also attested in the proper name *Nariyama* ("He of manly defensive force"), on which see Benveniste, *Titres et noms propres*, p. 90. The Avestan cognate *nairya* most frequently modifies the noun *ham.varəti* to denote "manly valor" (Bartholomae, *Altiranisches Wörterbuch*, col. 1054).

<sup>34</sup> As Benveniste, *Vocabulaire des institutions indo-européennes* 1: 21-25 showed, Old Persian *ṛṣa(n)* and its cognates (Avestan *arəšan*, Sanskrit *ṛṣabha*, Homeric *ῥῥῥῥῥ*) can be used of any aggressive, virile male animal, humans included. It appears in numerous proper names, including *Ṛṣāma* ("Having the defensive force of a hero"), *Ṛṣāka* ("Hero, Virile male"), and *Xṣayārša* ("Ruling over heroes"). See Kent, *Old Persian*, p. 171, Manfred Mayrhofer, *Iranisches Personennamenbuch. II. Die altpersischen Namen* (Vienna: Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1979), pp. 12 and 30-31.

<sup>35</sup> The word is hapax legomenon, occurring at DNb §2g, where Darius explains "Because my body is strong, as a warrior (literally: "as a maker-of-battles") I am a good warrior." *tayamaṣ taniūš tāvayati, hamaranakara ami uṣhamaranakara*.

*nar* ("martial male"),<sup>36</sup> *vṛka* ("wolf");<sup>37</sup> and verbs like *tav-* ("to be strong").<sup>38</sup> No doubt *yāumaiṇi* was chosen because it contained some additional nuance.<sup>39</sup>

Most attempts to etymologize this curious word have sought to obviate its most intractable phonologic difficulty by treating *-maiṇi* as if it read *-mani*, a move as convenient as it is unjustified, and all such efforts must be discarded.<sup>40</sup> The chief exception is Karl Hoffmann, who analyzed *yāu-maiṇi* as a compound whose first member is *\*yāhu-*, derived from the verb "to boil," with vowel augmentation (cf. Avestan *yah-*, Vedic *yas-*). The second element *\*maiṇi* is cognate to Avestan *maēni* "retaliation, retribution, punishment" (cf. Yasna 31.15 and 44.19) and Vedic *mení* "vengeance, revenge." Accordingly, Hoffmann took *yāu-maiṇi* to mean "with boiling power of retaliation."<sup>41</sup>

Although some regard this interpretation as forced or dismiss the Avestan and Vedic comparanda as too distant semantically to have relevance,<sup>42</sup> it has gained a fair measure of acceptance.<sup>43</sup> If this analysis is correct, at DNb §2h Darius described himself not just as strong, but more precisely as one who was "fervent in counter-attack." And at §3b, he urged his successor not to lack such fervor.

<sup>36</sup> See above, note 32. I have also treated this term in *Death, War, and Sacrifice*, pp. 150-53 and 162n28.

<sup>37</sup> The term occurs in the month name *Vṛkažana* "Wolf-hunt," on which see Hinz, *Neue Wege im Altpersischen*, p. 68.

<sup>38</sup> The verb *tav-*, on which see Kent, *Old Persian*, p. 185, Pokorny, *Indogermanisches etymologisches Wörterbuch* pp. 1080-85, most immediately describes a bodily state of swelling up with energy and raw power. It occurs in Darius's boastful self-descriptions at DNb §§2g and 2i.

<sup>39</sup> The fact that the Aramaic version of DNb §3b transliterates, rather than translates *ayāumaiṇiš* (thus: 'ymnš) would suggest the Old Persian term had some particular content not easily rendered in other languages.

<sup>40</sup> Along these lines, see Herzfeld, *Altpersische Inschriften*, pp. 365-66, H.W. Bailey, "Review of Roland G. Kent, *Old Persian*," *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* (1951), p. 194, Kent, *Old Persian*, pp. 45 and 204, Jacques Duchesne-Guillemin, "Old Persian *yāumaniš*," in Mary Boyce and Ilya Gershevitch, eds., *W.B. Henning Memorial Volume* (London: Lund Humphries, 1970), pp. 140-42, idem, "Encore vieux-perse *yāumaniš*," in *Mélanges linguistiques offerts à Émile Benveniste* (Louvain: Peeters, 1975), pp. 137-40.

<sup>41</sup> Hoffmann, "Altpersisch 'afuvāyā'," op cit., pp. 84-85.

<sup>42</sup> This was the view of Herzfeld, *Altpersische Inschriften*, p. 366, who considered the Avestan and Vedic comparisons twenty years before Hoffmann. Also skeptical are Sims-Williams, "The Final Paragraph of the Tomb-Inscription," p. 6 and Kellens, "Quand Darius parle à Darius," p. 145.

<sup>43</sup> Thus, Brandenstein and Mayrhofer, *Handbuch des Altpersischen*, p. 156, Walther Wüst, *Altpersische Studien. Sprach- und Kulturgeschichtliche Beiträge zum Glossar der Achämeniden-inschriften* (Munich: J. Kitzinger, 1966), pp. 225-57, Mayrhofer, *Etymologisches Wörterbuch des Altindoarischen* 2: 379, Schmitt, "Bemerkungen zum Schlußabschnitt von Dareios' Grabinschrift," p. 137.

Inevitably, the question arises: Against whom did the Persian kings believe themselves to be counter-attacking? In answer, one suspects they might not have pointed to any given individuals (Gaumāta or Skunxa, say), nor to specific groups. To be sure, they might have mentioned such adversaries — as Darius did at Bisitun — but only as the transitory forms assumed by a much older, infinitely more dangerous enemy: a disembodied force they imagined to have entered countless bodies in the course of history, turning them to its purposes and waging a relentless struggle against humanity, happiness, and the cosmos itself. From the Achaemenian perspective, all conflict began when “the Lie” first attacked the Wise Lord’s creations and all subsequent struggles continue that conflict. Insofar as God himself charged Darius and his successors to undo the damage wrought by the archdemon, their military initiatives against the Greeks, Scythians, Babylonians, or whomever were never cast — or perceived — as wars of aggression. Rather, these were constituted as justified ripostes to the primordial assault. Not wars of conquest, but crusades against a demonic adversary who assumed myriad forms and was always-already in the wrong; crusades designed, moreover, to accomplish God’s will by restoring “happiness for mankind.”

## IV.

### GREEKS AND PERSIANS

## CHAPTER SIXTEEN

### HERODOTUS AS ANTHROPOLOGIST\*

#### I

A great many disciplines and discourses have at one time or another sought to claim Herodotus as their founder, father, or apical ancestor. History, obviously enough, has pride of place, but serious efforts have also been mounted on behalf of geography,<sup>1</sup> ethnography,<sup>2</sup> history of religions,<sup>3</sup> folklore,<sup>4</sup> and

This chapter originally served as the opening lecture for a conference on "Anthropology and the Classics" organized by Marcel Detienne at the Johns Hopkins University, September 2005.

<sup>1</sup> Michele R. Cataudella, "La geografia ionica. Erodoto e il Perì Hebdomadon pseudo-ippocratico, cap. 11," *Sileno* 13 (1987): 33-57, James Romm, "Herodotus and Mythic Geography: The Case of the Hyperboreans," *Transactions of the American Philological Association* 119 (1989): 97-113, Christian Jacob, *Géographie et ethnographie en Grèce ancienne* (Paris: A. Colin, 1991).

<sup>2</sup> Anton Grassl, *Herodot als Ethnologe. Eine Beitrag zur Geschichte der Völkerkunde* (Munich: Dissertation, Universität München, 1903), Klaus E. Müller, *Geschichte der antiken Ethnographie und ethnologischen Theoriebildung* (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner, 1972), Paul Cartledge, "Herodotus and 'the Other': A Meditation on Empire," *Echoes du monde classique* 34 (1990): 27-40, Wilfried Nippel, *Griechen, Barbaren und 'Wilde': Alte Geschichte und Sozialanthropologie* (Frankfurt am Main: Fischer, 1990), Rosalind Thomas, "Ethnography, Proof and Argument in Herodotus' Histories," *Proceedings of the Cambridge Philological Society* 43 (1997): 128-48, eadem, *Herodotus in Context: Ethnography, Science, and the Art of Persuasion* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), Marco Dorati, *Le Storie di Erodoto: etnografia e racconto* (Pisa: Istituti editoriali e poligrafici internazionali, 2000), Rosaria Vignolo Munson, *Telling Wonders: Ethnographic and Political Discourse in the Work of Herodotus* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2001).

<sup>3</sup> Camille Sourdille, *Hérodote et la religion d'Égypte* (Paris: E. Leroux, 1910), G.C.J. Daniels, *Religieus-historische studie over Herodotus* (Antwerp: Standaard-Boekhandel, 1946), Fabio Mora, *Religione e Religioni nelle Storie di Erodoto* (Milan: Edizioni Universitarie Jaca, 1985), Walter Burkert, "Herodot als Historiker fremder Religionen," in *Hérodote et les peuples non-Grecs* (Geneva: Fondation Hardt, 1990), pp. 1-39.

<sup>4</sup> With regard to folktales, Aly, *Völkermärchen, Sage und Novelle bei Herodot*, op cit., Mabel Lang, *Biographical Patterns of Folklore and Morality in Herodotus' History* (Bryn Mawr, PA: Bryn Mawr University Dissertation, 1944), John N. Kazazis, *Herodotus' Stories and History: A Proppian Analysis of his Narrative Techniques* (Champaign-Urbana: University of Illinois Dissertation, 1978); with regard to the study of folk customs (*nomoi*), J.A.S. Evans, "Despotes Nomos," *Athenaeum* 43 (1965): 142-53, M. Rossellini and S. Saïd, "Usages de femmes et autres *nomoi* chez les 'sauvages' d'Hérodote. Essai de lecture structurale," *Annali della Scuola Normale di Pisa* 8 (1978): 949-1005, Sally Humphreys, "Law, Custom and Culture in Herodotus," *Arethusa* 20 (1987): 211-21.

epigraphy,<sup>5</sup> not to speak of area studies and travel writing.<sup>6</sup> If the attempts made by students of political science, international relations,<sup>7</sup> sociology, gender and ethnic studies have been more sporadic,<sup>8</sup> I suspect this is because these disciplines mostly remain focused on the present and rarely seek ancestors further removed than a few generations. Further, one can imagine a number of would-be disciplines that might well have looked to him, had they ever acquired sufficient institutional status as to stand in need of mythic heroes. Thaumatology, for instance, the study of marvels, surely ought invoke the shade of Herodotus, rather than those of Barnum and Ripley.<sup>9</sup> Similar cases could be made for oneirics,<sup>10</sup> comparative food sciences,<sup>11</sup> mantic studies,<sup>12</sup> and others.

One can sympathize with these claims and take them *cum grano salis*, but it is probably best to follow Herodotus's lead and regard him as *histōr*: not a specialist in any given subject matter, method, or theme, but one

<sup>5</sup> Hans Volkmann, "Die Inschriften im Geschichtswerk des Herodot," in *Convivium: Beiträge zur Altertumswissenschaft. Konrat Ziegler... zum siebzigsten Geburtstag* (Stuttgart: A. Druckemüller, 1954), pp. 41-65, Stephanie West, "Herodotus' Epigraphical Interests," *Classical Quarterly* 35 (1985): 278-305.

<sup>6</sup> James Redfield, "Herodotus the Tourist," *Classical Philology* 80 (1985): 97-118.

<sup>7</sup> Raphael Sealey, "Herodotus, Thucydides, and the Causes of War," *Classical Quarterly* 7 (1957): 1-12, Kurt A. Raaflaub, "Herodotus, Political Thought, and the Meaning of History," *Arethusa* 20 (1987): 221-48, Binyamin Shimron, *Politics and Beliefs in Herodotus* (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner, 1989), Norma Thompson, *Herodotus and the Origins of the Political Community: Arion's Leap* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1996), Munson, *Telling Wonders*, op cit.

<sup>8</sup> Alexandre Tourraix, "La femme et le pouvoir chez Hérodote," *Dialogues d'Histoire Ancienne* 2 (1976): 369-90, Rossellini and Saïd, "Usages de femmes et autres *nomoi* chez les 'sauvages' d'Hérodote," op cit., Carolyn Dewald, "Women and Culture in Herodotus' Histories," in Hélène P. Foley, *Reflections of Women in Antiquity* (New York: Gordon & Breach, 1981), pp. 91-125, Vivienne Gray, "Herodotus and the Rhetoric of Otherness," *American Journal of Philology* 116 (1995): 185-212.

<sup>9</sup> H. Barth, "Zur Bewertung und Auswahl des Stoffes durch Herodotus (Die Begriffe θαῦμα, θαυμάζω, ξυμᾶστος, und ξυμᾶστός)," *Klio* 50 (1968): 93-110, James Romm, "Dragons and Gold at the Edges of the Earth: A Folktales Motif Developed by Herodotus," *Wonders and Tales* 1 (1987): 45-55, Christine Hunzinger, "La notion de θαῦμα chez Hérodote," *Ktema* 20 (1995): 47-70, H.-G. Nesselrath, "Herodot und die Enden der Erde," *Museum Helveticum* 52 (1995): 20-44, Munson, *Telling Wonders: Ethnographic and Political Discourse in the Work of Herodotus*, op cit.

<sup>10</sup> Frisch, *Die Träume bei Herodot*, op cit., H.A. Gärtner, "Les rêves de Xerxès à Artaban chez Hérodote," *Ktema* 8 (1983): 11-18, Reinhold Bichler, "Die 'Reichsträume' bei Herodot. Eine Studie zu Herodots schöpferischer Leistung und ihre quellenkritische Konsequenz," *Chiron* 15 (1985): 125-47.

<sup>11</sup> C. Coulet, "Boire et manger dans l'Enquête d'Hérodote," *Bulletin de l'Association Guillaume Budé* 41 (1994): 56-70.

<sup>12</sup> Roland Crahay, *La littérature oraculaire chez Hérodote* (Liège: Faculté de Philosophie et Lettres de l'Université de Liège, 1956), Raffaella Pretini, *I mantesi nelle Storie di Erodoto* (Tesi di Dottorato, Università degli Studi di Milano, 2003).

who has come to know many things by a multifaceted process of inquiry (*historiē*). If there is anything distinctive to the research, author, or text, it is not disciplinary in nature. Just as there is no single, unifying question at the heart of the Histories, so there is no single set of assumptions or practices that organizes the endeavor. Rather, the work goes where the curiosity of its author takes it: a journey as vast as it is unpredictable.

If we are inclined to deny the proprietary claims made on Herodotus by the various disciplines, a similar response awaits the champions of inter- and anti-disciplinary research who claim him for their own, for such understandable attempts commit the fallacy of anachronism. His mode of operation was pre-, not inter-disciplinary, and he could neither encompass nor reject that which did not yet exist. Only later — with Socrates and Thucydides, perhaps, will distinct disciplines begin to emerge from the rich, varied, and fertile (but also, quite literally confused, and con-fusing) *prima materia* of Herodotean inquiry and discourse. At most, one can say there are ways in which his labors introduced what would become the hallmark of several subsequent disciplines as, for example, the way his concern for chronology came to define historic research, or the way his preference for *autopsy* (i.e. observation at first hand) did similar service for forensics and anthropology.

Even should we attempt to define Herodotus in the broadest and most elastic of terms by identifying him with the human sciences in general, we would err once again. It was Protagoras, not he, who made man the measure of all things. For all that the prologue of the Histories announces the author's primary concern to ensure "that great and marvelous deeds, those of Greeks and those of foreigners should be set forth and not be lacking fame,"<sup>13</sup> the text still makes ample space for discussions that go well outside the human to speak of things divine (gods, oracles, principles of cosmic order) and of natural phenomena (e.g. the source of the Nile, the relation among the continents, or the reproductive habits of hares, serpents, and lions).<sup>14</sup>

The title of this chapter is thus potentially misleading, for I do not mean to depict Herodotus as an anthropologist *tout court ou avant la lettre*. Rather, I would simply observe that within an endeavor that was virtually

<sup>13</sup> Herodotus 1.1: 'Ηροδότου Ἀλικαρνησσεὺς ἱστορίας ἀπόδεξις ἦδε, ὥς μήτε τὰ γενόμενα ἐξ ἀνθρώπων τῷ χρόνῳ ἐξίτηλα γένηται, μήτε ἔργα μεγάλα τε καὶ θωμαστά, τὰ μὲν Ἕλλησι τὰ δὲ βαρβάροισι ἀποδεχθέντα, ἀκλεᾶ γένηται, τὰ τε ἄλλα καὶ δι' ἣν αἰτίην ἐπολέμησαν ἀλλήλοισι.

<sup>14</sup> On the Nile, 2.19-29; the continents, 4.36-45; reproduction among predators and prey, 3.108-9.



omniscituriens — i.e., wishing to know *everything* — one can recognize three interrelated levels or projects that anticipate a sequence of development within anthropology proper, as it took shape over the course of the 18<sup>th</sup>, 19<sup>th</sup>, and 20<sup>th</sup> Centuries.

## II

The first of these levels or projects is the most obvious, and here I find it helpful to think of Herodotus as a wide-ranging collector of alterity, in the fashion of Lafitau, Herder, and those who founded the great museums of Völkerkunde in Europe and North America. Thus, Herodotus devotes discrete *logoi* of substantial length to the Lydians (1.6-94), Medes (1.95-130), Persians (1.131-140), Babylonians (1.178-200), Egyptians (2.2-3.6), Indians (3.98-106), Scythians (4.1-142), and Libyans (2.15-18, 25-26, 54-56; 4.145-199), while dozens of others receive serious, if less thorough attention.<sup>15</sup>

Sometimes, these groups are treated as *genoi* (i.e. people held together by their sense of common biological descent), and sometimes as *ethnoi* (those who ground their collective identity in shared features of a social, cultural, and ecological nature).<sup>16</sup> But in either case, each group constitutes itself through a set of select particularities through which its members distinguish themselves from members of other groups who do the same thing via different particularities (and that is precisely the point).

Into this situation, enter Herodotus, who made it his task to detail the distinguishing particularities for all peoples: their climate, landscape, and landmarks; their food, dress, and dwellings; their sexual, marital, and funerary customs; their gods and systems of worship.<sup>17</sup> Not only did he collect a wealth of information regarding a large, but finite set of variables, he also effectively organized these data in a two-dimensional grid (plotting peoples on one axis against particularities on the other)

<sup>15</sup> Concerning the nature and import of these ethnographic discussions, see Cathérine Darbo-Peschanski, "Les 'Logoi' des autres dans les 'Histoires' d'Hérodote," *Quaderni di Storia* 22 (1985): 105-28, eadem, *Le Discours du particulier. Essai sur l'enquête hérodoteenne* (Paris: Éditions du Seuil, 1987).

<sup>16</sup> C.P. Jones, "ἔθνος and γένος in Herodotus," *Classical Quarterly* 46 (1996): 315-20.

<sup>17</sup> A convenient summary of such discussions, with shrewd analysis of their pattern and content, is found in Dorati, *Le Storie di Erodoto: Etnografia e Racconto*, op cit., pp. 53-90. The typical Herodotean discussion, as F. Jacoby, *RE Supplement II* (1913), p. 331, observed, begins with a people's land, then treats their customs (*nomoi*), and ends with their marvels (*thōmata*).

that distinguishes each of the world's populations from the rest. Thus, to take one limited example, the Egyptians are the oldest of peoples, live on the Nile, eat spelt, bury their kings in pyramids, and were the first to build temples, altars, and statues of their gods, all apparently in stone.<sup>18</sup> The Scythians, in contrast, are the youngest of peoples, have multiple large rivers, drink mares' milk, and carry their dead kings throughout the land. By way of religion, they made no altars, temples, or statues, save for their deity of war, whom they represented as a Scythian sword placed atop a huge wooden pile.

If Egyptians and Scythians were theorized as near-polar opposites (oldest/youngest, south/north, hot-dry/cold-moist, settled/nomadic, stone/wood, abundance/scarcity, iconolators/aniconic), other peoples mediated their cultural distance in infinitely varied and nuanced fashion. The Histories thus provide wonderfully picturesque — if not equally complete — lists of significant traits for the peoples discussed, and each list is unique, reflecting (and encoding) the distinctive identity of the *ethnos* in question.

There is, however, a second project that differs from the chronicling and celebration of diversity, which becomes evident in the prologue and elsewhere, when human variety yields to a stark binary opposition. This is the contrast of Greek and barbarian, i.e. those who do and do not have some dialect of Greek as their native tongue. The system implies a Hellenic perspective, the positively valorized taxonomizer being Greek itself, while *barbaros* originally designated one who babbled, unable to make the articulate sounds of a proper (i.e. Greek) language.<sup>19</sup> While the term always carried a certain ethnocentric condescension, Herodotus's usage is less discriminatory than most of his near-contemporaries.<sup>20</sup>

<sup>18</sup> Note also Herodotus 2.35-36, which lists a great many ways in which the Egyptians differ from all other people.

<sup>19</sup> Frisk, *Griechisches etymologisches Wörterbuch*, 1: 219-20, Pierre Chantraine, *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue grecque* (Paris: Éditions Klincksieck, 1968) 1: 164-65.

<sup>20</sup> Bernard Laurot, "Idéaux grecs et barbarie chez Hérodote," *Ktema* 6 (1981): 39-48, found that in Herodotus, *barbaros* consistently denoted foreigners, as identified by their non-Greek language. Only five of the 197 occurrences (1.10, 1.60, 8.124, 8.142, 9.78-79) suggested something that could be understood as discriminatory or pejorative, and even some of these were open to less damaging interpretations. Edmond Lévy, "Naissance du concept du barbare," *Ktema* 9 (1984): 5-14, has shown that use of the term in the epic was similarly benign. See also Dolores Hegyi, "Der Begriff βάρβαρος bei Herodotos," *Annales Universitatis Budapestinensis de Rolando Eötvös nominatae, sect. Classica* 5-6 (1977-78): 53-59 and F. Heubner, "Studien zum Barbarenbegriff bei Herodot," in Ernst Kluwe, ed., *Kultur und Fortschritt in der Blütezeit der griechischen Polis* (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1985), pp. 91-108.

In antiquity, he was often seen as *philobarbaros*<sup>21</sup> and many modern commentators have read him in similar fashion. To cite one recent example, Rosaria Vignolo Munson has suggested that Herodotus

*models for his listeners an attitude of charitable observation; when he does not lead them to the realization of unexpected likeness, he promotes the discovery of understandable difference and creative solutions. This attitude dissociates the notion of barbarian from that of the barbaric and replaces a generalized contempt for alien customs with a more self-conscious definition of what must necessarily be the furthest limits of one's tolerance. Herodotus' descriptions of foreign cultures frequently imply a context of Greek ignorance and prejudice and thereby signal the ethnographer's corrective aims.*<sup>22</sup>

At the same time, Munson helps identify some of the points where Herodotean tolerance was exhausted and the cultural relativism of his ethnography came to an end. Sex in public, as practiced by the Caucasians (1.203) and Indians (3.101), for instance, he condemned not just as barbarian, but as virtually animal in nature. Ditto cannibalism, which revealed the absence of justice and law (4.106). Herodotus's qualms, however, were not limited to such stark moral issues. Rather, he also introduced social and political judgments, criticizing two traits that he consistently associated with the barbarians of Asia: kingship and luxury, for the former, in his view, leads to the enslavement of others, and the latter to the decadence of one's own people.<sup>23</sup>

Ultimately, the binary opposition of freedom and slavery becomes the great theme of the Histories.<sup>24</sup> With that construction, a richly variegated chronicle of diversity yields to a plot-driven narrative involving the struggle of two overdetermined characters, simultaneously understood as Greek and barbarian, east and west, Europe and Asia, us and them, liberty and despotism. The story has been a perennial favorite ever since,

<sup>21</sup> Edmond Lévy, "Hérodote *philobarbaros* ou la vision du barbare chez Hérodote," in Raoul Lonis, ed., *L'Étranger dans le monde grec* (Nancy: Presses Universitaires de Nancy, 1992) 2: 193-244. See esp. Plutarch, *De malignitate Herodoti* 12-14 (Moralia 857a-f).

<sup>22</sup> Rosaria Vignolo Munson, *Telling Wonders*, op cit., p. 141.

<sup>23</sup> Regarding the association of kingship and slavery as a characteristic of barbarian culture, see, inter alia, 1.129, 3.21, 3.80, 3.88, 5.2, 6.106, 7.135, 9.90; on luxury and decadence, 1.71, 9.82, 9.122. The two *topoi* are combined in 5.49, 7.102, and elsewhere. On the discourse of "freedom," note Kurt von Fritz, "Die griechische ἐλευθερία bei Herodot," *Wiener Studien* 78 (1965): 5-31. On attitudes toward luxury, Donald Lateiner, "A Note on the Perils of Prosperity in Herodotus," *Rheinisches Museum* 125 (1982): 97-101. For imperialism, the need to dominate others, and constant warfare as characteristic of the Persians, see Evans, "The Dream of Xerxes and the 'Nomoi' of the Persians," op cit.

<sup>24</sup> Thus, 1.169-70, 5.49, 5.116, 6.11, 6.109, 7.135, 7.139, 7.147, 7.178, 8.143, 9.45, 9.60, et al.

its details and diction being updated on occasion, as by those who now identify the freedom-hating barbarians of Asia with "terrorism," rather than kingship and despotism.<sup>25</sup>

We thus encounter a fundamental contradiction in the Histories that recurs in anthropology. There, too, a relatively open-ended and tolerant celebration of human diversity often coexists with a stark — if implicit — binary, separating those who write the account from those of whom they speak: modern and primitive, progressive and traditional, hot and cold, literate and illiterate, colonizer and colonized. However respectful and tolerant this model strives to be (as in Herodotus, Malinowski, or Lévi-Strauss, for instance), its binary structure and implicit situation of interest still conspire to produce a discriminatory narrative in unresolvable tension with the generosity of the pluralistic model.

### III

If collecting, describing, and classifying cultural traits constitutes the first level of Herodotean anthropology, this provided the basis (and stimulus) for a second: the theorization of culture, which later anthropologists from E.B. Tylor to Clifford Geertz made their primary objective. With regard to this project, as virtually all commentators have recognized, Herodotus's chief contribution was his insistence on the importance of *nomos*, a term that encompasses customs, habits, laws, traditions, and deep-seated cultural values.<sup>26</sup> His most thoughtful reflections on the topic are embedded in a memorable story.

<sup>25</sup> Obviously, Herodotus does not bear sole responsibility for the construction of these categories, a process that has received much attention in recent years. Within a large and growing literature, see Hans Schwabl, ed., *Grecs et Barbares* (Geneva: Fondation Hardt, 1961), Wilhelm Backhaus, "Der Hellenen-Barbaren-Gegensatz und die hippokratische Schrift περί ἀέρον ὁδῶν τόπων," *Historia* 25 (1976): 170-85, Wulf Raeck, *Zum Barbarenbild in der Kunst Athens im 6. und 5. Jahrhundert v. Chr.* (Bonn: Rudolf Habelt, 1981), J. Jouanna, "Les causes de la défaite des barbares chez Eschyle, Hérodote, et Hippocrate," *Ktéma* 6 (1981): 3-15, François Hartog, *The Mirror of Herodotus*, trans. Janet Lloyd (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988), Edith Hall, *Inventing the Barbarian: Greek Self-Definition through Tragedy* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989), Pericles Georges, *Barbarian Asia and the Greek Experience: From the Archaic Period to the Age of Xenophon* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1994), J. E. Coleman and C. A. Walz, eds., *Greeks and Barbarians: Essays on the Interactions between Greeks and non-Greeks in Antiquity and the Consequences for Eurocentrism* (Bethesda, MD: CDL Press, 1997), Thomas Harrison, ed., *Greeks and Barbarians* (New York: Routledge, 2002), Benjamin Isaac, *The Invention of Racism in Classical Antiquity* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2004), and the special issues of *Ktéma* 6 (1981) "Grecs et Barbares," 9 (1984) "L'image du barbare en Grèce et à Rome."

<sup>26</sup> Humphreys, "Law, Custom and Culture in Herodotus," *op cit*. Deserving of equally serious attention is the Herodotean usage of *ēthea* (always in the plural).

*Darius summoned his Greek subjects and asked how much money would persuade them to eat their deceased fathers. They told him that under no circumstances would they do this. Then he summoned those Indians who are called Kallatai, who do eat their parents. In the presence of the Greeks, who learned from a translator what was said, he asked the Indians how much money they would accept to burn their deceased fathers in a fire. Crying out, they implored him not to speak of such a thing.<sup>27</sup>*

Herodotus does not identify his source for this splendid vignette, nor is it clear how he obtained it. Certain details make plausible that it did originate in the Persian imperial court, but if so, it has been repackaged for Greek consumption. Thus, as Helmut Humbach observed, the story involves three, not two parties: Greeks, Kallatai, and Persians, the last of whom had their own funerary practices, which differed from those of the others. If Persians told this story, it is hard to imagine they drew from it the bland point: "*Chacun à son gout*." Rather, they considered two peoples located at peripheral extremities of the empire — Greeks to the northwest, Kallatai to the southeast — only to conclude that however different their *nomoi* might be, both were equally inferior to Persian funerary customs. As regards the latter, archeological remains show that the Achaemenian kings were buried in stone crypts,<sup>28</sup> and Herodotus tells that most Persians were covered in wax before burial (the Magi were a special case, as their bodies were exposed to birds).<sup>29</sup> All of these practices were designed to protect the earth — a sacred entity — from

<sup>27</sup> Herodotus 3.38: Δαρεῖος ἐπὶ τῆς ἐκουτοῦ ἀρχῆς καλέσας Ἑλλήνων τοὺς παρόντας εἶρετο ἐπὶ κόσφ' ἂν χρήματι βουλοῖατο τοὺς πατέρας ἀποθνήσκοντας κατασιτέεσθαι· οἱ δὲ ἐπ' οὐδενὶ ἔφασαν ἔρδειν ἂν τοῦτο. Δαρεῖος δὲ μετὰ ταῦτα καλέσας Ἰνδῶν τοὺς καλεομένους Καλλατίας, οἱ τοὺς γονεάς κατεσθίουσι, εἶρετο, παρόντων τῶν Ἑλλήνων καὶ δι' ἑρμηνέος μανθανόντων τὰ λεγόμενα, ἐπὶ τίνι χρήματι δεξαίαι' ἂν τελευτῶντας τοὺς πατέρας κατακαίειν πυρὶ· οἱ δὲ ἀμβώσαντες μέγα εὐφημείν μιν ἐκέλευον.

<sup>28</sup> On the Achaemenian royal tombs at Pasargadae and Naqš-e Rostam, see Calmeyer, "Zur Genese altiranischer Motive, III: Felsgräber," *op cit.*, Boyce, *History of Zoroastrianism* 2: 54-57, Briant, *Histoire de l'empire perse*, pp. 106-7, 182-83 and the literature cited at pp. 923 and 934.

<sup>29</sup> Herodotus 1.140: ταῦτα μὲν ἀτρεκέως ἔχω περὶ αὐτῶν εἰδὼς εἰπεῖν· τάδε μὲν τοι ὥς κρυπτόμενα λέγεται καὶ οὐ σαφηνέως περὶ τοῦ ἀποθανόντος, ὥς οὐ πρότερον θάπτεται ἀνδρὸς Πέρσῃ οὐδέ νεκρὸς πρὶν ἂν ὑπ' ὀρνίθου ἢ κυνὸς ἐλκυσθῇ. Μάγους μὲν γὰρ ἀτρεκέως οἶδα ταῦτα ποιούοντας· ἐμφανέως γὰρ δὴ ποιεῦσι. κατακηρώσαντες δὲ ὦν τὸν νέκυν Πέρσαι γῇ κρύπτουσι. Some of the hesitations and complexities of this passage are clarified by Strabo 15.3.20, who distinguishes Magian practices from those of other Persians in a much more certain fashion: θάπτουσι δὲ κηρῷ περιπλάσαντες τὰ σώματα, τοὺς δὲ Μάγους οὐ θάπτουσιν, ἀλλ' οἶωνοβρώτους ἔωσι. See further the discussions of Benveniste, *The Persian Religion according to the chief Greek Texts*, pp. 32-33, Widengren, *Die Religionen Irans*, pp. 132-34.

polluting contact with corpses. Fire held equally sacred status, and cremation was regarded as correspondingly abhorrent (a fact well known to Herodotus).<sup>30</sup> The point of the story was thus to equate Greeks and Kallatiai as scandalous peoples of diametrically different type, but both equally savage in comparison to the Persians. Moral, cultural, and spatial relations thus mirror those of politics in this Persocentric optic. The people at the center have the best customs, and are therefore best suited to rule. The further from that center an *ethnos* might be, the weirder and worse are its *nomoi*.<sup>31</sup>

In Herodotus's version of this tale, the Persian role becomes that of a neutral, detachedly philosophical observer. Greek cremation and Kallatian patrophagy are still equated, but not as the equally disgusting habits of equally brutish peoples. Rather, the two are equally human, the point having become a demonstration that all peoples are devoted to their *nomoi* and equally repulsed by the *nomoi* of others. On the basis of which, Herodotus concluded: "it seems to me that *nomos* is rightly said to be 'King of all' in Pindar's poem."<sup>32</sup>

Unfortunately, this poem has not survived and we know it only from fragments quoted by Plato and others, who used it to rather different ends than did Herodotus.<sup>33</sup> Whatever Pindar himself may originally have meant by the phrase "*nomos* is king of all," Herodotus turned it to his own purposes, just as he seems to have done with the Persian story. For the most part, later readers have taken his point to be that of cultural relativism. As David Asheri has put it, for instance, "He draws from this story the conclusion that all human beliefs and practices belong to the history of civilization; that there is no objective measure by which one can evaluate the merits and defects of any culture; and that therefore

<sup>30</sup> Herodotus 3.16: "Cambyses ordered them to burn [the mummy of Amasis], commanding something contrary to sacred law, for the Persians consider fire to be a god. It is not at all the *nomos* of either people to burn corpses. Among the Persians, it is said not to be right to allot to a god the corpse of a human." ἐκέλευσέ μιν ὁ Καμβύσης κατακαῦσαι, ἐντελλόμενος οὐκ ὅσια Πέρσαι γὰρ θεὸν νομίζουσι εἶναι πῦρ. τὸ ὦν κατακαίειν γε τοὺς νεκροὺς οὐδαμῶς ἐν νόμῳ οὐδετέροισι ἐστὶ, Πέρσησι μὲν δι' ὃ περ εἴρηται, θεῶ οὐ δίκαιον εἶναι λέγοντες νέμειν νεκρὸν ἀνθρώπου.

<sup>31</sup> Helmut Humbach, "Des Dareios Spass mit den griechischen Barbaren," in Udo Reinhardt and Klaus Sallmann, eds., *Musa locosa. Arbeiten über Humor und Witz, Komik und Komödie der Antike. Andreas Thierfelder zum Siebzigsten Geburtstag* (Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 1974), pp. 26-28.

<sup>32</sup> Herodotus 3.38: καὶ ὁρθῶς μοι δοκεῖ Πίνδαρος ποιῆσαι "νόμον πάντων βασιλέα φήσας εἶναι."

<sup>33</sup> Cf. Plato, *Gorgias* 484b and, for the fullest discussion, Marcello Gigante, *Nomos Basileus, con un'appendice* (Naples: Bibliopolis, 1993).

alterity merits respect."<sup>34</sup> To a certain extent, this is surely so. Still, there is another difficulty we have to consider. Such an interpretation assumes a favorable view of *nomos*-as-king, while Herodotus normally regarded kings with skepticism, even hostility.<sup>35</sup>

Not only is the critique of kingship a main theme of the *Histories*, it is emphatically reasserted in the preamble to the passage just quoted, which states that Cambyses — Darius's predecessor as king — was quite insane, as proven by the fact that he mocked sacred practices and customs (*hiroisi te kai nomaiosi*).<sup>36</sup> The story of Darius, the Greeks, and the Kallatai was meant to demonstrate the nature and importance of *nomoi*, but the preliminary reference to Cambyses' madness also directs the reader's attention to another story that Herodotus told just a few paragraphs earlier.

*Cambyzes desired one of his sisters and was planning to marry her. But since what he contrived to do was not customary, he summoned the royal judges and asked if there is some nomos ordering one who so wishes to marry his sister. The royal judges are men chosen from the Persians, and they serve until they die or some injustice by them is discovered. They deliver judgments to the Persians and are interpreters of the ancestral laws, and all questions are referred to them. Cambyzes having inquired, they gave him responses that were both just and safe, saying there was no nomos to be found that orders a brother to marry his sister, but they did find a nomos that permits the King of the Persians to do what he wishes.*<sup>37</sup>

<sup>34</sup> David Asheri and Silvio M. Medaglia, eds., *Erodoto, Le Storie. Libro III: La Persia*, 3<sup>rd</sup> ed. (n.p.: Mondadori, 2000), p. 254.

<sup>35</sup> A. Ferrill, "Herodotus on Tyranny," *Historia* 27 (1966): 385-98, Kenneth H. Waters, *Herodotus on Tyrants and Despots: A Study in Objectivity* (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner, 1971), John Gammie, "Herodotus on Kings and Tyrants: Objective Historiography or Conventional Portraiture?," *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 45 (1986): 171-95, Gray, "Herodotus and the Rhetoric of Otherness," *op cit.*, Carolyn Dewald, "Form and Content: The Question of Tyranny in Herodotus," in Kathryn A. Morgan, ed., *Popular Tyranny: Sovereignty and its Discontents in Ancient Greece* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2003), pp. 25-58.

<sup>36</sup> On the madness of Cambyses, see Inge Hofmann and Anton Vorbichler, "Das Kambysebild bei Herodot.", *Archiv für Orientforschung* 27 (1980): 86-105, Truesdell S. Brown, "Herodotus' Portrait of Cambyses," *Historia* 31 (1982): 387-403, Alan B. Lloyd, "Herodotus on Cambyzes: Some Thoughts on Recent Work," *Achaemenid History* 3 (1988): 55-66, R.V. Munson, "The Madness of Cambyzes (Herodotus 3.16-38)," *Arethusa* 24 (1991): 43-65, and John Dillery, "Cambyzes and the Egyptian Chaosbeschreibung Tradition," *Classical Quarterly* 55 (2005): 387-406.

<sup>37</sup> Herodotus 3.31: ἡράσθη μῆς τῶν ἀδελφεῶν Καμβύσης, καὶ ἔπειτα βουλόμενος αὐτὴν γῆμαι, ὅτι οὐκ ἐωθότα ἐπενόεε ποιήσιν, εἶρετο καλέσας τοὺς βασιλῆους δικαστὰς εἰ τις ἐστὶ κελεύων νόμος τὸν βουλόμενον ἀδελφεῷ συνοικεῖν. οἱ δὲ βασιλῆες δικασταὶ κεκριμένοι ἄνδρες γίνονται Περσέων, ἐξ οὗ ἀποθάνωσι ἢ σφί παρενυρεθῇ τι ἄδικον, μέχρι τούτου· οὗτοι δὲ τοῖσι Πέρσῃσι

Herodotus certainly knew that some Persians married their sisters, a practice that Zoroastrian scriptures praise as the best form of marriage.<sup>38</sup> As a Greek, however, he viewed the prohibition on incest — like that on cannibalism — as a law of nature, and not subject to cultural variation.<sup>39</sup> That the Persians had a different view shows that one can create or modify *nomoi*, even going so far as to introduce customs that contradict nature. One can maintain a sense of moral absolutes, however, by realizing that incest became *nomos* for these barbarians only when their ingenious, but craven judges were bullied by a crazy king.

If Herodotus thus dismissed the Persian *nomos* of incest as a recent and dubious invention, one might continue his line of inquiry by asking whence came the *nomos* the judges cited: the one permitting a king to do whatever he likes.<sup>40</sup> Pursuing that question leads to other chapters of the Histories, which identify two founding moments for the Persian *nomos* of kingship. First is the story of Deiokes, founder of the Median royal family, a duplicitous, but shrewd man who “lusted after tyrannical

δίκας δικάζουσι καὶ ἐξηγηταὶ τῶν πατρίων θεσμῶν γίνονται, καὶ πάντα ἐξ τούτους ἀνακέεται. εἰρομένου ὦν τοῦ Καμβύσεω, ὑπεκρίνοντο αὐτῷ οὗτοι καὶ δίκαια καὶ ἀσφαλέα, φάμενοι νόμον οὐδένα ἐξευρίσκειν δὲ κελεύει ἀδελφεῇ συνοικεῖν ἀδελφεόν, ἄλλον μέντοι ἐξευρηκέναι νόμον, τῷ βασιλεύοντι Περσέων ἐξεῖναι ποιεῖν τὸ ἄν βούληται.

<sup>38</sup> Two Achaemenian kings had married close female relatives before Herodotus wrote: (Cambyses [r. 530-22] and Bardiya [r. 522]), and two others would do so later (Darius II [r. 423-404] and Artaxerxes II [r. 404-359]). The practice known in Avestan as *xʷaētvadaθa* (literally “marriage with a member of one’s own family”) is acknowledged as licit, even holy in the following Avestan texts: Vispered 3.3, Yasht 24.17, Yasna 12.9. Later Zoroastrian literature endorses such marriages with enthusiasm. Thus, for instance, Selections of Zādspram 26.3: “Concerning the three laws which Zarathustra taught as most excellent: ... The third is next-of-kin marriage which, for the sake of securing a pure family line, is the most excellent of deeds, which is destined to yield good birth of offspring.” abar 3 dād ī Zardušt pad pahlomīh cāšīd....siḍīgar xwēdōdah ī abēzag tōhmag-ravišnīh rāy zīndagān pāšom kūnišnān kē \*payrānidag ō hu-zāyišnīh ī frazandān. Regarding such marriages among the Achaemenians, see Onorato Bucci, “Il Matrimonio fra consanguinei,” *Apollinaris* 51 (1978): 291-319, and Clarisse Herrens Schmidt, “Les *xwē-tōdas*, ou mariages ‘incestueux’ en Iran ancien,” in Pierre Bonte, ed., *Épouser au plus proche. Inceste, prohibitions et stratégies matrimoniales autour de la Méditerranée* (Paris: Editions de l’Ecole des hautes études en sciences sociales, 1994), pp. 113-25.

<sup>39</sup> When speaking of cannibalism, Herodotus maintains this is no *nomos* at all, but evidence of a bestiality antithetical to all law, custom, and culture (4.106): “The Man eaters have the most savage mores of all men, observing no justice and possessing no *nomos*.” Ἀνδροφάγοι δὲ ἀγριώτατα πάντων ἀνθρώπων ἔχουσι ἡθεα, οὔτε δίκην νομίζοντες οὔτε νόμῳ οὐδενὶ χρεώμενοι. The Kallatai and Issedones avoid condemnation (3.38 and 4.26) because those whom they eat were already dead. Their funerary practices thus fall within the realm of tolerable *nomos*, while cannibalism proper does not.

<sup>40</sup> Herodotus 3.31: ἄλλον μέντοι ἐξευρηκέναι νόμον, τῷ βασιλεύοντι Περσέων ἐξεῖναι ποιεῖν τὸ ἄν βούληται.



power and worked to create it," creating a host of hateful institutions in the process (bodyguards, spies, court etiquette, bureaucracy, etc.)<sup>41</sup> Second was the constitutional debate among Persian nobles after the royal line of Cyrus had ended, in which a certain Otanes championed democracy, Megabyzus oligarchy, and Darius kingship.<sup>42</sup>

No Persian data support the idea that such a debate ever occurred, and the story is best regarded as a fiction introduced by Herodotus. Much has been written about this scene, which is a rhetorical *tour de force*, infinitely subtle and nuanced.<sup>43</sup> To discuss it in any detail goes well beyond the possibilities of this chapter, but let me venture a few observations. First, the story's genre is tragedy and its hero Otanes, for it is a tale of lost opportunity. Had Otanes somehow prevailed, it suggests, the Persians would have become democratic and freedom-loving, which is to say, sufficiently like the Greeks that their subsequent conflicts could have been avoided. Second, Darius, who won the debate and then became king, is a morally dubious character, not only from the Greek perspective, but even by Persian standards. Thus, although Persians considered lying to be the most shameful of all behaviors,<sup>44</sup> in his pursuit of power, Darius had earlier advised Otanes and their companions: "When some lie needs to be told, tell it."<sup>45</sup> Herodotus's portrayal of Darius as a self-confessed liar severely undercuts his stature, also that of the institution he championed. One thus is led to consider the possibility that kingship is not only violent, capricious, unaccountable, and oppressive, but it may also be built on a lie.

<sup>41</sup> Herodotus 1.96: οὗτος δ' Δηϊόκης ἐρασθεὶς τυραννίδος ἐποίηε τοιάδε. The full story is recounted at 1.96-101. Regarding Deïokes see Chapter Two above, Panaino, "Herodotus 1.96-101: Deïoces' conquest of power and the foundation of sacred royalty," *op cit.*, and Mischa Meier, et al., *Deïokes, König der Meder. Eine Herodot-Episode in ihren Kontexten*, *op cit.*

<sup>42</sup> Herodotus 3.80-82. It is noteworthy that Otanes focuses his criticism precisely on the *nomos* that was used to justify Cambyzes's incestuous marriage at 3.38 (3.80: κῶς δ' ἂν εἴη χρῆμα κατηρημένον μουναρχίῃ, τῇ ἔξεστι ἀνευθύνῃ ποιεῖν τὰ βούλεται;). In contrast, Darius concludes by framing his support for kingship as a defense of ancestral *nomoi* (3.82: πατρίους νόμους μὴ λύειν ἔχοντας εὖ).

<sup>43</sup> See, *inter alia*, Helmut Apffel, *Die Verfassungsdebatte bei Herodot (3.80-82)* (Dissertation Erlangen, 1957), Patrick Brannan, "Herodotus and History: The Constitutional Debate preceding Darius' Accession," *Traditio* 19 (1963): 427-38, Klaus Bringmann, "Die Verfassungsdebatte bei Herodot 3,80-82 und Dareios' Aufstieg zur Königsherrschaft," *Hermes* 104 (1976): 266-79, J. A. S. Evans, "Notes on the Debate of the Persian Grandees in Herodotus 3,80-82," *Quaderni Urbinati di Cultura Classica* 7 (1981): 79-84, David Lateiner, *The Historical Method of Herodotus* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1989), pp. 163-86.

<sup>44</sup> Herodotus 1.138: αἰσχιστον δὲ αὐτοῖσι τὸ ψεύδεσθαι νενόμισται.

<sup>45</sup> Herodotus 3.72: ἐνθα γάρ τι δεῖ ψεῦδος λέγεσθαι, λεγέσθω.

All this complicates the question of what Herodotus meant in his seemingly casual adoption of Pindar's metaphor, pronouncing *nomos* "King of all." In doing so, he clearly acknowledged the power a culture's *nomoi* exercise over its members. And, as he stated at the outset of the passage, he considered those who scoff at other people's *nomoi* to be mad, but that does not necessarily mean he regarded custom or culture as a good thing. Rather, it appears that *nomoi* — like Cambyeses, and like kings in general — can themselves be mad, enslaving, ridiculous, and/or tyrannical, as witness the *nomos* of kingship.

#### IV

The project of theorizing culture, like that of describing diversity, thus led Herodotus back to a critique of the cultural other that contradicted and undercut the more generous aspects of his endeavor. This style of critique, moreover, is very different from the reflexive move most valued by contemporary anthropology, which yields the destabilizing recognition of one's own culture as simply one option among many: equally peculiar, human, and fallible as the others, and therefore entitled to no special loyalty, reverence, or privilege. Insofar as anthropology necessarily involves comparison (explicit and implicit) and fosters the awareness that all knowledge is situated, interested, and perspectival, anthropological inquiry — more than any other — provides the preconditions for reflexive critique by permitting those who have come to understand the foundational assumptions of other cultures to perceive their own through these alternative optics.

Reflexive critique of this sort does surface occasionally in Herodotus, as when he cites with approval the Theban priests' ability to name three-hundred-plus ancestors, then uses this datum to challenge Greek views of the past as laughably impoverished, and to dismiss aristocratic claims of divine descent as fallacious and self-serving.<sup>46</sup> Striking though this example is, there is another that is even more important, if less often discussed. This is Herodotus's description of the meeting between Cyrus the Great (r. 558-30) and a certain Lakrinēs in the spring of 546 B.C.E., as Cyrus was consolidating his newly won power.<sup>47</sup> Hoping to escape Persian rule, the Greek cities of Asia Minor dispatched ambassadors to

<sup>46</sup> Herodotus 2.142-44.

<sup>47</sup> Concerning the Spartan embassy, see David Lewis, *Sparta and Persia* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1977), p. 62, Oswyn Murray, "The Ionian Revolt," *Cambridge Ancient History*, 2d. ed., Vol. 4: *Persia, Greece and the Western Mediterranean, c. 525 to 479 B.C.*, ed. John

Sparta, requesting military assistance. In response, the Spartans sent Lakrinēs to Cyrus with a message: "Do not destroy any city on Greek soil, for the Spartans will not permit it."<sup>48</sup>

Calmly, Cyrus asked who were the Spartans to speak so boldly, and just how many of them were there? Upon getting his answer, he continued as follows.

*"I do not fear such men, who have a place in the center of their city where people congregate, swearing oaths and deceiving each other. If I stay healthy, these people will have their own sufferings to chatter about, and not just those of the Ionians."*<sup>49</sup>

To this, Herodotus provided an ethnographic gloss, explaining that the Persians possessed nothing comparable to the Greek *agora* and were not accustomed to haggling over prices.<sup>50</sup> The latter point is open to question, but this notwithstanding, the comments attributed to Cyrus show deep knowledge of Persian culture and a remarkable ability to see Greece through Persian eyes. To appreciate this, we must return to two points we have touched on in Chapter Two and elsewhere. The first is the high value Persians attributed to "Truth" (*rtā*), which they regarded as the foremost of all virtues, on which all human and cosmic order depends.

Boardman, et al. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), Briant, *Histoire de l'empire perse*, pp. 46-47.

<sup>48</sup> Herodotus 1.152: ἀπικόμεινοι δὲ οὗτοι ἐς Φώκαιαν ἔπεμπον ἐς Σάρδεις σφέων αὐτῶν τὸν δοκιμώτατον, τῷ οὐνομα ἦν Λακρίνης, ἀπερέοντα Κύρῳ Λακεδαιμονίων ῥῆσιν, γῆς τῆς Ἑλλάδος μηδεμίαν πόλιν σιναμωρέειν, ὥς αὐτῶν οὐ περιουσιμῶν. On the date of this encounter, see Briant, *Histoire de l'empire perse*, p. 47.

<sup>49</sup> Herodotus 1.153: «Οὐκ ἔδεισά κω ἄνδρας τοιοῦτους, τοῖσι ἐστὶ χώρος ἐν μέσῃ τῇ πόλει ἀποδεδεγμένος ἐς τὸν συλλεγόμενοι ἀλλήλους ὁμνῶντες ἐξαπατῶσι τοῖσι, ἦν ἐγὼ ὀγαίνω, οὐ τὰ Ἰώνων πάθεα ἔσται ἔλλεσχα ἀλλὰ τὰ οἰκῆια.» Cf. Xenophon, *Cyropaedia* 1.2.3: "The Persian *nomoi* take care from the beginning that their citizens will not be such as desire to do anything base or shameful, and they take care in this fashion. They have a place called the 'free *agora*,' where the royal palace and other magistracies are located. But the marketers (*hoi agoraioi*), their wares, cries, and vulgarities are removed from there to another place, lest their tumult mix with the fair order (*eukosmia*) of those who are well-reared." οἱ δὲ Περσικοὶ νόμοι προλαβόντες ἐπιμέλονται ὅπως τὴν ἀρχὴν μὴ τοιοῦτοι ἔσονται οἱ πολῖται οἷοι πονηροῦ τινος ἢ αἰσχροῦ ἔργου ἐφίεσθαι. ἐπιμέλονται δὲ ὧδε. Ἔστιν αὐτοῖς ἐλευθέρᾳ ἀγορὰ καλουμένη, ἐνθα τὰ τε βασιλεία καὶ τᾶλλα ἀρχεῖα πεποιήται. ἐντεῦθεν τὰ μὲν ὄνια καὶ οἱ ἀγοραῖοι καὶ αἱ τοῦτων φωναὶ καὶ ἀπειροκαλῖαι ἀπελήλυνται εἰς ἄλλον τόπον, ὥς μὴ μιν γίνηται ἡ τοῦτων τύρβη τῇ τῶν πεπαιδευμένων εὐκοσμίᾳ. Cf. Strabo 15.3.19: "They do not avail themselves of *agoras*, for they neither sell nor buy." ἀγορᾶς δὲ οὐχ ἄπτονται, οὔτε γὰρ πωλοῦσιν οὔτ' ὀνοῦνται.

<sup>50</sup> Herodotus 1.153: ταῦτα ἐς τοὺς πάντας Ἑλλήνας ἀπέρριψε ὁ Κύρος τὰ ἔπεα, ὅτι ἀγορὰς στησάμενοι ὦνῃ τε καὶ πρήσι χρέωνται· αὐτοὶ γὰρ οἱ Πέρσαι ἀγορῇσι οὐδὲν ἐώθασιν χρᾶσθαι, οὐδὲ σφι ἐστὶ τὸ παράπαν ἀγορή.

Persian youths were trained for many years to tell the truth and to avoid lying at all costs, for truth is locked in struggle with "the Lie" (*drauga*), a demonic force from which all evils follow. In this situation, the Achaemenian King is chosen by God himself (Ahura Mazdā, "the Wise Lord") to defend Truth against its adversaries.<sup>51</sup>

Second, there is the ideology of the center. As we saw in Chapters Three and Eleven, Persians associated spatial centrality with moral preeminence and understood distance from the center to index the lesser righteousness of outlying populations. A proper city, state, or empire is thus expected to have Truth at its center, so that the leadership it exercises can generate positive developments at the periphery. Conversely, a center filled with lies is the worst case one can imagine, from which corruption will radiate outward.

Herodotus's knowledge of these Persian values permitted him to form a critical evaluation of Greece, which he placed in the mouth of "Cyrus," whose "speech" he authored, just as he authored all speeches in the *Histories*.<sup>52</sup> That critique begins with the anthropologically astute observation that the *agora* was both spatially and culturally central in the Greek polis, a space of political debate and economic negotiation that Greeks would evaluate as healthy and productive. In Persian eyes, however, the haggling and contentiousness characteristic of the *agora* suggest that the Lie flourishes at the very heart of Greek culture. The consequent fraud, mistrust, disunity, and deception that radiate from the *agora* beg to be set right by the Persian champion of Truth, chosen by God, and situated at an alternate center: one that is properly moral.

This same critique informs later episodes of the *Histories* that have considerable importance. Briefly, those episodes include the following. 1) In 507 B.C.E., Athenian ambassadors sought and obtained an alliance with King Darius, accepting Persian demands for gifts of earth and

<sup>51</sup> Herodotus identifies truth as the Persians' cardinal virtue and lying as the foremost vice at 1.136 and 1.138, respectively. These passages should be compared to examples from the Achaemenian inscriptions, such as the following.

*Proclaims Darius the King: For this reason the Wise Lord bore me aid, he and the other gods that are: Because I was not vulnerable to deception, I was not a liar, I was not a deceit-doer, neither I nor my lineage. I conducted myself according to rectitude. I did deceit neither to the lowly, nor to the powerful...* (DB §63; cf. DB §54-55, DPd §3, DNb §2b).

θāti Dārayavauš xšāyaθiya: avahyarādīmaī Auramazdā upastām abara utā aniyāha bagāha, tayai hanti, yaθā nai arika āham, nai draujana āham, nai zūrakara āham, nai adam najmai taumā, upari pštām upariyāyam, nai škauθim nai tunuvantam zūra akunavam...

<sup>52</sup> Lieselotte Solmsen, "The Speeches in Herodotus; Account of the Ionic Revolt," *American Journal of Philology* 64 (1943): 194-202.

water, the standard tokens of submission (Herodotus 5.73).<sup>53</sup> 2) Nine years later, Aristagoras of Miletus asked the Spartans to support the Ionian revolt he was organizing, but failed to persuade them (5.49-51). 3) From there, he went to Athens, where he seduced (*anepaise*) and deceived (*diaballein*) the *dēmos* (5.97). 4) Athens sent twenty ships to assist the Milesians, and these troops participated in sacking the Persian satrapal center of Sardis (5.99-102). 5) Although the Athenians rapidly withdrew from the fighting (5.103), Darius never forgave what they had done. After ritually calling down divine vengeance on them, he charged a servant to remind him thrice daily of the Athenian offenses (5.105).

The Persian invasions of Greece in 490 and 480 were thus consciously construed as retribution for the crimes committed by Athens in 499.<sup>54</sup> Those crimes began when Aristagoras's lies led the Athenians to violate a solemn, binding treaty.<sup>55</sup> Within Iranian religions, moreover, the sacred power that compels one to respect a treaty, contract, or pledge is personified as divine, with the understanding that this god — Mithra, literally "Treaty" or "Compact" — helps the army of the wronged party punish the wrongdoers, who are defined as "Liars to Mithra / Those who violate a treaty" (Avestan *Miθrō.drug*).<sup>56</sup>

<sup>53</sup> On the importance of this treaty and the disingenuous nature of Herodotus's account, see A.E. Raubitschek, "The Treaties between Persia and Athens," *Greek, Roman, and Byzantine Studies* 5 (1964): 151-59, Fritz Schachermeyr, "Athen als Stadt des Großkönigs," *Grazer Beiträge* 1 (1973): 211-20, and Louis L. Orlin, "Athens and Persia ca. 507 B.C.: A Neglected Perspective," in Louis L. Orlin, ed., *Michigan Oriental Studies in honor of George G. Cameron* (Ann Arbor: Department of Near Eastern Studies, 1976), pp. 255-66.

<sup>54</sup> The burning of Athens is explicitly said to have been retribution for that of Sardis in Herodotus 7.8, a view frequently repeated by later sources, e.g. Diodorus Siculus 10.25.1. The story reverberates further through history, for in 330 B.C.E., Alexander is said to have consigned Persepolis to flames as vengeance for Xerxes's treatment of Athens in 480 (Strabo, 15.3.6, et al.).

<sup>55</sup> On the irreversible nature of the commitment that was made when one ritually gave "earth and water" as tokens of submission to the Persian king, see Amélie Kuhrt, "Earth and Water," *Achaemenid History* 3 (1988): 87-99.

<sup>56</sup> That the name Mithra means "Compact, Contract, Treaty" and that the deity incarnates the power of certain solemn speech-acts to establish and maintain binding relations among individuals and groups at various levels of social integration (families, clans, nations) was established by Antoine Meillet, "Le dieu indo-iranien Mitra," *Journal Asiatique* 10 (1907): 143-59. His analysis has been accepted by virtually all subsequent experts, including Georges Dumézil, *Mitra-Varuna* (Paris: Gallimard, 1948), Paul Thieme, *Mitra and Aryaman* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1957), Gershevitch, *The Avestan Hymn to Mithra*, op cit., and Hanns-Peter Schmidt, "Indo-Iranian Mitra Studies: The State of the Central Problem," *Études Mithriaques* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1978), pp. 345-93.

*You bring fear to the men  
Who lie to Mithra / violate a treaty  
Fear for their own bodies.  
Angered,  
You take away  
The strength of their arms,  
The swiftness of their feet,  
The ability of their eyes to see,  
The ability of their ears to hear.*<sup>57</sup>

Herodotus, of course, did not spell all this out, nor is it likely he was aware of every nuance. Still, his portentous pronouncement that the ships Athens sent to aid the Ionians “were the origin of evils for the Greeks and for the barbarians,”<sup>58</sup> seems to frame the incident as the *aitia* he made it his task to discover: “the reason [Greeks and barbarians] made war against each other.”<sup>59</sup>

Apparently, his inquiries led Herodotus to recognize that the Persians construed the war, not just as vengeance for Sardis, but more broadly as part of their King’s ongoing responsibility to champion Truth and to punish practitioners of the Lie. To his credit, he incorporates that view in his text, thereby making available a strikingly novel critique of Greek institutions and values. The irony here is the way Greek ethnocentrism is undercut and mitigated by the introduction of Persian ethnocentrism, for which Herodotus had gained some modestly sympathetic understanding. Even so, he did not press the point, nor really make it his own. Rather, he preferred to place it in the mouth of Persians, or to leave it subtextual.

<sup>57</sup> Yašt 10.23: tūm ana miθrō.drujaṃ mašiiānaṃ  
avi xʷaēpaiθiiāsa.tanuūō  
θβiiāṃ auua.barahi;  
apa aēšaṃ bāzuuā  
aojō tūm grantō  
xšaiiamnō barahi  
apa pādiiā zāuuarə  
apa cašmanā sūkəm  
apa gaošaiiā sraoma.

Cf. Yašt 10.62: *We worship Mithra*

*Who gives neither strength nor speed  
To any among the men who lie in their treaties.  
miθrəm vouru.gaoiiaoitīm yazamaide*

yō nōit kahmāi miθrō.drujaṃ mašiiānaṃ  
aojō daδāiti nōit zāuuarə.

<sup>58</sup> Herodotus 5.97: αὔται δὲ αἱ νέες ἀρχὴ κακῶν ἐγένοντο Ἑλληνσί τε καὶ βαρ-  
βάροισι. The phrase has epic associations. Cf. Iliad 5.62-64.

<sup>59</sup> Herodotus 1.1: τά τε ἄλλα καὶ δι’ ἣν αἰτίην ἐπολέμησαν ἅλλήλοισι.

For all that this hard-won capacity for reflexive criticism may represent the most remarkable result of his anthropological endeavor, it is handled with extreme caution, since its results complicate, indeed contradict the story that Greeks — including Herodotus — told and preferred: the rousing tale of their heroism in defending Freedom against the Barbarian.

## CHAPTER SEVENTEEN

### ON THE SISTERHOOD OF EUROPE AND ASIA\*

#### I

It is in Hesiod's *Theogony* that "Asia" and "Europe"<sup>1</sup> make their first appearance, neither one having figured in Homer.<sup>2</sup> And when they first step on history's stage, it is worth noting they do so as sisters, for they are among the "holy race of maidens" Tethys bore to Okeanos.<sup>3</sup> Only a line separates them: "Europe" enters first, at line 357, and "Asia" at 359.<sup>4</sup> No details beyond those of genealogy connect the two minor deities and it is unclear what bodies of water they represent or what geographic associations they may have had, although later sources consistently set them in the (north)east and (south)west, respectively.<sup>5</sup> In truth,

\* This chapter was originally presented at the annual meeting of the Chicago-Paris Workshop on Ancient Religions, September 2011.

<sup>1</sup> As a general convention, I will use inverted commas to denote the personified characters "Europe" and "Asia." When these words appear without such marking, they denote the continents and populations in question. While maintaining this distinction is usually helpful, at a few points it causes problems, since it clarifies precisely that which a poetic text is seeking to blur. In such instances, I will print both names in italics.

<sup>2</sup> Some have thought to recognize Asia in the *asios leimōn* of *Iliad* 2. 461, but the adjective is more probably derived from *asis* and thus identifies the plain in question as "muddy," rather than "Asian." The same derivation is likely for the two heroes named Asios, sons of Hyrtæus (*Iliad* 2.837-38) and Dymas (*Iliad* 16.717-18), respectively. See further, Frisk, *Griechisches etymologisches Wörterbuch* 1: 162 and Chantraine, *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue grecque*, p. 123. Europe is entirely lacking in the Homeric epic, but appears in lines 251 and 291 of the Homeric Hymn to Apollo.

<sup>3</sup> Hesiod, *Theogony* 346: (Τηθύς...) τίκτη δὲ Κουράων ἱερὸν γένος. Apparently, *Kourai* ("Maidens") was the title reserved for the daughters of Okeanos and Tethys, the broader title of Okeanids being used to denote Okeanos' daughters by all his paramours, as specified at lines 363-66. Cf. M.L. West, ed., *Theogony, edited with Prolegomena and Commentary* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1966), p. 263.

<sup>4</sup> "Europe" appears alongside Petraiē and Menesthō at l. 357; "Asia", with Khryseis and Kalypsō, at 359.

<sup>5</sup> Thus, to cite the earliest data, the formulaic lines of the Homeric Hymn to Apollo (250-51 and 290-91) contrast Europe with the Peloponnesus and islands, thus identifying it with the Greek landmass to the northwest. Hesiod, Fragment 165.11 places Troy and Dardanian territory inside of Asia. The division of the world into two contrasted continents, bearing the names Asia and Europe seems to have been the product of Ionian speculation, most likely in Miletus, and figured as a structuring principle of Hecataeus's *Periegesis*, written in the last decade of the 6<sup>th</sup> century. See further, Martin Ninck, *Die Entdeckung von Europa durch die Griechen* (Basel: Benno Schwabe, 1945), pp. 15-23.



the group of Okeanids was neither well defined nor particularly exclusive. Hesiod names forty-one nymphs of this class, including "Asia" and "Europe," all of whom share both mother (Tethys), and father (Okeanos). As full sisters, they stand in contrast to their three thousand unnamed half-sisters, whom Okeanos sired on a variety of unnamed, but emphatically plural goddesses.

*These [i.e. the preceding individually-named nymphs, including "Europe" and "Asia"] are the oldest maidens born*

*Of Okeanos and Tēthys, but there are many others,*

*For there are three thousand slender-ankled Okeanids,*

*Who all alike are widespread over earth*

*And the depths of the sea, noble children of the goddesses.<sup>6</sup>*

## II

It is not until the early 5<sup>th</sup> century B.C.E. that the nymphs "Asia" and "Europe" were also identified with continental landmasses. The earliest surviving evidence for this is in Aeschylus's *Persians*, first performed in 472 B.C.E., just eight years after Xerxes's invasion.<sup>7</sup> There, Asia is repeatedly named as a huge territory to the east, with Persia as its dominant power.<sup>8</sup> Europe is mentioned only once, but that in a crucial passage,

<sup>6</sup> *Theogony* 362-66:

αὐται ἄρ' Ὀκεανοῦ καὶ Τηθύος ἐξεγένοντο  
πρεσβύταται κοῦραι· πολλαὶ γὰρ μὲν εἰσι καὶ ἄλλαι·  
τρὶς γὰρ χίλιαι εἰσι τανίσφυροι Ὀκεανῖναι,  
αἱ δ' ἅπαντες πολυσπερές γαῖαν καὶ βένθεα λίμνης  
πάντῃ ὁμῶς ἐφέπουσι, θεάων ἀγλαὰ τέκνα.

<sup>7</sup> Thus Werner Gauer, "Europa und Asien: Die Entdeckung der Kontinente und die Einheit der alten Welt," *Saeculum* 46 (1995): 204-15, who sees the move to divide the world into continents as a product of Greek reflection on the Persian Wars. Although Herodotus accedes to the terms and divisions that had become conventional by his era, he repeatedly voices discomfort with them, as at 2.15-17 and 4.41-45. The latter passage ends with the historian reasserting his preference for an older geographic model and nomenclature: "I cannot understand why triple names should exist for what is one earth, and eponyms taken from women." οὐδὲ ἔχω συμβαλέσθαι ἐπ' ὅτευ μῆτι ἐοῦση γῆ οὐνόματα τριφάσια κέεται, ἐπωνυμίας ἔχοντα γυναικῶν (4.45).

<sup>8</sup> Cf. *Persians*, lines 12 (*iskhus Asiatogenēs*), 57 (*ethnos ek pasēs Asias*), 61 (*peri pasa khthōn Asiētēs*), 73 (*polyandrou d' Asias... arkhōn*), 249 (*gēs hapasēs Asiadōs polis-mata*), 549 (*propasa... gai' Asias*), 584 (*toi d' ana gan Asian dēn ouketi personomoyntai*), 763 (*hapasēs Asidos*), and 929 (*Asia de khthōn, basileu gaias*). Particularly significant are lines 268-71, which set Persian Asia in pointed contrast to Greek Europe.

*Alas, in vain*

*Did many all-mingled arms*

*Go from Asian land*

*On to Greek soil!*

ὁτοτοτοῖ, μάταν

τὰ πολλὰ βέλεα παμμιγῇ

where the ghost of Darius warns the Persians against any further invasions. The land itself is an ally to the Greeks, he observes, inflicting famine on invaders, especially those who arrive in great numbers.<sup>9</sup> Indeed, he predicts that the foreign troops now present on Greek soil will die there, without hope of safe voyage home.<sup>10</sup> At this, the Chorus protests.

*What do you say? Will not the barbarian army*

*Traverse the Hellespont (on its way back home) from Europe?*<sup>11</sup>

Here, as elsewhere, the Hellespont marks the frontier between Europe and Asia: a border that divides territories of such radical alterity that it cannot be crossed without fatal consequences.<sup>12</sup> Indeed, those who inhabit each side have the land as their ally; those who enter from abroad meet death at the hands of that hostile soil.

γᾶς ἀπ' Ἀσίδος ἦλθε δᾶ-  
αν ἐφ' Ἑλλάδα χώραν.

<sup>9</sup> *Persians*, 790-94:

εἰ μὴ στρατεύουσθ' ἐς τὸν Ἑλλήνων τόπον,  
μῆδ' εἰ στράτευμα πλείον τὸ Μηδικόν.  
αὐτὴ γὰρ ἡ γῆ ξύμμαχος κείνοις πέλει.

...

κτείνουσα λιμῶ τοὺς ὑπερπόλλους ἄγαν.

The idea that the Greek land itself (and also the sea) was inimical to the Persians seems to have been fairly widespread, surfacing also in Herodotus 7.49. See further, Thomas Harrison, "Aeschylus, Atossa and Athens," *Electrum* 2 (1998): 78-79.

<sup>10</sup> *Persians*, 796-97:

ἀλλ' οὐδ' ὁ μείνας νῦν ἐν Ἑλλάδος τόποις  
στρατὸς κυρήσει νοστήμου σωτηρίας.

<sup>11</sup> *Persians*, 798-99:

πῶς εἴπας; οὐ γὰρ πᾶν στράτευμα βαρβάρων  
περᾶ τὸν Ἑλλης πορθμὸν Εὐρώπης ἄπο;

<sup>12</sup> The fullest narrative realization of this theme is, of course, Herodotus 7.33-39, which treats Xerxes' attempt to bridge the Hellespont as the culminating act of his hybris- tic folly and the ultimate cause of the Persians' disaster. Aeschylus has Darius's ghost voice a similar judgment at *Persians* 745-51. The imagery of yoking, binding, and enslavement is also worth noting.

[Xerxes] hoped to tie the streams of the holy Hellespont

With bonds like a slave: the Bosphorus, where a god flows.

He refashioned the passage and casting around it with hammer-wrought shackles,

He completed a great highway for his numerous army.

Being a mortal, he thought, not wisely, he would prevail over all the gods,

Even Poseidon. Did not a disease of the spirit

Take hold of my son?

ὅστις Ἑλλήσποντον ἱρὸν δοῦλον ὡς δεσμώμασιν  
ἤλπισε σχῆσιν ῥέοντα, Βόσπορον ῥόον θεοῦ  
καὶ πόρον μετερρῦθμιζε, καὶ πέδαις σφυρηλάτοις  
περιβαλὼν πολλὴν κέλευθον ἤνυσεν πολλῶ στρατῶ,  
θνητὸς ὢν θεῶν τε πάντων φετ', οὐκ εὐβουλία,  
καὶ Ποσειδῶνος κρατήσιν. πῶς τὰδ' οὐ νόσος φρενῶν  
εἶχε παῖδ' ἐμόν;

## III

Reflecting on the relations between Europe and Asia — the two now being understood as vast territories, each with its own populations and hegemon — Aeschylus returns to the theme of the two sisters, transforming Hesiod's genealogical datum into the stuff of myth and allegory.<sup>13</sup> The occasion for this is a dream of the Persian Queen Mother.<sup>14</sup>

*Two well-dressed women seemed  
To come before my eyes,  
One decked out in Persian robes, the other in Doric:  
In height much more excellent than women are now,  
Blameless in beauty, and sisters of the same race.  
They dwelt in their fatherland, one having obtained by lot  
Greek land as her portion; the other, Barbarian.  
As I watched, these two seemed to produce  
Some divisive conflict, one against the other. Learning this,  
My son[i.e. Xerxes] restrained and soothed them. He placed them  
Under a chariot yoke and put straps on  
Their necks. The one towered tall in this equipment  
And held her mouth soft, easily-governed by the reins.  
The other struggled and reared. With her hands, she tore apart  
The harness of the chariot and ripped it off by force.*

<sup>13</sup> The two women in the dream are not named, although they are contrasted for their clothing (Doric vs. Persian) and for the soil they inhabit (Greek vs. Barbarian). Some critics — e.g., Alain Moreau, "Le songe d'Atossa, *Perses*, 176-214. *Éléments pour une explication de textes*," in Paulette Ghiron-Bistagne, et al., *Les Perses d'Eschyle* (Montpellier: Université Paul Valéry, 1993), pp. 40-41 — have thought they represent Greece and Persia, rather than Europe and Asia, but there is no source in which the two nations are depicted as sisters, while *Theogony* 357-59 posits such a relation for the continents and most likely served as Aeschylus's source. In truth, both continental and national oppositions are present in the overdetermined dream allegory, whose central figures represent Asia-with-its-Persian-hegemon and Europe-as-headed-by-Greece.

<sup>14</sup> It is customary to refer to the Persian Queen as "Atossa," although that name appears nowhere in the text and may have been imported into the list of *Dramatis Personae* by later copyists influenced by Herodotus. That Greeks in the age of Aeschylus knew little of Atossa, or of other Persian women, and thus tended to traffic in stereotypes has been stressed by Heleen Sancisi-Weerdenburg, "Exit Atossa: Images of Women in Greek Historiography on Persia," in Averil Cameron and Amélie Kuhrt, *Images of Women in Antiquity* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1983), pp. 20-33. Greek *Atossa* actually reflects Old Persian \**Hutaubā*, Avestan *Hutaosa*, "She who bestows richly," a name with deep religious significance. See further Mayrhofer, *Zum Namengut des Avesta*, pp. 39-40, idem, *Iranisches Personennamenbuch. Band I: Die Altiranischen Namen*, p. 52, and Balcer, *Prosopographical Study of the Ancient Persians*, pp. 86-87.

*Then, having no bit to control her, she snapped the yoke in half.  
My son fell down and his father, Darius, stood beside,  
Pitying him. And when he saw him,  
Xerxes rent the garments round his body.<sup>15</sup>*

The passage holds interest, both for what it says and what it does not. First, it describes the women as "sisters of the same race" (*kasignēta genous tautou*), thereby establishing the identity of their descent and biological substance. Second, it avoids granting primacy to either one, making no mention of birth order and describing them as equally flawless in beauty (*kallei t' amōmō*). Indeed, their exceptional height differentiates the sisters from all other women, but not from each other, as the (very rare) dual superlative form of the adjective *ekprepestata* makes clear. Third, when it moves to distinguish the two, the text focuses on things external and superficial: not their bodies, but the clothes that adorn them. National or ethnic identity is thus constituted as a difference of *nomos*, not *physis*.

More serious disjuncture occurs, however, when the women are assigned different homes.<sup>16</sup> The phrasing used for this act of territorial division specifies that the sisters' spatial placement was determined by

<sup>15</sup> Aeschylus, *Persians*, 181-99:

ἐδοξάτην μοι δύο γυναῖκ' εὐεῖμονε,  
ἥ μὲν πέπλοισι Περσικοῖς ἤσκημένη,  
ἥ δ' αὖτε Δωρικοῖσιν, εἰς ὄψιν μολεῖν  
μεγέθει τε τῶν νῦν ἐκπρεπεστάτα πολὺ  
κάλλει τ' ἀμώμῳ, καὶ κασιγνήτα γένους  
ταυτοῦ· πάτρην δ' ἔναιον ἥ μὲν Ἑλλάδα  
κλήρῳ λαχοῦσα γαῖαν, ἥ δὲ βάρβαρον.  
τούτῳ στάσιν τιν', ὥς ἐγὼ ὀδῶν δρᾶν,  
τεύχειν ἐν ἀλλήλαισι· παῖς δ' ἑμὸς μαθὼν  
κατεῖχε κάπρουνεν, ἄρμασιν δ' ὕπο  
ζεύγνυσιν αὐτῷ καὶ λέπαδν' ἐπ' αὐχένων  
τίθησι. χῆ μὲν τῇδ' ἐπυργοῦτο στολῇ  
ἐν ἡνίασι τ' εἶχεν εὐαρκτον στόμα,  
ἥ δ' ἐσφάδαζε, καὶ χερσὶν ἔντη δίφρου  
διασπαράσσει καὶ ξυναρπάζει βίᾳ  
ἄνευ χαλινῶν καὶ ζυγὸν θραύει μέσον.  
πίπτει δ' ἑμὸς παῖς, καὶ πατὴρ παρίσταται  
Δαρεῖος οἰκτεῖρων σφε· τὸν δ' ὅπως δρᾷ  
Ξέρξης, πέπλους ῥήγνυσιν ἀμφὶ σώματι.

<sup>16</sup> The seemingly awkward grammatical construction of lines 186-87 is, in fact, designed to show the coexistence of similarity and difference, for it starts with a finite verb in the plural (*enaion*, "they dwelt"), then shifts to a singular participial form (*lak-housa*, "having obtained by lot"). The text thus seems to say that although the earlier division of territory separated the sisters, still they somehow remained united, even while inhabiting different lands.

lot (*klērōi lakhousa gaian*) and this signals not randomness or chance, but cosmic necessity and divine fate. The same verb (*lankhanō*) appears in the cosmogonic passage of *Iliad* 15.187-93, where a similar — and equally consequential — distribution of territory is described, this one on the vertical plane appropriate to the gods, rather than the horizontal field of humans.<sup>17</sup>

*For we are three brothers, sons of Kronos whom Rhea bore:  
Zeus and myself, and the third is Hades, who rules those beneath.  
All was divided into three shares, and each of us received his honor-portion.  
Truly, I obtained by lot (elakhon) the gray sea to dwell in forever  
When we cast the dice, and Hades obtained by lot (elakhe) the murky darkness,  
And Zeus obtained by lot (elakh') the broad sky in the aither and clouds.  
The earth and great Olympus, then as now, are common to us all.  
Therefore I will not live in accord with everything of Zeus, but forebearing,  
He must remain in his third portion, even though he is stronger (than we).<sup>18</sup>*

This passage is embedded in a larger narrative that parallels Atossa's dream in many ways. For the lines quoted above are spoken by Poseidon in response to Zeus's command that he desist from battle. Enraged at this, Poseidon tells the story of how he and his siblings were each given their own territory by lot, i.e. in an equitable fashion, using this to argue that he is equal in honor and status (*homotimos*, *isomoros*) to Zeus, even if the latter is now stronger (*krateros*).<sup>19</sup>

<sup>17</sup> On the semantics of *lankhanō*, see Chantraine, *Dictionnaire étymologique*, pp. 611-12, Borivoi Borecky, *Survivals of Some Tribal Ideas in Classical Greek. The Use and the Meaning of λαγχάνω, δατέομαι, and the origin of ἴσον ἔχειν, ἴσον νέμειν, and related idioms* (Prague: Acta Universitatis Carolinae, Philosophica et historica, 1965), esp. pp. 10-15.

<sup>18</sup> *Iliad* 15.187-95:

τρεῖς γάρ τ' ἐκ Κρόνου εἰμὲν ἀδελφοὶ οὗς τέκετο Ῥέα  
Ζεὺς καὶ ἐγὼ, τρίτατος δ' Ἀΐδης ἐνέροισιν ἀνάσσει.  
τριχθὰ δὲ πάντα δέδασται, ἕκαστος δ' ἔμμορε τιμῆς·  
ἦ τοι ἐγὼν ἔλαχον πολὶν ἄλα ναίεμεν αἰεὶ  
παλλομένων, Ἀΐδης δ' ἔλαχε ζόφον ἡερόεντα,  
Ζεὺς δ' ἔλαχ' οὐρανὸν εὐρὺν ἐν αἰθέρι καὶ νεφέλῃσι·  
γαῖα δ' ἔτι ξυνὴ πάντων καὶ μακρὸς Ὀλύμπος.  
τῷ ῥα καὶ οὐ τι Διὸς βέομαι φρεσίν, ἀλλὰ ἐκηλος  
καὶ κρατερὸς περ ἐὼν μενέτω τριτάτῃ ἐνὶ μοίρῃ.

<sup>19</sup> Poseidon describes himself as *homotimos* to Zeus at 15.186 and as *isomoros* at 15.209. He acknowledges Zeus as *krateros* at 15.195, echoing Zeus's characterization of himself as *biēi poly pherteros* (15.181).

In similar fashion, the apportioning of European and Asian territory to the two sisters served to delimit, define, and differentiate them in ways that complicated their initial, simpler and more egalitarian relations, producing resentment and rivalry. Thus, it is immediately after their spatial separation (lines 186-87) that the maidens came into conflict (188-89). No causes or motives are given and their row is defined as "some kind of *stasis*" (*stasin tin'*), a designation that reasserts the close relation of the sisters, for it identifies their conflict as internecine (indeed, inter-familial), and not international or inter-ethnic.

#### IV

Within the dream narrative, the women's quarrel prompts Xerxes' entrance. Cast as a sympathetic outsider — and emphatically not as the instigator of strife — he seeks to heal a familial breach by bringing the sisters back into proper con-junction, a state they construe as the once-and-future ideal. The instrument with which he makes this attempt is perhaps the most complex piece of the allegory: the chariot yoke he placed on the women's necks, which resonates with a wide range of related imagery, including bonds, fetters, bridges, and scales.

A certain ambivalence is already evident in the verbs with which Atossa describes what her son intended to accomplish by means of the yoke. The first mentioned is *katekhō*, whose most immediate and literal meaning is "to hold down." In contexts like this, it denotes acts of restraining and bridling, but its semantics extended to acts of domination by force and tyrannic oppression, in which sense it was a key term of Athenian political discourse.<sup>20</sup> Juxtaposed to this rather forceful verb of control and repression is *praunō* "to make soft, soothe, calm," which appears in contexts of healing and giving comfort, but also those of animal-taming.<sup>21</sup> In the line that joins — no, yokes — these two verbs, one

<sup>20</sup> See Sara Forsdyke, "Athenian Democratic Ideology and Herodotus' 'Histories,'" *American Journal of Philology* 122 (2001): 329-58, who shows how in Athenian usage, *katekhō* served "to describe the forceful subjection of a people by a tyrant and associated with Athenian ideas about the weakness of societies ruled by a tyrant in contrast to the strength of free societies with a democratic political system," (pp. 331-32). Such semantics were already available in the epic, as in the conflict of Zeus and Poseidon (discussed above, pp. 7-8), within which Poseidon denounced his brother's threat to restrain/oppress/subjugate him by force (*biēi... kathexēi*, *Iliad* 15.186). Further on the semantics of *katekhō*, see Liddell-Scott, *Greek-English Lexicon*, p. 926.

<sup>21</sup> For healing and soothing, see *Theogony* 254 (where a nymph calms the waves of an angry sea), Sophocles, *Philoctetes* 650 (healing herbs used to soothe a wound), or Aeschylus, *Persians* 837 (Darius instructs Atossaa to comfort Xerxes with words); for

can see the interplay of male and female styles of action, Greek and Persian interests and perspectives, euphemism and plain speaking.

For her part, Atossa understands the yoke in benign and uncritical fashion as an instrument with which to bring the feuding sisters closer together. Its effect, was dis-, rather than conjunctive, however, provoking responses from the two women that reveal great difference and driving them further apart. Only "Asia" reacts as Xerxes desired, and if one accepts that his intentions were good, then she emerges as the good (i.e. docile, and therefore properly "feminine") sister.<sup>22</sup> "Europe" resists and assumes the opposite role. For her part, the Queen works within the symbolic register suggested by the yoke and describes the two women — who also represent two continents and their populations — as if they were two different kinds of horse, contrasting the noble dignity, appropriate submission, and "soft, easily-governed mouth" (*euarkton stoma*, a phrase simultaneously equestrian, political, and erotic)<sup>23</sup> of a well-domesticated mare to the irrationality, panic, and destructive fury of an unbroken stallion.<sup>24</sup>

Atossa's judgment, however, is not the last word, for a Greek audience would dismiss any representation of Xerxes as a neutral mediator

animal-taming, Hesiod, *Works and Days* 797 (sheep, oxen, and dogs tamed by the touch of one's hand) and Plato, *Republic* 440d (reason should calm anger as a shepherd calms his dog). For other examples, see Liddell-Scott, *Greek-English Lexicon*, p. 1461.

<sup>22</sup> One must note, however, that issues of gender interact with those of morality and ethnicity in complex ways. Thus, "Asia's" willingness to accept bondage helps constitute Asians — in the eyes of a Greek audience — as passive people, where even the males are effeminate. Conversely, the fierce and ultimately successful struggle "Europe" waged against Xerxes showed European women to be more virile and more noble than the most powerful of Asian men. The dream narrative effectively establishes a taxonomic grid, which can be represented as follows.

	Independence (= love of liberty, refusal to submit)	Virility (= physical energy, willingness to struggle)
European men	++	++
European women	+	+
Asian men	-	-
Asian women	-	-

<sup>23</sup> The adjective *euarktos*, literally "well-governed, well-mastered" describes the highly-valued quality that equestrians refer to as a "soft" mouth. Incredibly well-suited to the multiple levels of this passage, it is, in fact, *hapax legomenon*.

<sup>24</sup> The comparison of the two sisters' reactions to the yoke is open to multiple interpretations. In addition to the Europe: Asia:: Stallion: Mare homology, one can also see a contrast of the martial virgin, like Athena and Artemis, with the compliant, domesticated matron. I am grateful to Richard Neer for having pointed this out to me.

wishing the best for *Europe* and *Asia* alike. Similarly, it would reject any view of the yoke as an instrument of reconciliation. Such a construction demands a disinterested wielder of the yoke-cum-balance, who creates harmony between two rivals, now joined together via the yoke. If one perceives the third party as interested, however, whatever equity might be established between the yoked parties is much less relevant than the distinctly asymmetric relations of domination that are enforced by the yoker on the yokee (humans on animals, masters on slaves, e.g.).<sup>25</sup> *Asia* may have accepted such sub-jugation, but *Europe* knew enough to resist.

Later in the play, the chorus of Persian elders entertains the possibility that after the Greek victory at Salamis, freedom might spread also to *Asia*. Precisely how this might be accomplished — whether by Greek military action, Ionian insurrection, or by some more natural and organic process — is left unspecified, which permits the text to straddle the heated contemporary debates of Themistocles and Cimon regarding Athenian policies toward Persia.<sup>26</sup> More clear is the utopian future the play envisions, in which tyranny is defeated not just in and by *Europe*, but in *Asia* as well, with the result that the two continents that had drifted apart (one being enslaved, while the other remained free) will be restored to a relation of equity, harmony, and identity-in-freedom. The culminating image of this is the broken yoke, displaced from Atossa's dream.

*They who have long dwelt in Asian soil  
will no longer be governed by Persians,  
No more will they bear tribute  
According to their lord's commands.  
They will not prostrate themselves on the earth,  
Paying him reverence,  
For kingly power is ruined.*

<sup>25</sup> Moreau, "Le songe d'Atossa," p. 42 aptly cites Artemidorus, *Interpretation of Dreams* 3.18-19, which states that a dream in which one party yokes another to a chariot or wagon as signifying slavery, fatigue, or sickness for the one who is yoked and mastery for the one who yokes.

<sup>26</sup> Roberto Cristofoli, "La guerra «inedita» e il sogno di Atossa. Note di lettura ai *Persiani* di Eschilo," *Sileno* 25 (1999): 253-59, sees signs of support for the relatively non-interventionist policy of Themistocles in details of Atossa's dream. The evidence he adduces is suggestive, but hardly conclusive and the text strikes me as deliberately coy on this issue. See further Thomas Harrison, *The Emptiness of Asia: Aeschylus' Persians and the History of the Fifth Century* (London: Duckworth, 2000), pp. 95-101 and 108-9.



*No longer do mortals keep  
 Their tongues in check, for the people  
 Are liberated to speak freely,  
 As the yoke of power is broken.<sup>27</sup>*

## V

Atossa's dream has a contradiction at its heart and derives its power from this. On the one hand, the text insists on the identity of the two sisters, who were born of the same parents and thus consubstantial in their essential bodily being. On the other hand, it insists with equal vigor on their dissimilarity, as manifest in their attitudes, demeanor, values and actions.<sup>28</sup> The question of what causes and accounts for these differences must inevitably arise, yet that problem goes largely unanswered. Subsequent narrators have filled the gap with a number of specious but ever-popular explanations that identify some imagined base of European superiority, be it intellectual, politico-moral, religio-spiritual, or openly racist.

Close reading of the Aeschylean text suggests that it may have more to say on this question than first appears, although the hints it provides are more slender and the answers less satisfying than one might wish. Still, I am struck by the sequence of events in Atossa's dream, which runs as follows.

- 1) Near-identical sisters are consigned to different territories;
- 2) They begin to quarrel;
- 3) A king seeks to subdue them;
- 4) They react in ways that reveal strong differences between them.

<sup>27</sup> *Persians* 584-94:

τοὶ δ' ἀνὰ γᾶν Ἀσίαν δὴν  
 οὐκέτι περσονομοῦνται,  
 οὐδ' ἔτι δασμοφοροῦσιν  
 δεσποσύνοισιν ἀνάγκαις,  
 οὐδ' ἐς γᾶν προπίτνοντες  
 ἄζονται βασιλείᾳ  
 γὰρ διόλωλεν ἰσχύς.  
 οὐδ' ἔτι γλῶσσα βροτοῖσιν  
 ἐν φυλακαῖς λέλυται γὰρ  
 λαός ἐλεύθερα βάζειν,  
 ὥς ἐλύθη ζυγὸν ἀλκᾶς.

<sup>28</sup> The question of how to theorize the co-existence of similarity and difference — more precisely, similarity-in-difference and difference-in-similarity — animates most stories of siblings, above all those of twins, as Claude Lévi-Strauss showed in *The Story of Lynx*, trans. Catherine Tihanyi (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995).

Differences thus appear most clearly at the end, although they are already signaled in the fact of the quarrel. They are not, however, present from the beginning, which complicates any attempt to understand their difference as inborn. If we start from the hypothesis that at birth "Europe" and "Asia" were similar in both body and spirit, being the common product of their common parentage, then the differences that later manifest themselves must have been acquired (*nomos*) and not innate (*physis*). Such modification of the sisters' initial state of resemblance, commonality, and equity might then result from divergent experiences, but the text mentions no prior experiences save one: the women are sent to two different territories, one to Europe and one to Asia. There, the originally near-identical sisters fell under the influence of different topographies and different climates, which — to follow geographical and physiological theories of the 5<sup>th</sup> Century — would have had profound effects on their health, their humoral disposition, and their typical styles of action. The fullest articulation of such theories is found in the Hippocratic treatise *On Airs, Waters, and Places*, but one also should note the passage with which Herodotus concludes his *Histories*, where Cyrus counsels his countrymen against abandoning the rough soil of Persia for more pleasant terrain: "The love of soft places gives birth to soft people, since splendid fruit and good, battle-worthy men good do not grow from the same soil."<sup>29</sup>

It is not difficult to imagine lines of analysis that would correlate "Europe's" feistiness to the rugged Greek terrain and volatile climate, while deriving her sister's submissiveness from the softness of Asian soil. Elsewhere in *The Persians*, one finds hints of such speculation, but not in Atossa's dream.<sup>30</sup> There is, however, an intriguing nuance in the Choral speech cited above, which begins by imagining: "They who have long dwelt in Asian soil will no longer be governed by Persians."<sup>31</sup> Of particular interest is the way the people in question are identified, not as "Asians," but as "they who have long dwelt on Asian soil" (*toi d' ana*

<sup>29</sup> Herodotus 9.122: φιλέειν γὰρ ἐκ τῶν μαλακῶν χώρων μαλακοὺς γίνεσθαι: οὐ γὰρ τι τῆς αὐτῆς γῆς εἶναι καρπὸν τε θωμαστὸν φύειν καὶ ἄνδρας ἀγαθοὺς τὰ πολέμια. See further Bäckhaus, "Der Hellenen-Barbaren-Gegensatz," Calame, "Environnement et nature humaine," Sassi, *The Science of Man in Ancient Greece*, Jacques Jouanna, "Les causes de la défaite des barbares," idem, "A l'origine de l'origine des peuples," in Valérie Fromentin and Sophie Gotteland, eds., *Origines Gentium* (Bordeaux: Ausonius, 2001), pp. 21-39, Thomas, *Herodotus in Context*, and Jean-François Staszak, *La géographie d'avant la géographie. Le climat chez Aristote et Hippocrate* (Paris: L'Harmattan, 1995).

<sup>30</sup> Regarding one such line of speculation, see Chapter Nineteen, below.

<sup>31</sup> *Persians* 584-85:

τοὶ δ' ἀνὰ γᾶν Ἀσίαν δὴν  
οὐκέτι περσονομοῦνται.

*gan Asian dēn*). This suggests they are not autochthons, but people who emigrated to Asia at some point in the distant past and were gradually reshaped by the effects of their adopted environment. It is this environmental reshaping of their original nature that made them — like the Asian sister of Atossa's dream — willing to accept subjugation to Persian rule. Such docility of spirit is thus theorized as a late acquisition, inauthentic to the essential person, and something one can shed when provided with the opportunity to do so.

## VI

If the argument embedded in Atossa's dream depends on the contradiction — or paradox — that *Europe* and *Asia* are simultaneously the same and not-same (sameness being encoded in their sororal relation, not-sameness in their spatial separation), not all of Aeschylus's audience was prepared to accept that assessment. Thus, the scholium to the line in which "Europe" and "Asia" are introduced as "sisters of the same race" (*kasignēta genous tautou*) tells a different story. It reads as follows.

*Andron of Halicarnassus says: "Having married Pompholygē and Parthenopē, Okeanos had 'Europe' and 'Thrace' from Parthenopē; 'Asia' and Libya from Pompholygē. They agreed to name the continents from them."*<sup>32</sup>

Apparently, this information is drawn from a lost work of the 4<sup>th</sup> Century B.C.E., Andron's *Syngenika*, which treated mythic genealogy, particularly as it affected diplomatic relations.<sup>33</sup> His testimony flatly contradicts Hesiod's account of the Okeanids, where "Europe" and "Asia" figure among the forty-one daughters of Okeanos and Tethys. With the latter as his point of departure, Aeschylus took the full sisterhood of the two women as the mark of their identical origins and common nature. It is just this point that Andron disputed by making them half-, and not full sisters.

To be sure, in his version, both women remained daughters of Okeanos, for to do otherwise would remove them from the class of Okeanids entirely. But Andron erases Tethys from the story and inserts four new

<sup>32</sup> Scholium to *Persians* 185 (= Fragment 7 in Jacoby, *Fragmente der griechischen Historiker* 1:162: "Ἀνδρῶν δ' Ἀλικαρνασσεὺς φησὶ Ὠκεανὸς γήμας Πομφολύγην καὶ Παρθενόπην ἴσχει ἐκ μὲν Παρθενόπης, Εὐρώπην καὶ Θράκην, ἐκ δὲ Πομφολύγης Ἀσίαν καὶ Λιβύην· ἀφ' ὧν τὰς ἡπείρους ὀνομασθῆναι συμβέβηκεν.

<sup>33</sup> On Andron, see the unsigned article in Pauly-Wissowa *Realencyclopädie der klassischen Altertumswissenschaft* I/2: 2159-60. The surviving testimonia and fragments are collected in Jacoby, FGH 1: 161-65.

figures to the family matrix, two in the generation of Okeanos, two in that of his daughters. The latter are *Thrace*, whom he makes a full sister of *Europe*, and *Libya*, who stands in similar relation to *Asia*. Aeschylus's binary opposition of east and west is thus transformed into a quaternary system, with the maidens-cum-landmasses brought into alignment with the cardinal directions (Figure 17.1).

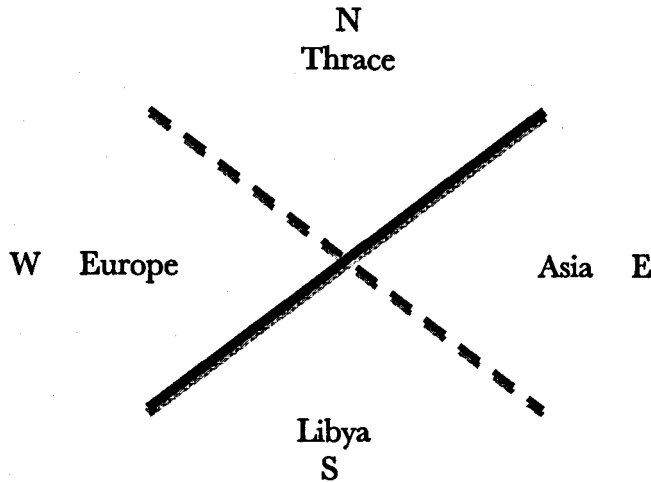


Fig. 17.1 Geographic distribution of Okeanos's daughters according to Andron of Halicarnassus.

Strong affinities exist between the continents that are represented as full sisters and which are marked either by the warmth or the cold of their climate (Libya and Asia in the first instance, Thrace and Europe in the Second). Between those who are only half-sisters, however, the affinity derived from their common father is mitigated by their different mothers and this line of relative estrangement corresponds to a distinction between those continents whose climate is extreme (Thrace and Libya) and those marked by a more moderate temperature (Europe and Asia), as shown in Table 17.1.

	<i>Cold (full sisters)</i>	<i>Warm (full sisters)</i>
Extreme (half sisters)	THRACE	LIBYA
Moderate (half sisters)	EUROPE	ASIA

Table 17.1 Climactic classification of Okeanos's daughters according to Andron of Halicarnassus.

Presumably, Andron's choice of mothers was designed to support this conclusion, but the details are elusive. For her part, Parthenopē was one of the sirens and according to legend she threw herself into the sea when she and her sisters failed to tempt Odysseus. Ultimately, her body washed up at Naples, which became her cult site.<sup>34</sup> Making "Europe" and "Thrace" descend from her thus gave them a north and western identity. Presumably, Pompholygē was selected in order to construct a set of associations for her daughters that would place them in clear opposition to their half-sisters. Were she a sibyl, rather than a siren, for instance, that would help accomplish this task, as would a locus to the southeast. Unfortunately, little information about Pompholygē has survived and the charming etymology of her name (which seems to mean "Bubbles," or possibly "Baubles") does little to advance understanding.<sup>35</sup>

Of one thing only we can be certain. By revising the traditional genealogy and transforming those whom Hesiod and Aeschylus treated as full sisters into half-siblings, Andron rejected the idea of a deep, essential, enduring identity of Europe and Asia and a construction of their differences as secondary or accidental, all of which left open the possibility of a relatively easy reconciliation between them. His variant placed difference alongside similarity at the very beginning of the story, complicating the relations of the women-cum-continents, essentializing their alterity, and ensuring that a certain distance, distrust, and misunderstanding will always keep them apart. And in subsequent centuries down to the present, it is the spirit of Andron that has prevailed.<sup>36</sup>

<sup>34</sup> Strabo 5.4.7: "After Dikaiarchus is Naples... where a monument to Parthenope, one of the Sirens, is pointed out and games are celebrated there, following a prophesy." Μετὰ δὲ Δικαιαρχίαν ἐστὶ Νεάπολις... ὅπου δαίκνυται μνῆμα τῶν Σειρήνων μιᾶς, Παρθενόπης, καὶ ἀγὼν συντελεῖται γυμνικὸς κατὰ μαντεῖαν. Most fully on Parthenope, see Flavio Raviola, "La tradizione letteraria su Parthenope," *Hesperia* 1 (1990): 19-60.

<sup>35</sup> See the brief entry by Willi Göber in Pauly-Wissowa XXI/2: 2321. The name is formed on the basis of the masculine noun *pompholyx* ("bubble; boss of a shield; ornament for the head worn by women") and the verb *pompholygoō* ("to cause to bubble up"), on which, see Liddell-Scott, *Greek English Lexicon*, p. 1447, Frisk, *Griechische etymologische Wörterbuch*, 2: 503, and Chantraine, *Dictionnaire étymologique*, p. 880.

<sup>36</sup> In recent years, much excellent work has been devoted to the construction of Greek identity via patterned opposition with stereotypes of the barbarian other. See, inter alia, the collective volume *Grecs et barbares* (Geneva: Fondation Hardt, 1962), esp. Hans Schwabl, "Das Bild der fremden Welt bei den frühen Griechen," pp. 1-36 and Hans Diller, "Die Hellenen-Barbaren Antithese im Zeitalter der Perserkriege," pp. 37-82, David Lateiner, "Polarità. Il principio della differenza complementare," *Quaderni di Storia* 11 (1985): 79-103, Darbo-Peschanski, "Les barbares à l'épreuve du temps," Edith Hall, *Inventing the Barbarians*, Giuseppe Nenci, ed., *Hérodote et les peuples non grecs*

(Geneva: Fondation Hardt, 1990), Ceausescu, "Un topos de la littérature antique: l'éternelle guerre entre l'Europe et l'Asie," François Hartog, "Fondements grecs de l'idée d'Europe," *Quaderni di Storia* 22 (1996): 5-17, Jonathan Hall, *Ethnic Identity in Greek Antiquity*, Maria Teresa Zambianchi, "Mito e geografia nelle *Storie* di Erodoto," in Delfino Ambaglio, ed., *συγγραφή. Materiali e appunti per lo studio della storia e della letteratura antica* (Como: Edizioni New Press, 1998), pp. 9-34, Irad Malkin, ed., *Ancient Perceptions of Greek Ethnicity* (Washington: Center for Hellenic Studies, 2001), esp. David Konstan, "To Hellēnikon ethnos: Ethnicity and the Construction of Ancient Greek Identity," pp. 29-50 and Rosalind Thomas, "Ethnicity, Genealogy, and Hellenism in Herodotus," pp. 213-33, and Thomas Harrison, ed., *Greeks and Barbarians* (New York: Routledge, 2002), esp. Wilfred Nippel, "The Construction of the 'Other'," pp. 278-310.

## CHAPTER EIGHTEEN

### MYTH AND DIPLOMACY: PERSIAN OVERTURES TO THE ARGIVES

#### I

As we have seen, Herodotus reports that Persians harbored special animus for the Athenians and identifies why this was so. More broadly, the episodes he compiled in the Histories suggest that the Persians were fully capable of differentiating among Greek peoples and *poleis*, which they seem to have classified according to four major categories of imperial rule. The first of these included the conquered populations whom Darius referred to as his subjects (*bandakā* [plural]), as in the following passage.

*These lands/peoples that came to me, by the Wise Lord's will they were subject to me. They bore me tribute. What was proclaimed to them by me, by night or by day, that was done.*<sup>1</sup>

Between 547-499 B.C.E. and then again from 493 on, Ionian Greeks fell in this category, as did Thracians after 490 and all those defeated by Persian arms, whom the Great King could also describe as "the lands/peoples that I took hold of with this Persian people/army."<sup>2</sup> Fully encompassed within the empire, such populations were obliged to pay taxes; perform military, corvée, and other services; provision troops passing through their territory; follow the Persian law; and do what they were told. Still, for all that they lost political and economic independence, subject lands/peoples preserved considerable autonomy of culture, language, and religion, along with their name and ethnic identity.

<sup>1</sup> DB §7: imā dahyāva, tayā manā patiyāiša, vašnā Auramazdāha manā bandakā āhantā, manā bājim abarantā, tayašām hacāma aṭanhya xšapanvā raucapativā, ava akunavayantā. This is the only passage in which Old Persian *bandaka* appears in the plural. In the singular, it denotes a dependable subject, servant, or official of the Great King who has been entrusted with important service to him. For the fullest discussion, albeit with some peculiarities of interpretation, see Widengren, *Der Feudalismus im alten Iran*, op cit.

<sup>2</sup> DPe §2: imā dahyāva, tayā adam adarši hadā anā Pārsā kārā. Cf. the alternative formula "the lands/peoples that I seized far from Persia" imā dahyāva, tayā adam aḡrbāyam apataram hacā Pārsā (DSe §3, DNa §3).

A second category, for which no Old Persian terminology survives, but which Greek authors denoted by a discourse of "friendship" (*philiē*) or "friendship and alliance" (*philiē kai symmakhia*), were allied populations who entered the imperial ambit by their own choice, which is to say by negotiated submission rather than conquest.<sup>3</sup> Extractions from them tended to be somewhat less onerous than from subject populations and were euphemized as "gifts" (*dora*) rather than "taxes" or "tribute" (*phoros*). Allies also preserved a higher level of political autonomy than did subject peoples, although they were still expected to proceed in conformity with Persian policies, while the Persians felt free to meddle with their governance on occasion. As we have seen, Athens accepted such status in 507, as did others — to be discussed shortly — in 491 and 480.

Third, there were subject or allied populations who had disregarded their obligations or rose up against Persian power: "the lands/peoples that became rebellious from me,"<sup>4</sup> of whom Darius declared:

*These are the lands/peoples that became rebellious. The Lie made them rebellious so that these men lied to the people/army. Then the Wise Lord made them into my hand. As was my desire, so I did unto them.*<sup>5</sup>

Rebellion — as in the case of the Ionians between 499-93, the Athenians from 499 onward, and other peoples at different moments (Babylonians in 522-21, 484, and 482-81, Egyptians in 486-84 and 405-342, etc.) — was an anomaly to be eliminated, a regrettable disruption of political, moral, and cosmic order. When rebel provinces were retaken, subject status was reestablished or imposed on those who had previously been allies. Punishment also followed, the nature and severity of which could vary considerably, dependent on local circumstances.<sup>6</sup>

Filling out the system, which can be schematically represented (Figure 18.1), there were those, like most European Greeks, who lay in the outermost of the concentric circles we considered in Chapter Three and had not (yet) submitted or been conquered. As that discussion suggested,

<sup>3</sup> On the Greek terminology and its significance, see Briant, *Histoire de l'empire perse*, pp. 787-88. In much the same way that the semantics of Old Persian *bandaka* worked at two different levels, denoting both subject peoples and royal officers, so the term "friend" (*philos*) was used for individual nobles close to and dependent on the King, as well as for regimes who had concluded treaties placing them in a relation of alliance.

<sup>4</sup> DB §21: *imā dahyāva, tayā hacāma hamiçiyā abava.*

<sup>5</sup> DB §54: *dahyāva imā, tayā hamiçiyā abava, draugadiš hamiçiyā akunauš, taya imai karam adurujiyaša, pasāvadiš Auramazdā manā dastayā akunauš, yaθā mān kama, avaθādiš akunavam.*

<sup>6</sup> Regarding Persian constructions of the category "rebel" and the punishments imposed on those so designated, see Chapter Twenty-three.



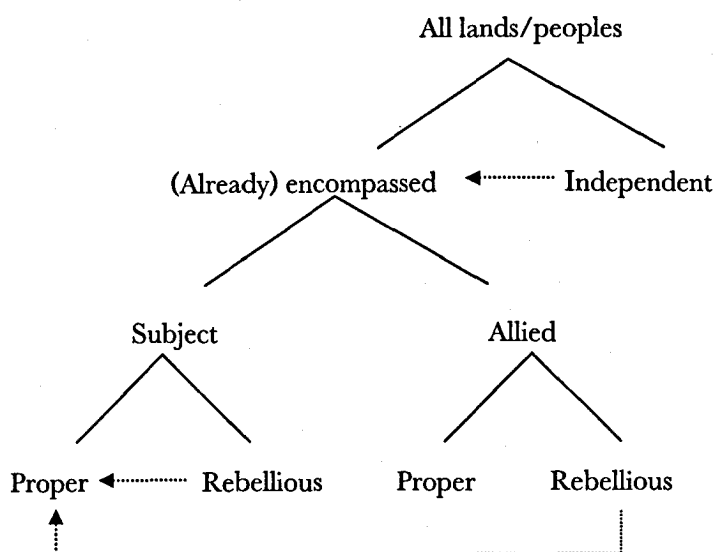


Fig. 18.1 Taxonomy of lands/peoples, as seen from the vantage point of the Achaemenian Empire. Dotted lines represent transformations anticipated as the necessary working out of history, but not yet fully accomplished.

however, the empire was theorized as a dynamic entity, whose outer circles constituted a space of desire and opportunity for future expansion. Territories and populations that occupied such space might be encompassed through diplomacy or by force, but ultimately their fate was expected to be the same: a fate, moreover, that the empire defined as good. Normally, diplomacy would be attempted first, with force held in reserve, but it was force — or, more precisely the credible threat thereof — that helped make diplomacy effective.

Accordingly, in 491, two years after crushing the Ionian rebels and a year before launching war against those Greeks located in the outermost circle “across the sea” (*Yaunā... tayā para draya*),<sup>7</sup> Darius sent embassies to all the Greek cities that were not yet his subjects or allies, offering them the chance to escape harm by timely gifts of earth and water. Many accepted and secured good relations, albeit with some loss of independence and dignity.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>7</sup> DPe §3, DSe §3.

<sup>8</sup> Herodotus 6.48–49, where it is recounted that Darius’s offer was accepted by “many of those who dwell on the mainland and all of the islanders” (6.49): πολλοὶ μὲν ἡπειρωτέων ἔδωσαν τὰ προΐσχετο αἰτέων ὁ Πέρσης, πάντες δὲ νησιῶται ἐς τοὺς ἀπικοίατο αἰτήσοντες. With one exception, however (Aegina), no specific poleis are mentioned.

Again in 480, on the eve of his invasion, Xerxes announced his view that all commitments made to his father remained in effect. To those *poleis* that had never submitted, he extended a last chance before hostilities recommenced.<sup>9</sup> Numerous peoples leapt at the opportunity, including those of Thessaly, Locri, Magnesia, Melos, Phthia, Thebes, and virtually all the cities of Boeotia.<sup>10</sup> These joined with a host of others who were already cooperating with the Persians as their subjects or allies.<sup>11</sup> Two cities only were excepted from this diplomatic offer: Athens and Sparta, who had responded badly to earlier overtures. As legend would have it, the Spartans threw Darius's emissaries of 491 into a well, while the Athenians threw theirs in a pit.<sup>12</sup>

Given the sanctity accorded to heralds in antiquity, this story records what would have been universally viewed as an outrage. Later authors who recount the same events do so in ways that mitigate Athenian culpability on the one hand, while noting divine retribution suffered by Sparta on the other.<sup>13</sup> For his part, Herodotus seems less concerned with the issue of sacrilege, and uses the story to thematize these two cities' opposition to Persia as so unyielding as to know no bounds. As a piece of symbolic discourse, moreover, the narrative is wonderfully elegant for the way it inverts the proposition

{Give earth + water to Persians}

to produce its very negation:

{Give Persians to earth (= pit) + water (= well)}.

At the same time, it signals the military complementarity of Sparta and Athens, for Sparta, the land power, had recourse to the well, while Athens, the naval force, made similar use of the pit. The narrative thus

<sup>9</sup> Herodotus 7.32.

<sup>10</sup> Ibid. 7.131-2.

<sup>11</sup> Ibid. 7.108-24, *passim*. For the fullest discussion of those Greeks who made accommodation, see Daniel Gillis, *Collaboration with the Persians* (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner, 1979), esp. pp. 59-71.

<sup>12</sup> Herodotus 7.133.

<sup>13</sup> Cf. Plutarch, *Themistocles* 6, which states that the Athenians executed only the heralds' translator, and not the heralds themselves. Similarly, Pausanias 3.12.7 states that all Spartans suffered supernatural vengeance inflicted on them by the spirit of the herald Talthybius as a result of their offense, while only one Athenian was held responsible, Miltiades son of Cimon. The incident has been discussed by Raphael Sealey, "The Pit and the Well: The Persian Heralds of 491 B.C.," *Classical Journal* 72 (1976): 13-20 and Louise-Marie Wéry, "Le meurtre des hérauts de Darius en 491 et l'inviolabilité du héraut," *L'Antiquité classique* 35 (1966): 468-86.

shows each city intuitively turning to that element which the other one could best supply, implying that together they might defeat the Persians on all terrain and form an invincible alliance.

## II

If Xerxes omitted Athens and Sparta from his diplomatic initiative of 480, he did court another Greek polis in quite extraordinary ways.

*Before setting out to wage war against Greece, Xerxes sent a herald to Argos. It is told that upon arriving, he said: "Argive men, King Xerxes says these things to you. 'We consider Persēs, of whom we are born, to be the son of Perseus, Danaē's son, and of Andromedē, daughter of Cēpheus. If it is so, we would be your descendants. It is not fitting for us to wage war against our ancestors, nor for you to become our adversaries, seeking vengeance for others. Rather, you should rest by yourselves in tranquility. If things go according to my plan, I will treat no one as greater than you.' It is said that hearing these things, the Argives treated them as something of consequence."*<sup>14</sup>

Herodotus presents this as a story other Greek cities told to explain Argive neutrality in the war. The Argives had a different, more nuanced, but also less coherent version, in which 1) the crushing military defeat the Spartans inflicted on them at the battle of Sepeia in 494 made them wary of sealing an alliance with their traditional enemies;<sup>15</sup> 2) perceiving the Persian threat, they sought advice from the Delphic Oracle, who counseled them to be cautious; 3) even so, they offered their help if Sparta would a) guarantee their security and b) share the military command with them;<sup>16</sup> 4) only when Sparta refused these conditions did

<sup>14</sup> Herodotus 7.150: ἔστι δὲ ἄλλος λόγος λεγόμενος ἀνὰ τὴν Ἑλλάδα, ὥς Ξέρξης ἐπεμψε κήρυκα ἐς Ἄργος πρότερον ἢ περ ὀρμῆσαι στρατεύεσθαι ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα· ἐλθόντα δὲ τοῦτον λέγεται εἰπεῖν ὅτι ἄνδρες Ἄργεῖοι, βασιλεὺς Ξέρξης τάδε ὑμῖν λέγει. ἡμεῖς νομίζομεν Πέρσῃν εἶναι ἀπ' οὗ ἡμεῖς γεγόναμεν παῖδα Περσέος τοῦ Δανάης, γεγονότα ἐκ τῆς Κηφέος θυγατρὸς Ἀνδρομέδης. οὕτω ἂν ὧν εἴημεν ὑμέτεροι ἀπόγονοι. οὕτε ὧν ἡμεῖς οἰκὸς ἐπὶ τοὺς ἡμετέρους προγόνους στρατεύεσθαι, οὕτε ὑμεῖς ἄλλοισι τιμωρέοντες ἡμῖν ἀντιξοὺς γίνεσθαι, ἀλλὰ παρ' ὑμῖν αὐτοῖσι ἡσυχίην ἔχοντας κατῆσθαι. ἦν γὰρ ἐμοὶ γένηται κατὰ νόον, οὐδαμῶς μέζονας ὑμῶν ἄξω." ταῦτα ἀκούσαντας Ἄργεῖος λέγεται πρῆγμα ποιήσασθαι...

<sup>15</sup> Plutarch, *De Herodoti malignitate* 28 (*Moralia* 863b-864a) passes favorable judgment on this argument and criticizes Herodotus for his insufficient appreciation of its merits.

<sup>16</sup> Such willingness to disregard Delphic warnings was unusual and probably disingenuous. See also Thomas Harrison, *Divinity and History: The Religion of Herodotus* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), p. 154n114.

they conclude that "the selfishness of the Spartans could not be endured and it were better to accept the barbarians' rule than submit to the Spartans."<sup>17</sup> Here, I am not concerned to judge the "real" nature of Argive motives, nor the extent to which they were duped by Persian propaganda.<sup>18</sup> But I do want to point out how skillful that propaganda was and how much knowledge of Greek culture it implied.

Xerxes's overture shows the traditional Persian concern to identify lines of internal cleavage among potential adversaries. Toward that end, his intelligence service seems to have familiarized itself with such details of Greek myth as might be used to exploit divisions among the various *poleis*. Cyrus the Great employed similar discursive tactics in his campaign against Babylon. But where Cyrus's propaganda enlisted foreign deities to advance the Persian cause,<sup>19</sup> Xerxes focused his attention on the heroes from whom Greek cities and ruling lineages traced their descent, since mythic genealogy provided an invaluable resource for discussing — and reconstructing — the relations of one group to another.<sup>20</sup> To enter such discussions, however, it was necessary to have

<sup>17</sup> 7.148-49. The phrase quoted appears at 7.149: οὐκ ἀνασχέσθαι τῶν Σπαρτιητέων τὴν πλεονεξίην, ἀλλ' ἐλέσθαι μᾶλλον ὑπὸ τῶν βαρβάρων ἄρχεσθαι ἢ τι ὑπεῖξαι Λακεδαιμονίοισι. Regarding the complexity of relations between Sparta and Argos, see Marcello Zambelli, "Per la Storia di Argo nella prima metà del V secolo a.C.," *Rivista di Filologia e di Istruzione Classica* 99 (1971): 148-58, Thomas Kelly, "The Traditional Enmity between Sparta and Argos: The Birth and Development of a Myth," *American History Review* 75 (1970): 971-1003, idem, "Argive Foreign Policy in the Fifth Century B.C.," *Classical Philology* 69 (1974): 81-99.

<sup>18</sup> For discussions of Perso-Argive relations and negotiations, see Andrew Robert Burn, *Persia and the Greeks: The Defense of the West, c. 546-478 B.C.* (London: Edward Arnold, 1962), pp. 349-50, Gillis, *Collaboration with the Persians*, pp. 61-62, J.F. Lazenby, *The Defence of Greece, 490-479 B.C.* (Warminster: Aris & Phillips, 1993), pp. 105-7, Pericles Georges, *Barbarian Asia and the Greek Experience*, op cit., pp. 66-71, and Peter Green, *The Greco-Persian Wars* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1996), pp. 81-82.

<sup>19</sup> Regarding Cyrus's initiatives, see CB §§4-5, 8-9 (in the enumeration of Lecoq, *Les inscriptions de la Perse achéménide*, pp. 282-84), Isaiah 44: 28-45: 4, Amelie Kuhrt, "The Cyrus Cylinder and Achaemenid Imperial Policy," *Journal for the Study of the Old Testament* 25 (1983): 83-97, and Wolfram von Soden, "Kyros und Nabonid. Propaganda und Gegenpropaganda," in Heidemarie Koch and D.N. MacKenzie, eds., *Kunst, Kultur und Geschichte der Achamenidenzeit und ihr Fortleben* (Berlin: Dietrich Reimer, 1983), pp. 61-68.

<sup>20</sup> On the importance of mythic genealogy for Greek social formations, see Jonathan Hall, *Ethnic Identity in Greek Antiquity* (Cambridge: University Press, 1997), pp. 40-51 et passim. I should note here that I do not use the term "myth" in the sense "false story," but reserve it for narratives that were regarded as authoritative by their primary audiences. The narratives discussed in this chapter were not called *mythoi* by Herodotus, and here it is worth quoting Jon Mikalson, *Herodotus and Religion in the Persian Wars* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2003), p. 22.

an eponymous ancestor of one's own, whose connection to other like figures might become the object and instrument of negotiation.

Lacking such an ancestral hero — for none is attested in any Persian source<sup>21</sup> — Xerxes's propagandists invented one, using the process regularly employed by Greeks in similar circumstances. This is the operation linguists call back-formation, through which a word is produced on the basis of another, then misrecognized as the source of the latter term, rather than its product. In just this fashion, the ethnonym *Pārsa* ("Persian") served as the basis for a freshly-minted eponymous ancestor: *Persēs*, from whom all subsequent Persians purportedly took their name and identity.<sup>22</sup>

Presumably, the phonology of this confected name suggested the possibility of positing some relation to Perseus, primordial king and greatest hero of Argos.<sup>23</sup> Reviewing the traditions associated with this celebrated

*Herodotus does once distinguish between logoi of "old" and "recent" events (9.26-27), but he offers no judgment of their historicity solely on that account. He makes no distinction, in terms of historicity, for example, between the logoi of the Trojan War and of the battle of Marathon, or between the logoi of the travels of Io and the revenge of Protesilaus. Some "events" may be more believable to Herodotus than others, but the older ones are not, ipso facto, less believable. We are inclined to call his logoi of the older events "myths" and "stories" and those of recent events "accounts," but this is a distinction that we, not Herodotus, make. To him they are all logoi.*

<sup>21</sup> The only ancestral figure named in the Persian inscriptions is Haxāmaniš ("Achae-menēs"), whom Darius portrayed as the eponymous ancestor of the royal family, not the people as a whole (DB §§1, 2, 3, DBa). Avestan knows a number of primordial ancestors (Yima, Gaya marətan, et al.), but none who are eponymous. For the fullest discussion of these heroes, see Christensen, *Le premier homme et premier roi dans l'histoire légendaire des iraniens*, op cit.

<sup>22</sup> Formally, the name *Persēs* would suggest underlying Old Persian \**Parsa* (unattested in any Old Iranian text) and an implied relation \**Parsa*: *Pārsa*: *Persēs*: *Persai*:: The first Persian:: All subsequent Persians, who take their name from this primordial ancestor. The same kind of relation is evident in Scythian mythology, where Koloxais (< \**Skolo xšaya*, "King Skolo") is the apical ancestor of the people who called themselves *Skolotai* ("Scythians" = "Descendants of Skolo"), Herodotus 4.5-6. (Greek variants preserve the same relation between a mythic first king named *Skythēs* and the people named *Skythai* after him, Herodotus 4.10). From the 8<sup>th</sup> century onward, *Persēs* appears as a proper name in Greek, but has no association to things Persian. It is, for instance, the name of Hesiod's brother (*Works and Days* 10, 27, et al.) and a Titan in the *Theogony* (409). Used for an eponymous ancestor of the Persians, it makes its appearance in Herodotus 7.61, 7.150, and a scholium to 1.125, also in fragments from the writings of Hellanicus of Lesbos (FGrH 4F59-60, FGrH 687aF1) and Abydenus (FGrH 685F6b). Aeschylus's description of Xerxes as "a godlike man, whose race is born of gold" (*Persians* 79-80: χρυσογόνου γένεας ἰσθόεος φύς) is usually understood as referring to the tradition that the Persians descended from Perseus, Danaë, and Zeus's "shower of gold." If so, this is the earliest surviving reference to the tradition, dating to 472 B.C.E.

<sup>23</sup> Perseus already appears in Hesiod, *Theogony* 280-84 and is well represented in the writings of Acusilaus, the foremost Argive historian, genealogist, and mythographer.

figure, the Persians apparently noted his marriage to a princess associated with "barbarian" territories. This was Andromedē, whose name (*Andro-Medē*) made it possible to credit her with Median connections.<sup>24</sup>

By this woman, Perseus produced several sons (the so-called "Perseids") who themselves founded noble lineages in Tiryns, Mycenae, and other Dorian cities of the Argolid. There is, however, a certain lack of clarity concerning their names and number, and this created opportunities, which the Persians exploited brilliantly in their fabrication of *Persēs*.

*When Perseus, son of Danaë and Zeus, came to Cēpheus, son of Bēlus, and received his daughter Andromedē, a son was born to him whom he named Persēs and that son he left there. For it happened that Cēpheus was childless and without male descendence. So the Persians took their eponym from this Persēs.*<sup>25</sup>

As the son whom Perseus left in Asia, *Persēs* differed significantly from his brothers (Figure 18.2). While the others inherited Greek and European identity from their father, *Persēs* became Asian through matrilineal inheritance, since — as Herodotus specifies — his mother was an *epiklēros*, i.e. a woman through whom a family without male offspring transmits its property and identity.<sup>26</sup> *Persēs* thus became heir to the line of Bēlus and Cēpheus, figures well attested in Greek literature, to whom different authors assign varied homelands.<sup>27</sup> The tradition preserved by

For a summary of the mythology associated with him and a discussion of the sources, see Timothy Gantz, *Early Greek Myth: A guide to Literary and Artistic Sources* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1993) 1: 299-311.

<sup>24</sup> The marriage of Perseus and Andromedē was narrated in the Hesiodic *Catalogue of Women* (Fragment 135 MW) and was the subject of lost plays by Sophocles and Euripides. The fullest surviving mythic narrative is that of Apollodorus, *Bibliotheca* 2.4.3-5, which is probably based on Pherecydes, but in many ways this late text goes beyond the tradition reported by Herodotus.

<sup>25</sup> Herodotus 7.61: ἐπεὶ δὲ Περσεὺς ὁ Δανάης τε καὶ Διὸς ἀπίκετο παρὰ Κηφέα τὸν Βήλου καὶ ἔσχε αὐτοῦ τὴν θυγατέρα Ἀνδρομέδην, γίνεται αὐτῷ παῖς τῷ οὐνομα ἔθετο Πέρσην, τοῦτον δὲ αὐτοῦ καταλείπει· ἐτόγγανε γὰρ ἅπαις ἑὼν ὁ Κηφεὺς ἑρσενος γόνου. ἐπὶ τούτου δὴ τὴν ἐπωνυμίην ἔσχον. Cf. Herodotus 6.54: Ταῦτα μὲν νυν κατὰ τὰ Ἑλλήνες λέγουσι γεγεννηλόγηται.

<sup>26</sup> Herodotus 7.61: ἐτόγγανε γὰρ ἅπαις ἑὼν ὁ Κηφεὺς ἑρσενος γόνου.

<sup>27</sup> Regarding Bēlus, see K. Tümpel, "Belos 3," in *Paulys Realencyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft*, ed. Georg Wissowa (Munich: Alfred Druckenmüller, 1921) 3/1: 259-64. On Cēpheus, Kurt Latte, "Kepheus," in idem, 11/1: 224 and Timothy Gantz, *Early Greek Myth: A guide to Literary and Artistic Sources* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1993) 1: 199-203, 208, 211, and 307-8 are also helpful. Different authors connect Bēlus in one fashion or another with Babylon, Libya, Egypt, the Danaans, Phoenecia, Argos, and Thebes. In addition to Herodotus (1.181-82 and 7.61), Pausanias 4.23.10 and Diodorus Siculus 1.28, 2.8-9 connect him with Babylon, as do designation of the city's walls as "Bēlides" (Herodotus 3.155) and use of the same

Herodotus and his near-contemporary Hellanicus, however, has no ambiguities.<sup>28</sup> Here, Bēlus is none other than Bēl-Marduk, lord (Akkadian *Bēl*= Hebrew *Ba'al*) and patron deity of Babylon.<sup>29</sup> Cēpheus, in turn, was a Chaldaean king, whose people called themselves "Cēphēnes" (i.e. "people of Cēpheus") in his honor. After his death, however, these Cēphēnes conquered the Artaioi (= "the Righteous/truthful" < Old Persian *rtā* "Truth") and the conjoined people (Cēphēnes plus Artaioi) came to be known as "Persians."<sup>30</sup> Most immediately, this ethnonym signaled descent from *Persēs*, who became their ruler, while also suggesting a more distant relation to Perseus, and thence to Argos.

adjective to make Ninus, eponymous king of Nineveh a "descendent of Bēlus" (thus Hellanicus, Ctesias, Eusebius, and others). Cēpheus, for his part, was variously associated with Chaldaea (= Babylon), Persia, Ethiopia, Phoenecia, and Arcadia.

<sup>28</sup> Concerning the date of Hellanicus' *Persika*, see Robert Drews, *The Greek Accounts of Eastern History* (Washington: Center for Hellenic Studies, 1973), pp. 22-24, who also suggests that Hellanicus was Herodotus's source for this tradition, pp. 28-30.

<sup>29</sup> Thus Herodotus 1.181-82, which describes "the bronze-gated temple of Zeus Bēlus" (Διὸς Βήλου ἱρὸν χαλκόφυλον) which stands at the heart of Babylon.

<sup>30</sup> The glosses for the ethnonyms "Chaldaeans" and "Artaioi" in Stephanus Byzantius contain fragments from Hellanicus (numbers 4F59 and 4F60 in Jacoby, *Fragmente der Griechischen Historiker. Erster Teil: Genealogie und Mythographie*, op cit., pp. 122-3) that read as follows.

Chaldaeans: *Formerly [called] Cēphēnes, from Cēpheus, father of Andromedē. Persēs [was the son] of her and Perseus, son of Danaē and Zeus. Because of him, the former Cēphēnes and Chaldaeans (now called Persians) forgot. So one should ask in that regarding Cēphēnia. In Book One of his Persika, Hellanicus said: "When Cēpheus was no longer living, the army raised from the land of Babylon took possession of Artaia. The land was no longer called Cēphēnia, nor the people who dwelled there Cēphēnes, but Chaldaeans. And all the land was now called Chaldaea."*

Χαλδαῖοι· οἱ πρότερον Κηφῆνες, ἀπὸ Κηφέως τοῦ πατρὸς Ἀνδρομέδας, ἀφ' ἧς καὶ τοῦ Περσέως τοῦ Δανάης καὶ Διὸς Πέρσης, ἀφ' οὗ οἱ Κηφῆνες καὶ Χαλδαῖοι πρότερον <καλούμενοι Πέρσαι> ἐκλήθησαν, ὥς εἴρηται ἐν τῷ περὶ Κηφηνίας. Ἑλλάνικος δέ φησιν ἐν α Περσικῶν οὕτω· "Κηφέος οὐκέτι ζῶντος στρατευοῦσάμενοι ἐκ Βαβυλῶνος ἀνέστησαν ἐκ τῆς χώρας καὶ τὴν Ἀρταίαν ἔσχον· <τῆς δὲ Βαβυλῶνος> οὐκέτι ἡ χώρα Κηφηνίη καλεῖται οὐδ' οἱ ἄνθρωποι οἱ ἐνοικοῦντες Κηφῆνες, ἀλλὰ Χαλδαῖοι. καὶ ἡ χώρα αὕτη πᾶσα νῦν Χαλδαϊκὴ καλεῖται."

Artaia: *Persian land, which Persēs, son of Perseus and Andromedē, settled. Hellanicus, in Book One of [his] Persika [says]: The Artaioi settled [there]. The Persians, like the Greeks, called the ancient men [or heroes] Artaioi. It seems probable to me that the names Artaxerxes and Artabazus come from that, like the names Nile-Ammonians and Panapollonians among the Egyptians. Herodotus calls them Arteatai in Book Five.*

Ἀρταία: Περσικὴ χώρα, ἣν ἐπόλισε Πέρσης ὁ Περσέως καὶ Ἀνδρομέδας· Ἑλλάνικος ἐν Περσικῶν α. οἱ οἰκοῦντες Ἀρταῖοι, ἀρταίους δὲ Πέρσαι, ὥσπερ οἱ Ἕλληνες, τοὺς παλαιούς ἀνθρώπους [ἥρωας] καλοῦσι. τάχα δὲ καὶ ἐντεῦθεν μοι δοκεῖ Ἀρταξέρξης καὶ Ἀρτάβαζοι, ὥς παρ' Αἰγυπτίους Νειλάμμωνες καὶ Παναπόλλωνες. Ἡρόδοτος Ἀρτεάτας αὐτοὺς καλεῖ διὰ τοῦ ἔ φιλοῦ.

Cf. Hesychius, who glosses the name *Artaioi* as "the heroes among the Persians" (οἱ ἥρωες παρὰ Πέρσαις).

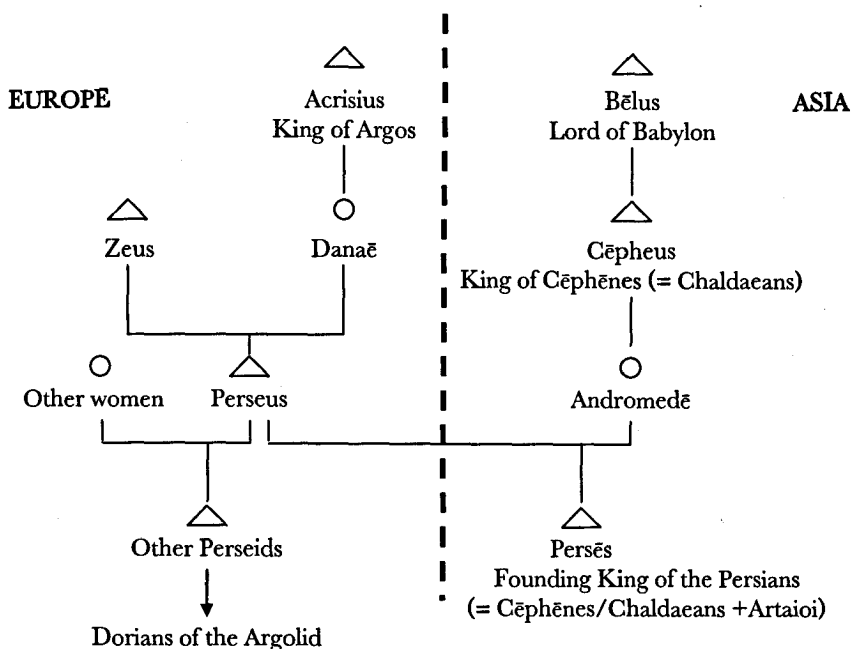


Fig. 18.2 Mythic genealogy connecting Persians to Argos, as related in Herodotus 7.61 and 7.150.

### III

Conceivably, one so inclined might infer from these names and genealogy that Greece — or at least certain of the Greeks — enjoyed a primacy of sorts over Persia. Ambiguities in Perseus's own lineage served to complicate the picture, however. As Herodotus explained, since Zeus was Perseus's father, the Argive hero had no human patriline from which to derive his identity.<sup>31</sup> Accordingly — so the most trustworthy Greeks said — Dorian identity began with Perseus, or with Danaë, his mother.<sup>32</sup>

<sup>31</sup> Herodotus 6.53: οὐκ ἔπεται ἐπωνυμία Περσέϊ οὐδεμία πατρὸς θνητοῦ, ὥσπερ Ἡρακλῆϊ Ἀμφιτρυῶν.

<sup>32</sup> Herodotus 6.53:

*I write the things told by the Greeks, those who correctly report that the Dorian kings were Greeks as far back as Perseus and Danaë, since the god [Zeus] does not figure in their account. For it was at that time that they became Greeks. I said this goes back as far as Perseus, and not from the very beginning, because there exists no eponym for Perseus drawn from a human father of the sort that Amphitryon provides for Herakles. This report being right, things were rightly told to me as far back as Perseus. Before Danaë, daughter of Acrisius, they report that their fathers, the Dorian rulers, appear to have been true-born Egyptians.*



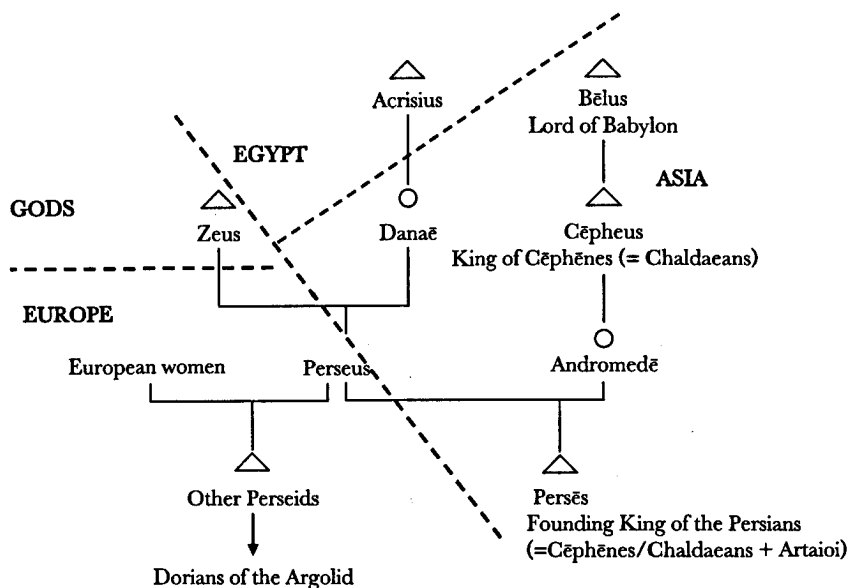


Fig. 18.3 Persian interpretation of the Perseid genealogy, as reported in Herodotus 6.54, with Perseus construed as "an Assyrian who became Greek."

Before her, "the 'Dorian' rulers appear to have been true-born Egyptians."<sup>33</sup>

Such a reading depends on how one understands Acrisius, Danaë's father, and the mythology of his ancestors who fled Egypt for Argos. Herodotus takes up this story elsewhere,<sup>34</sup> but for our purposes it is unnecessary to wade into its complexities, since the Persians understood things quite differently.

τάδε δὲ κατὰ τὰ λεγόμενα ὑπ' Ἑλλήνων ἐγὼ γράφω, τούτους τοὺς Δωριέων βασιλέας μέχρι μὲν δὴ Περσέος τοῦ Δανάης, τοῦ θεοῦ ἀπεόντος, καταλεγόμενους ὀρθῶς ὑπ' Ἑλλήνων καὶ ἀποδεικνυμένους ὡς εἰσι Ἑλλήνες· ἥδη γὰρ τῆνικαῦτα ἐς Ἑλλήνας οὗτοι ἐτέλεον. ἔλεξα δὲ μέχρι Περσέος τοῦδε εἵνεκα, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἀνέκαθεν ἔτι ἔλαβον, ὅτι οὐκ ἔπεστι ἐπωνυμίῃ Περσέει οὐδεμία πατρὸς θνητοῦ, ὥσπερ Ἡρακλεῖ Ἀμφιτρύων. ἥδη ὅν ὀρθῶς λόγῳ χρεωμένῳ μέχρι Περσέος ὀρθῶς εἴρηται μοι· ἀπὸ δὲ Δανάης τῆς Ἀκρισίου καταλέγοντι τοὺς ἄνω αἰεὶ πατέρας αὐτῶν φαινοῖατο ἂν ἐόντες οἱ τῶν Δωριέων ἡγεμόνες Αἰγύπτιοι ἰθαγενεές.

On this passage and the issues it raises, see the discussion of Rosalind Thomas, "Ethnicity, Genealogy, and Hellenism in Herodotus," in Irad Malkin, ed., *Ancient Perceptions of Greek Ethnicity* (Washington: Center for Hellenic Studies, 2001), pp. 220-22.

<sup>33</sup> Herodotus 6.53: ἀπὸ δὲ Δανάης τῆς Ἀκρισίου καταλέγοντι τοὺς ἄνω αἰεὶ πατέρας αὐτῶν φαινοῖατο ἂν ἐόντες οἱ τῶν Δωριέων ἡγεμόνες Αἰγύπτιοι ἰθαγενεές.

<sup>34</sup> Herodotus 2.91, 2.171, 2.182, and 7.94. For other variants of the myths involving Egyptus, Danaus, and their children, see Gantz, *Early Greek Myth*, 1: 198-208.

*The account is given thus by the Persians: Perseus was Assyrian and became Greek, but not so his ancestors. Acrisius's ancestors were Egyptians, as the Greeks say, but they had no kinship to Perseus.<sup>35</sup>*

Herodotus provides no further details about how the Persians disarticulated Perseus from Acrisius and redefined both as figures who mediate Europe and the barbarians. Primacy, however, was consistently denied to the Greeks, since Acrisius was Egyptian and Perseus an Assyrian by origin who achieved Greek identity only as a secondary development (Figure 18.3).

Appreciating the full subtlety of Xerxes's embassy to Argos comes with the recognition that the relation of Perseus to Persēs could be theorized in two very different ways. Maintaining, indeed manipulating this ambiguity seems to have been part of Persian discursive tactics. Thus, from the perspective of Argos, Perseus is Greek and Greek only. Further, the relation of this Greek father to his Persian son (Persēs) expressed an irreversible asymmetric distribution of authority to the benefit of the former. Construing filiality in this fashion, Argives understood the Persians to have conceded the enduring primacy of Europe (as represented by Argos, its oldest city) over Asia (as represented by Persia, its youngest great kingdom). By recoding Perseus as originally Assyrian, the Persians negated this last implication and returned seniority to Asia. At the same time, the model of filiality favored by the Persians seems to have recognized that over time authority shifts from an aged father to a maturing son. In similar fashion, a vital Persia succeeded the older civilizations of Assyria, Babylon, and Media, for all that hegemony remained always in Asia. What the Persians understood themselves to have offered Argos was the deference and consideration due an older, but no longer powerful nation. If the Argives expected more, that was useful, but not a binding part of the agreement.

Clearly, the stories the Persians told themselves and others about these mythic figures were extremely subtle, advancing a diplomacy equally shrewd and remarkably effective. In addition to Xerxes's ambassadors, the Argives received representatives from Athens, Sparta, and other members of the anti-Persian coalition, who urged them to unite with their Hellenic brethren in the face of a threat that menaced all Greeks

<sup>35</sup> Herodotus 6.54: ὥς δὲ ὁ παρὰ Περσέων λόγος λέγεται, αὐτὸς ὁ Περσεὺς ἐὼν Ἀσσύριος ἐγένετο Ἕλλην, ἀλλ' οὐκ οἱ Περσέος πρόγονοι· τοὺς δὲ Ἀκρίσιου γε πατέρας ὁμολογέοντας κατ' οἰκηιότητα Περσέει οὐδέν, τούτους δὲ εἶναι, κατὰ περ Ἕλληνας λέγουσι, Αἰγυπτίους.

equally.<sup>36</sup> The Persian embassy convinced them this was not the case, however, since Argos was demonstrably less menaced than others. In part, this reflected the Persian construction of Argos as a less Greek city than Athens or Sparta, given its descent from Egyptians on the one hand (Acrisius) and Assyrians on the other (Perseus). In truly diplomatic fashion, however, they never spelled this out to the Argives.

Accordingly, Argos decided not to join the anti-Persian coalition. Such a stance might have been intended (to be legible) as neutrality, but most of the principals seem to have regarded it as rather more than that.<sup>37</sup> Thus, in 480 the Argives promised the Persians they would block any Spartan advance.<sup>38</sup> When this was not possible, during the crucial spring campaign of 479, they gave notice of the Spartan offensive, permitting the Persians to escape and prompted them to burn Athens before abandoning the city.<sup>39</sup> Herodotus also reports that some Greeks charged the Argives with having invited the Persian invasion, hoping their new friends would inflict a terrible defeat on their old rival, Sparta.<sup>40</sup>

Most telling, however, is an episode that occurred c. 448 B.C.E., when Argive ambassadors asked Artaxerxes (r. 465-24) "if the friendship they had fostered with Xerxes still held good, as they wished, or if he considered them his enemies."<sup>41</sup> At issue was whether the alliance (*philiā*) concluded in 480 remained in force, which depended on whether the Persian King was satisfied with Argive behavior. The answer was reassuring: "It seemed to King Artaxerxes that it held extremely good and he considered no city a better friend (*philiōterēn*) than Argos."<sup>42</sup>

<sup>36</sup> Herodotus 7.145: φρονήσαντες εἴ πως ἐν τε γένοιτο τὸ Ἑλληνικὸν καὶ εἰ συγκύψαντες τούτῳ πρήσσοιεν πάντες, ὥς δεινῶν ἐπιόντων ὁμοίως πᾶσι Ἑλλήσι.

<sup>37</sup> In Jack Balcer's words, "The Argives remained neutral yet often pro-Persian, thus a malevolent neutrality for the Greeks and a sympathetic state for Xerxes that gravely cut Athens' communication by land with Sparta. The Greeks feared that the Argives would open their port in the Peloponnesos for the Persian navy." *The Persian Conquest of the Greeks: 545-450 B.C.* (Konstanz: Universitätsverlag Konstanz, 1995), p. 234. A.R. Burn, *Persia and the Greeks*, op cit., p. 350 goes further still and takes it as certain that the Argives must have conferred gifts of earth and water on Xerxes's heralds in token of their submission.

<sup>38</sup> Herodotus 9.12.

<sup>39</sup> Ibid. 9.13.

<sup>40</sup> Ibid. 7.152.

<sup>41</sup> Herodotus 7.151: εἴ σοι ἔτι ἐμμένει ἐθέλουσι τὴν πρὸς Ξέρηην φιλίην συνεκράσαντο, ἢ νομιζοῖατο πρὸς αὐτοῦ εἶναι πολέμοι. For dating of the incident to 448 B.C.E., see How and Wells, *Commentary on Herodotus*, op cit., ad loc.

<sup>42</sup> Ibid.: βασιλέα δὲ Ἀρτοξέρξεα μάλιστα ἐμμένειν φάναι, καὶ οὐδεμίαν νομίζειν πόλιν Ἀργεος φιλιωτέραν.

Beyond the battlefields of Lade, Marathon, Salamis, and Plataea, one can perceive a different sort of engagement between Persians and (certain) Greeks: one that had its agonistic side, to be sure, but which was a campaign of discursive maneuver, conducted through words, gestures, and skillful manipulation of mythic narratives — one's own and those of one's adversary/partner. To conduct negotiations of this sort with any hope of success demanded considerable knowledge of the myths through which one's interlocutors encoded their cultural ideals and constructed their identity, and it is clear the Persian intelligence corps supplied diplomats with the requisite information.<sup>43</sup> Working from such data, they sought to speak with and about their other, discussing the quality of their alterity, perhaps even modifying it in the process, as when Xerxes sought — with remarkable success — to define the Argives and Persians as kinsmen, friends, and allies.

#### IV

It is possible to view the embassy to Argos as an exercise in great power opportunism, prompted by geopolitical calculations (the historic rivalry of Argos and Sparta) and some fortuitous, but useful coincidences of phonology (the resemblance between the names 'Perseus' and 'Persia'). There is, however, one more datum to be considered, which complicates this picture by suggesting that principled motives may also have been involved, consistent with core tenets of the Mazdaean religion. For it appears that the Persians believed all the troubles between Europe and Asia had their ultimate origin at Argos. If that is so, then making peace with the Argives might have been construed as an attempt to restore the original state of perfection, prior to the entry of evil in the world.

<sup>43</sup> Heleen Sancisi-Weerdenburg, "Yaunā by the Sea and across the Sea," in Irad Markin, ed., *Ancient Perceptions of Greek Ethnicity* (Washington: Center for Hellenic Studies, 2001) pp. 335-36, rightly compared Xerxes's embassy to the Argives with discursive strategies employed by earlier Achaemenian monarchs. Her observations are worth quoting at length.

*Herodotus's repeated mentioning of Perseus as the ancestor of their nation (6.54; 7.150) is usually regarded as "a Greek fiction." It is, however, remarkably in character with Persian performance elsewhere: mythical ancestry is a flexible system, as Darius himself probably shows in his DB genealogy by constructing Achaemenes as the founding father of his dynasty. With some intelligence and some scrutiny of indigenous traditional knowledge, genealogical connections could be easily produced. This was the best any Persian king could do to insert himself into the Greek ideological system. In Egypt a Persian king could become a Pharaoh, in Babylon the anointed of Marduk; in Greece, however, it was impossible to become king of the Hellenes.*

This is, in fact, the very first datum Herodotus presents in his Histories. Having concluded his prologue by announcing that the topic of foremost interest to him is the reason (*aitiē*) why the Greeks and Barbarians went to war, he moves immediately to report Persian opinion on this question.<sup>44</sup>

*The Persian chroniclers say that the Phoenicians were the cause of the disagreement. Having come from the sea called "Red" to our sea, they made their home in the land they now inhabit. Straightaway, they began putting out on great sea voyages and, transporting Egyptian and Assyrian merchandise to other places, they came to Argos. At that time, Argos was foremost in every way among those in the land that is now called Greece. And when the Phoenicians came to Argos, they set out their goods. On the fifth or sixth day after their arrival, when almost all had been sold, many women came to the seaside, including the king's daughter. Both Greeks and Persians say her name was Io, daughter of Inachus. These women stood by the stern of the ship, bargaining for merchandise as the spirit moved, while the Phoenicians were urging each other to attack them. The majority of the women escaped, but Io and some others were abducted. Casting her into the ship, they made sail for Egypt.<sup>45</sup>*

Notwithstanding the privileged position Herodotus assigned to this passage and notwithstanding its considerable richness, it has never received the attention it deserves.<sup>46</sup> We have already noted the way it identifies Argos as 1) the primordial center of Greece; 2) the site of conjunction

<sup>44</sup> On the significance of the prologue, see Gregory Nagy, "Herodotus the Logios," *Arethusa* 20 (1987): 175-84.

<sup>45</sup> Herodotus 1.1: Περσέων μὲν νῦν οἱ λόγοι Φοίνικας αἰτίους φασὶ γενέσθαι τῆς διαφορῆς. τοὺτους γὰρ ἀπὸ τῆς Ἐρυθρῆς καλεομένης θαλάσσης ἀπικομένους ἐπὶ τήνδε τὴν θάλασσαν, καὶ οἰκήσαντας τοῦτον τὸν χώρον τὸν καὶ νῦν οἰκοῦσι, αὐτίκα ναυτιλίῃσι μακρῇσι ἐπιθέσθαι, ἀπαγινέοντας δὲ φορτία Αἰγύπτια τε καὶ Ἀσσύρια τῇ τε ἄλλῃ ἐσαπικνέεσθαι καὶ δὴ καὶ ἐς Ἄργος. τὸ δὲ Ἄργος τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον προεῖχε ἅπασι τῶν ἐν τῇ νῦν Ἑλλάδι καλεομένη χώρῃ. ἀπικομένους δὲ τοὺς Φοίνικας ἐς δὴ τὸ Ἄργος τοῦτο διατίθεσθαι τὸν φόρτον. πέμπτη δὲ ἡ ἑκτη ἡμέρῃ ἀπ' ἧς ἀπίκοντο, ἐξεμπολημένων σφι σχεδὸν πάντων, ἐλθεῖν ἐπὶ τὴν θάλασσαν γυναῖκας ἄλλας τε πολλὰς καὶ δὴ καὶ τοῦ βασιλέως θυγατέρα· τὸ δὲ οἱ οὐνομα εἶναι, κατὰ τούτῳ τὸ καὶ Ἕλληνας λέγουσι, Ἰοῦν τὴν Ἰνάχου· ταύτας στάσας κατὰ πρῶμνην τῆς νεδὸς ἀνέεσθαι τῶν φορτίων τῶν σφι ἦν θυμὸς μάλιστα· καὶ τοὺς Φοίνικας διακελευσαμένους ὀρμῆσαι ἐπ' αὐτάς. τὰς μὲν δὴ κλεῦνας τῶν γυναικῶν ἀποφυγεῖν, τὴν δὲ Ἰοῦν σὺν ἄλλῃσι ἀρπασθῆναι. ἐσβαλομένους δὲ ἐς τὴν νέα οἶχεσθαι ἀποπλέοντας ἐπ' Αἰγύπτου.

<sup>46</sup> Earlier discussions include Paavo Hohti, "Die Schuldfrage der Perserkriege in Herodots Geschichtswerk," *Arctos* 10 (1976): 37-48, Nicholas Ayo, "Prologue and Epilogue: Mythical History in Herodotus," *Ramus* 13 (1984): 31-47, James Redfield, "Herodotus the Tourist," *op cit.*, Paul Cartledge, "Herodotus and 'The Other,'" *op cit.*, Gh. Ceausescu, "Un topos de la littérature antique: l'éternelle guerre entre l'Europe et l'Asie," *Latomus* 50 (1991): 327-41, and Hayden Pelliccia, "Sappho 16, Gorgias' Helen, and the Preface to Herodotus' Histories," *Yale Classical Studies* 29 (1992): 63-84.

— and mediation — among Asia (Phoenecia, Assyria), Africa (Egypt), and Europe (Greece); and 3) the point where competition, violence, and hostility among these peoples first manifested itself. Beyond this, the story reworks mythic narratives and genealogies that anticipate those we have treated above, for Io was commonly regarded as the ancestress of Bēlus, Danaus, Danaē, Perseus, and all the rest.<sup>47</sup> Her ethnic identity is plainly Argive, since her father — Inachus — is nothing other than the river of Argos. The identity of her children, however, is more problematic. Ordinarily, it is told that Io was taken by Zeus himself and was chased from one continent to another by Hera. Ultimately, she bore the god's child, one Epaphus, on Egyptian soil. Within such stories, it was possible that Epaphus — and all those that descended from him — might be defined as Argive, by virtue of their matrilineal connections, or as Egyptians, by virtue of where they were born. The question had greatest relevance in the case of the Danaides, who could be interpreted as Egyptian refugees in Argos, or long-lost Argives returning home after generations in diaspora. The Persian variant, however, obviates such debates by eliminating Zeus from the story and replacing him with the Phoenician captain. Io's offspring are thus given a patriline from which to draw their ethnic identity, and one that is emphatically Asian (Figure 18.4).

Also noteworthy is the precise sequence of events in the Persian story, which begins with the first commerce between Asia, Africa, and Europe, which consists of the peaceful and mutually beneficial exchange of goods (or goods for wealth). After some days, however, the conditions for such exchange shifted, as supply gave out (the Phoenicians' store of Assyrian and Egyptian goods being nearly exhausted), while demand continued to rise. As more Argive women — also more Argive women of higher class and greater wealth — flocked to the ships, bids multiplied, prices rose, and all present became more excited. At this point, the Phoenician sailors hit on the idea of taking not the women's money or goods, but the women themselves. What is suggested here is the first step in the practice of marital, rather than commercial exchange, marriage being construed in patriarchal fashion as the process through which one group of males serve as wife-givers to another, thereby providing the wife-takers with the means of biological reproduction for their families and ethnoi.

Should the first such act be the end of the process, it is a crime, of course: abduction and rape, but also a theft through which wife-takers

<sup>47</sup> For a summary of the relevant sources, see Gantz, *Early Greek Myth*, pp. 198-212.

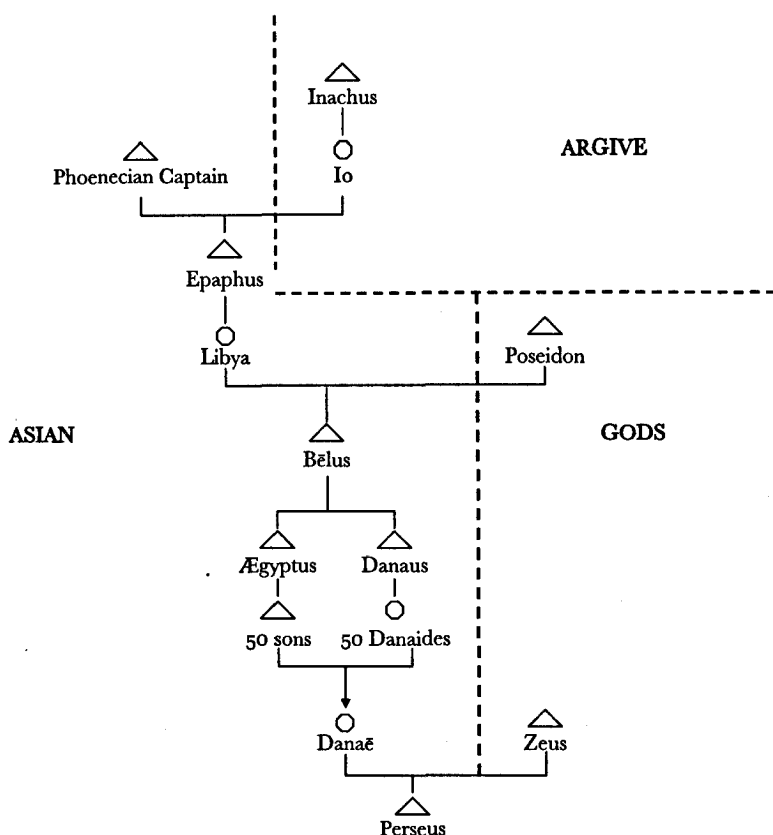


Fig. 18.4 Ethnic identity of the descendants of Io, following the Persian variant reported in Herodotus 1.1.

enrich themselves at the wife-givers' expense. But should a reciprocal second act follow, in which the original wife-givers receive women from the group to whom they initially gave their daughters and sisters (either directly or through the mediation of some third group), then balance will have been reestablished, along with harmony, mutual benefit, mutual gratitude, the promise of future exchange, and also affinal relations of kinship.<sup>48</sup> Just this was accomplished in the story's next episode, where Cretan sailors land in Tyre and carry off Europē, the daughter of the Phoenecian king. "At this point," according to the Persians, "things were equal between them, but the Greeks were the cause of a second act

<sup>48</sup> Claude Lévi-Strauss, *The Elementary Structures of Kinship* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1969).

of injustice."<sup>49</sup> This was Jason's abduction of Mēdea, here taken to be ancestress of the Medes, apparently on the basis of her name.<sup>50</sup> Europe had now obtained two women and given one only, so Mēdea's father demanded reparations and/or the return of his daughter. Having received no direct compensation for Io, the Greeks refused and the imbalance was corrected two generations later, when Paris carried Helen (whose name associated her to the Hellenes) from Sparta to Troy. And when asked, Paris refused to pay compensation, reminding the Greeks of their earlier refusal.<sup>51</sup> In this, he was effectively insisting that the systems of commercial and marital relations in which Europe and Asia were now partners be kept separate. In the one, goods were exchanged for goods; in the other, women for women. Mixed systems involving bridewealth, dowry, reparations, or other arrangements whereby it might seem women were exchanged for goods were — according to this judgment of Paris — to be forever rejected.

There was, however, a complication, which the Persian story disingenuously elides, but of which Herodotus's Greek readers would have been acutely aware. In contrast to Io, Europē, and Mēdea, Helen was not a nubile maiden ready to be given — or taken — in marriage. Rather, she already had a husband, who was less easily placated than Inachus and the other girls' fathers.<sup>52</sup> And so, just as commercial exchange produced marital exchange as its almost organic extension and complement, so the latter produced a third related system of transactions which, forever since, has characterized the dealings of Europe and Asia. For this was the beginning of war.

<sup>49</sup> Herodotus 1.2: ταῦτα μὲν δὴ ἴσα πρὸς ἴσα σφι γενέσθαι, μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα Ἑλλήνας αἰτίους τῆς δευτέρας ἀδικίης γενέσθαι.

<sup>50</sup> Thus, for example, Herodotus 7.62: "Of old, everyone called [the Medes] 'Arioi,' but when Mēdea of Colchis was abducted from Athens to the Arioi, they changed their name. The Medes themselves say this about themselves." ἐκαλέοντο δὲ πάλαι πρὸς πάντων Ἀριοί, ἀπικομένης δὲ Μηδείης τῆς Κολχίδος ἐξ Ἀθηνέων ἐς τοὺς Ἀρίους τούτους μετέβαλον καὶ οὗτοι τὸ οὖνομα. αὐτοὶ περὶ σφέων ὅδε λέγουσι Μῆδοι. The association of Mēdea, Mēdus, and the Medes appears already in Aeschylus, *Persians* 765 and goes back at least to Hecataeus. Diodorus Siculus 4.56.1 records an interesting variant, in which Mēdea bore Mēdus to none other than Aegeus, King of Athens and father of Theseus, establishing a relation between Medes and Athenians. Georges, *Barbarian Asia and the Greek Experience*, pp. 67-68, argues that this mythic construct figured in the Persian diplomatic approach to Athens after Salamis (Herodotus 8.140) in much the same way as the Perseus-genealogy figured in their approach to the Argives.

<sup>51</sup> Herodotus 1.2-3.

<sup>52</sup> As noted by Mikalson, *Herodotus and Religion in the Persian Wars*, pp. 154-55, Herodotus makes clear that his sympathies lie with Menelaus and the Greeks, viewing the destruction of Troy as divine retribution for Paris's violations: "Great are the retributions visited by the gods on great acts of injustice" (2.120). ὥς τῶν μεγάλων ἀδικημάτων μεγάλοι εἰσὶ καὶ αἱ τιμωρίαι παρὰ τῶν θεῶν.



*Until this, it was only a matter of mutual abductions, but afterward the Greeks were greatly to blame, for they began to attack Asia before the Asians attacked Greece. To abduct women is judged to be an act of unjust men, but zeal in avenging abducted women is an act of those who are mindless. The wise care nothing for abducted women, for clearly these women would not have been abducted if they had not planned it. The Persians say that they made no fuss about women abducted from Asia, but the Greeks, because of a Spartan woman, assembled a great army and came to Asia to destroy Priam's power. Ever since this, the Persians hold the Greeks to be enemies, for they claim Asia and the barbarian nations dwelling there as their own, but hold Europe and the Greeks to be separate.<sup>53</sup>*

The offensive gender politics of this important text call for extended commentary. That, however, is a project unto itself, and here I will content myself with three points. First, this is not an account that any Persian source intended for Persian ears only, since all the mythological references are Greek and none Iranian. Rather, it is best understood as a product of intercultural negotiation: either the speech of a cosmopolitan Persian who could use allusions capable of engaging, and perhaps even persuading a Greek audience, or that of a Greek who could imagine the way such a Persian might have presented his case. Second, the narrative line is structured along two axes: one ethno-geographic, dividing Asians from Europeans, and one sexual, dividing men from women. Initially the ethno-geographic axis describes a relation of affinity and reciprocity, in which equilibrium was established via exchange of women. Peace also prevailed, as Asians — men and women alike — comported themselves precisely as did their Greek counterparts. At this point in the story, difference appeared solely along the sexual axis and was organized through the action of *taking*, in which men were always the subjects and women the objects of the action. Third, the goal of the text is to explain how the original state of ethno-geographic affinity became one of estrangement, imbalance, and enmity. At first it makes Asians

<sup>53</sup> Herodotus 1.4: Μέχρι μὲν ὧν τούτου ἀρπαγὰς μούνας εἶναι παρ' ἀλλήλων, τὸ δὲ ἀπὸ τούτου Ἑλλήνας δὴ μεγάλως αἰτίους γενέσθαι· προτέρους γὰρ ἄρξαι στρατεύεσθαι ἐς τὴν Ἀσίην ἢ σφέας ἐς τὴν Εὐρώπην. τὸ μὲν νυν ἀρπάζειν γυναῖκας ἀνδρῶν ἀδίκων νομίζειν ἔργον εἶναι, τὸ δὲ ἀρπασθεισέων σπουδὴν ποιήσασθαι τιμωρέειν ἀνοήτων, τὸ δὲ μηδεμίαν ὥρην ἔχειν ἀρπασθεισέων σωφρόνων· δῆλα γὰρ δὴ ὅτι, εἰ μὴ αὐταὶ ἐβούλοντο, οὐκ ἔν ἡρπάζοντο. σφέας μὲν δὴ τοὺς ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίας λέγουσι Πέρσαι ἀρπαζομένων τῶν γυναικῶν λόγον οὐδένα ποιήσασθαι, Ἑλλήνας δὲ Λακεδαιμονίης εἵνεκεν γυναικὸς στόλον μέγαν συναγεῖραι καὶ ἔπειτα ἐλθόντας ἐς τὴν Ἀσίην τὴν Πριάμου δύναμιν κατελεῖν. ἀπὸ τούτου αἰεὶ ἡγήσασθαι τὸ Ἑλληνικὸν σφίσι εἶναι πολέμιον. τὴν γὰρ Ἀσίην καὶ τὰ ἐνοικέοντα ἔθνεα βάρβαρα οἰκηεῦνται οἱ Πέρσαι, τὴν δὲ Εὐρώπην καὶ τὸ Ἑλληνικὸν ἡγνεται κεχωρίσθαι.

(more precisely, Phoenicians) responsible, but this is only an opening gambit, for the initial Asian offense is soon rectified and counterbalanced, so that a much fuller, more definitive culpability could be assigned to the Greek heroes of the *Iliad*, who are cast as the original aggressors in the wars of Europe and Asia.

Against this background, the Persian invasions of 490 and 480-79 could be represented as an attempt to avenge the sack of Troy, thereby righting an old injustice and — in the most audacious conceit — restoring primordial harmony, reciprocity, and peace.<sup>54</sup> It is also possible to understand the diplomatic mission to Argos as part of this same construction, for if war began at Troy, the other forms of pre-bellucose conflict — specifically, the anger, resentment, envy, and suspicion associated with inequities of exchange (commercial or marital, intended or accidental, real or imagined) — had their beginning at Argos. That Xerxes took special pains to reestablish good relations with Argos suggests a desire to reverse the originary events through which evil first entered the world. And without impugning the Great King's sincerity or that of the Persians who circulated these stories, one might also observe the need of imperial powers to tell themselves and anyone who will listen that their motive for launching monstrous wars is their yearning for perfect peace.

<sup>54</sup> That Xerxes paused on his march toward Greece in order to offer a sacrifice of one thousand cattle at Troy (Herodotus, 7.43) suggests the symbolic and ideological importance this site held for him. Unsympathetic to whatever motives may have prompted this grand gesture, Herodotus describes it as having been followed by nocturnal dread among the Persian troops, presumably a sign of divine disfavor.

## CHAPTER NINETEEN

### AESCHYLUS'S *PERSIANS* AND THE CATEGORICAL OPPOSITION OF EAST AND WEST\*

#### I

A central issue for any interpretation of Aeschylus' *Persae*, which was given its first production in 472 B.C.E. (with Pericles as *chorēgos*), is specifying the attitude it adopts toward the Persians a scant eight years after Xerxes' invasion. For the most part, opinions on this question have divided into two camps. On the one hand, there is the time-honored perspective of liberal, anti-chauvinist humanism, which understands Aeschylus to have treated vanquished enemies with admirable generosity, and to have invested them with a dignity and humanity no less than that of the Greeks. Such, for instance, was the position taken by Gilbert Murray, who wrote with an eye toward the First World War, while living in the midst of the Second.

*[T]he Persians are treated in the heroic spirit. They are terrible men; full of pride, insatiable in their claims, and — as was natural in a practically monotheist nation — impious in their neglect of the gods. But there is no hatred of them; no remotest suggestion of what we may now call 'war propaganda'. No Persian is in any way base: none is other than brave and chivalrous. The Elders are grave and fine; their grief is respected. Atossa is magnificent; not a word escapes her that is unworthy of a great Queen. Darius is a type of the old and good King, Father of his people. Xerxes himself, no doubt, as a contrast to Darius, has been wild and reckless, but even there the contrast is not between Persian and Greek; only between the Old King and the Young. This greatness of spirit in Aeschylus' treatment of the enemy is remarkable.... [T]o read the *Persae* during the Great War did indeed fill one with some shame at the contrast between ancient Hellas and modern Europe.<sup>1</sup>*

\* An earlier version of this essay was published as "Death By Water: Strange Events at the Strymon (*Persae* 492-507) and the Categorical Opposition of East and West," *Classical Philology* 95 (2000): 12-20.

<sup>1</sup> Gilbert Murray, *Aeschylus: The Creator of Tragedy* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1940), pp. 127-28. Murray was a firm supporter of the British effort in both wars, and a committed advocate of the League of Nations. During the 1930s, he was anti-fascist and anti-communist, but entertained the idea that the vindictive policies and attitudes of the victorious allies toward Germany had contributed to the worsening world situation, as suggested in his Hibbert Lectures of 1938, *Liberality and Civilization* (New York: Macmillan, 1938), p. 28. More broadly on his views during this period, see Francis West,

For many years this view was close to hegemonic, and it still retains numerous adherents.<sup>2</sup> In recent decades, however, following some suggestive remarks of Edward Said,<sup>3</sup> there are those who have adopted a more critical attitude toward the text and the ethnocentrism they believe it evinces. For them the *Persae* is hardly a respectful portrait of a vanquished foe, but a prejudicial and deeply coded construction of the Asian as 'Other.' Edith Hall, whose book was published by the same distinguished press a half century after Murray's, has best articulated this position.

*In Persae Aeschylus was using a powerful new range of effects to characterize a foreign people and culture; his barbarians are simultaneously anti-Greeks and anti-Athenians.... The passages illustrating the use of differentiation are so numerous and the effect so pervasive that it is totally inadequate to describe them as 'eastern touches', the opinion of those who see the play's ethical interest as paramount. The tragedy is not ornamented by oriental colouring but suffused by it, indeed it represents the first unmistakable file in the archive of Orientalism, the discourse by which the European imagination has dominated Asia ever since by conceptualizing its inhabitants as defeated, luxurious, emotional, cruel, and always as dangerous.*<sup>4</sup>

Gilbert Murray: *A Life* (New York: St. Martin's, 1984), pp. 227-31. Cf. Richmond Latimore, "Aeschylus on the Defeat of Xerxes," in *Classical Studies in Honor of William Abbott Oldfather* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1943), pp. 82-93, for a similar, highly influential view from the same period.

<sup>2</sup> Thus, for example:

[T]he conclusion will be that the *Persae* was intended to be a genuine tragedy, that the dramatist has on the whole been successful in carrying out his intention, and that the comparative absence of patriotic bias is in keeping with the high moral tone of the play... If the doctrine is Greek, it takes no account of national differences — it concerns equally both Greek and barbarian (H.D. Broadhead, ed., *The Persae of Aeschylus* [Cambridge: University Press, 1960], p. xvi).

[L]a défaite perse revêtait un caractère non plus national mais humain: elle devenait le signe des limitations et des devoirs imposés à tout homme (Jacqueline de Romilly, ed., *Eschyle, Les Perses* [Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1974], p. 16).

Es kam darin nicht nur eine wunderbare Fairneß gegenüber dem Feind zum Ausdruck, vielmehr hob Aischylos damit die Leiden der Perser weit über das "Nationale" hinaus ins Allgemein-Menschliche (Christian Meier, *Die politische Kunst der griechischen Tragödie* [Munich: C.H. Beck, 1988], p. 91).

La rappresentazione della sciagura vista dalla parte dei vinti consentiva ad Eschilo di svelare anche l'altra faccia della guerra, al di là di sconfitte e vittorie. È non solo i templi incendiati e profanati, le case distrutte, ma lo strazio dei cadaveri galleggianti sul mare tinto di sangue, l'angoscia dei superstiti, la vana attesa delle madri e delle spose per quanti non torneranno più (Luigia Achillea Stella, *Eschilo e la cultura del suo tempo* [Alexandria: Edizioni dell'Orso, 1994], p. 33).

<sup>3</sup> Edward Said, *Orientalism* (New York: Vintage Books, 1978), pp. 56-7.

<sup>4</sup> Hall, *Inventing the Barbarian*, op cit. p. 99. Cf. George, *Barbarian Asia and the Greek Experience*, op cit. p. 86: "[T]he *Persae* is a *Schadenfreudestück* in which the universe of the Persians in the orchestra operates antithetically to that of the Athenians in the tiers above, and contradicts Hellenic nature at every point with radically pathological human consequences."

Although one must acknowledge that the portraits of Atossa, Darius, and the Persian elders are both admirable and moving, considerations beyond the delineation of character support Hall's reading more than that of Murray. Thus, the contrast of Greeks and Persians is repeatedly brought into alignment with other asymmetric binaries: democracy and kingship (lines 241-42, 762-64); silver and gold (with allusions to the theme of oriental wealth, luxury, and decadence: cf. lines 3, 9, 79-80, 159, 163, 250 for Persian gold; 238 for Greek silver); spear and bow (with a subtext of archers' cowardice, lines 26, 85-86, 147-149, 239-241, 278, 729, 926, 1016-1025); day and night (with a subtext of Persian ignorance, in association with night, lines 357, 365, 377, and 382-84; cf. lines 386-87 for Greeks in association with day). As Maria Michaela Sassi and others have observed, the tragedy also organizes a master contrast between Greek *sophrōsynē* and Persian *hybris*.<sup>5</sup> Here, it is worth noting that the central image of *hybris* is the bridge Xerxes built for his passage from Asia to Europe, through which he took it upon himself to conjoin two continents and peoples the divine and natural order meant to keep sharply divided (lines 65-72, 130-32, 721-26, 744-52). With this image and all it implies, the text threatens to essentialize the difference of east and west, Europeans and Asians, which it theorizes as absolute and insuperable.

## II

In this light, other verses of the play acquire new significance. Of particular interest is a speech that has received less critical attention than it deserves: the messenger's wrenching account of what befell the retreating Persians in their attempt to quit Europe for Asia.

*We came to Magnesian land and the country  
of the Macedonians, to the ford of Axios  
and the reedy marsh of Bolbē, and Mount Pangaion  
in Edonian land. On that night, God*

<sup>5</sup> Maria Michaela Sassi, "I Barbari," in Mario Vegetti, ed., *Il sapere degli antichi* (Turin: Boringhieri, 1985), p. 266. For further patterns of contrast within the play, see Meier, *Die politische Kunst der griechischen Tragödie*, op cit., pp. 89-90, Paulette Ghiron-Bistagne, "À propos du «vase des Perses» au Musée de Naples: une nouvelle interprétation?," *Cahiers du groupe interdisciplinaire du théâtre antique* 7 (1992/3): 145-58, Simon Goldhill, "Battle Narrative and Politics in Aeschylus' *Persae*," *Journal of Hellenic Studies* 108 (1988): 189-93, Luigi Belloni, "I Persiani di Eschilo tra Oriente e Occidente," *Contributi dell' Istituto di Storia Antica dell' Università del Sacro Cuore* 12 (1986): 68-83, and Jacques Peron, "Réalité et au-delà dans les Perses d'Eschyle," *Bulletin de l'Association Guillaume Budé* (1982): 3-40.

*aroused winter out of season, completely freezing  
the stream of holy Strymon. And anyone who previously  
had not honored the gods at all prayed then  
with fervent entreaties, prostrating himself to heaven and earth.  
And when the army stopped its many invocations  
of the gods, it passed through the ice-congealed ford.  
Whoever among us started before the god's rays  
were spread out, he attained safety.  
But when the bright orb of the sun, burning with its rays,  
reached the middle of the ford, heating it with flame,  
men sank, one on top of the other, and fortunate was he  
whose breath of life was severed most swiftly.<sup>6</sup>*

Most commentators on this passage are in agreement that the events it describes — a fast, hard freeze and an equally sudden, catastrophic thaw — are physically impossible.<sup>7</sup> This is particularly so given that the time in question was well before winter: late October or early November at the latest.<sup>8</sup> Moreover, according to Herodotus, Xerxes constructed a bridge across the Strymon during his advance: presumably this would

<sup>6</sup> Aeschylus, *Persae* 492-507.

Μαγνητικὴν δὲ γαίαν ἔς τε Μακεδόνων  
χώραν ἀφικόμεσθ', ἐπ' Ἀξίου πόρον,  
Βόλβης θ' ἔλειον δόνακα, Πάγγαιόν τ' ὄρος,  
Ἦδωνίδ' αἶαν' νυκτὶ δ' ἐν ταύτῃ θεὸς  
χειμῶν' ἄωρον ὥρσε, πῆγνυσιν δὲ πᾶν  
ῥέεθρον ἁγνοῦ Στρυμόνος. θεοὺς δὲ τις  
τὸ πρὶν νομίζων οὐδαμοῦ τότε' ἦρχετο  
λιταῖσι, γαίαν οὐρανὸν τε προσκυνῶν.  
ἐπεὶ δὲ πολλὰ θεοκλυτῶν ἐπαύσατο  
στρατός, περᾶ κρυσταλλοπῆγα διὰ πόρον  
χῶστις μὲν ἡμῶν πρὶν σκεδασθῆναι θεοῦ  
ἀκτῖνας ὥρμηθη, σεσωσμένος κυρεῖ.  
φλέγων γὰρ αὐγαῖς λαμπρὸς ἡλίου κύκλος  
μέσον πόρον διῆκε, θερμαίνων φλογί·  
πίπτον δ' ἐπ' ἀλλήλοισιν· ἠτύχει δὲ τοι  
δοστὶς τάχιστα πνεῦμ' ἀπέρρηξεν βίου.

<sup>7</sup> Thus, for example, Broadhead, *op cit.*, p. 138, Luigi Belloni, ed. and trans., *Eschilo. I Persiani* (Milano: Pubblicazioni della Università Cattolica del Sacro Cuore, 1988), p. 168, Louis Roussel, ed. and trans., *Eschyle, Les Perses* (Montpellier: Presses universitaires de France, 1960), pp. 203 and 206. An exception is H.J. Rose, who maintained "the strangeness of the whole affair is, to me, a strong reason for supposing that it is true" *A Commentary on the Surviving Plays of Aeschylus, Verhandelingen der Koninklijke Nederlandse Akademie van Wetenschappen, Afdeeling Letterkunde* 64/1-2 (Amsterdam: 1957) 1: 161.

<sup>8</sup> Calculation of the date follows from three facts: a) the battle of Salamis took place on the 20th of Boedromion (August-September); b) Xerxes' army covered the distance from Thessaly to the Hellespont in forty five days (Herodotus 7.114); c) the Strymon stands approximately halfway along this journey.

have remained available to his retreating troops.<sup>9</sup> Accordingly, most scholars have been inclined to accept N.M. Horsfall's view that the scene is a fictive invention, the anomalies of which are meant to suggest divine intervention and help emplot the debacle as retribution for Xerxes' *hybris*.<sup>10</sup>

All this is well and good, but it does not motivate the precise details of the passage, understanding of which helps sort out the ethnographic politics of the Persae and sheds light on the emergence of Greek theories concerning the opposed elementary qualities hot/cold, wet/dry, and the like. Let us begin by noting the precise location of the Strymon or, as it is known today, the Struma. Regularly associated with the cold north wind<sup>11</sup> and known for its heavy ice in winter,<sup>12</sup> the Strymon flows north to south, dividing Thrace from Macedonia.<sup>13</sup> According to Aeschylus, it was a holy river<sup>14</sup> that marked the easternmost limit of Pelasgus' realm,<sup>15</sup> a border second in importance only to the Hellespont itself.

### III

These relations help us understand the organizing logic of the marvel the play locates at the Strymon. There, at dawn — the time that mediates day and night — two opposite entities are said to have encountered one another: ice, in the form of the congealed river, and fire, in the form of the sun's rays. Although the text embeds its analysis in a "science of the concrete," it is easy enough to recode this opposition in abstract terms, as later philosophers would do, but for this we must understand how Greeks theorized fire and ice. Fire is easy: it was the hot/dry element *par excellence*. Ice, however, was much less frequently discussed and does not appear in conventional lists of the four elements, where water

<sup>9</sup> Herodotus 7.24 and 7.113-14. The latter passage also describes how Xerxes offered sacrifices of white horses and nine human victims as charms (*pharmakeusantes*) to help him pass the river. By contrast, the hasty (if fervent) prayers of the retreating Persians must have seemed woefully inadequate.

<sup>10</sup> N.M. Horsfall, "Aeschylus and the Strymon," *Hermes* 102 (1974): 503-5.

<sup>11</sup> Herodotus 8.118, Callimachus, *Hymn* 4.26, Ovid, *Tristia* 5.3.21-22, Stephanus Byzantinus, ad loc.

<sup>12</sup> Aelian, *On Animals* 14.26; cf. *ibid.* 6.24 and Plutarch, *De Primo Frigido* 949d, where barbarians' caution in crossing frozen rivers is described, as is their use of foxes — the craftiest of animals — to test them.

<sup>13</sup> Thus Strabo 7.7.4 and the scholia to *Persae* 497. Philip of Macedon later relocated this border to the Nestus, thereby increasing Macedonian territory.

<sup>14</sup> He twice calls the Strymon *hagnos*, at *Persae* 497 and *Supplices* 254-55. Cf. Hesiod, *Theogony* 339, which makes the Strymon a son of Okeanos and Tethys and one of the world's great rivers.

<sup>15</sup> *Supplices* 254-59.

figures as the opposite of fire, being cold/moist.<sup>16</sup> When ice does receive critical attention, however, it is treated as a modification of water produced by additional cold. "Ice is frozen water," Aristotle opined, "its cause is... total failure of heat".<sup>17</sup> Ice differs from water, then, in taking a solid, rather than a liquid form; otherwise, it shares the properties of water. Like water, it is incombustible, due to the moisture in it<sup>18</sup> and it solidifies under the influence of cold, as do other substances composed of water, like snow, hail, and frost.<sup>19</sup> In fact, it is the predominance of water in certain forms of matter — not only ice, but metals, for instance — that gives them their ability to solidify and to melt, while in matter where elements other than water predominate, freezing and melting do not occur, as in the case of honey (which Aristotle took to be primarily made up of earth) or quicksilver (primarily air).<sup>20</sup>

Some of these ideas Aristotle took from Plato, who posited two different forms of the element water: the fluid (*to hygron*) and the solid-but-meltable (*to khyton*), the latter of which included ice and metals. The former subcategory encompassed liquid forms of water, which owed their mobility to the fact that their composite particles are small and uneven, thus ever shifting; the latter grouping included solid forms, whose stability derived from their larger and more regular particles. When fire enters such forms of water, however, it disrupts their particles, sets them in motion, and causes them to melt.<sup>21</sup> Beyond this, Plato

<sup>16</sup> See the classic discussion of G.E.R. Lloyd, *Polarity and Analogy: Two Types of Argumentation in Early Greek Thought* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1966; reprint ed., Bristol Classical Press, 1987), idem, "The Hot and the Cold, the Dry and the Wet in Greek Philosophy," *Journal of Hellenic Studies* 84 (1964): 92-106.

<sup>17</sup> *Posterior Analytics* 95a17-19: αἴτιον... ἐκλειψις θερμοῦ παντελῆς.

<sup>18</sup> *Meteorologica* 387a21-22: ὅσα δὲ μὴ ἔχει ἢ ἰσχυροτέρων, οἷον κρύσταλλος καὶ τὰ σφόδρα χλωρά, ἕκαστα.

<sup>19</sup> *Meteorologica* 388b11: Τῶν δὲ συνεστώτων ὅσα μὲν πέπηγεν ὑπὸ ψυχροῦ, ὕδατος, οἷον κρύσταλλος, χιών, χάλαζα, πάχνη.

<sup>20</sup> *Meteorologica* 385a32-b5: τὰ δὲ θερμοῦ στερήσει ὑπὸ θερμοῦ τήκεται, οἷον κρύσταλλος, μόλυβδος, χαλκός. ποῖα μὲν οὖν πηκτὰ καὶ τηκτὰ, εἴρηται, καὶ ποῖα ἄτηκτα. ἄτηκτα δὲ ὅσα μὴ ἔχει ὑγρότητα ὑδατώδη, μηδὲ ὑδατός ἐστιν, ἀλλὰ πλεον θερμοῦ καὶ γῆς, οἷον μέλι καὶ γλευκός (ὥσπερ ζέοντα γὰρ ἐστίν), καὶ ὅσα ὕδατος μὲν ἔχει, ἐστὶν δὲ πλεον ἀέρος, ὥσπερ τὸ ἐλαιον καὶ ὁ ἄργυρος ὁ χυτός, καὶ εἴ τι γλίσχρον, οἷον <πίττα καὶ ἱξός.

<sup>21</sup> *Timaeus* 58de: τὰ δὲ ὕδατος διχῇ μὲν πρῶτον, τὸ μὲν ὑγρόν, τὸ δὲ χυτὸν γένος αὐτοῦ. τὸ μὲν οὖν ὑγρόν διὰ τὸ μετέχον εἶναι τῶν γενῶν τῶν ὕδατος, ὅσα σμικρά, ἀνίσχον ὄντων, κινητὸν αὐτὸ τε καθ' αὐτὸ καὶ ὑπ' ἄλλου διὰ τὴν ἀνωμαλότητα καὶ τὴν τοῦ σχήματος ἰδέαν γέγονε· τὸ δ' ἐκ μεγάλων καὶ ὁμαλῶν στασιμώτερον μὲν ἐκείνου καὶ βαρὺ πεπηγός ὑπὸ ὁμαλότητός ἐστιν, ὑπὸ δὲ πυρός εἰσιόντος καὶ διαλύοντος αὐτὸ τὴν ὁμαλότητα ἀποβάλλει, ταύτην δὲ ἀπολέσαν μετίσχει μᾶλλον κινήσεως...



suggested that the fluid forms of water have some portion of fire mixed in them. When these admixtures of fire and air are removed from (fluid) water, it becomes compressed, assuming its solid-but-meltable forms.<sup>22</sup> Similar ideas recur in a number of later authors,<sup>23</sup> but explicit discussions of ice are hard to find in the surviving fragments of the Presocratics. Closest, perhaps, are several suggestive snippets from Anaxagoras, which permit one to imagine how he might have theorized ice. The first two make clear that he, like Plato, would have posited varying admixtures of fire in water, a move that would have allowed explanation of freezing and melting.

*There is a portion of everything in everything, with the exception of mind, and in some things there is also mind.*<sup>24</sup>

*The things in this one cosmos are not separated from one another, nor cut apart with an axe — neither the hot from the cold, nor the cold from the hot.*<sup>25</sup>

A third fragment shows that Anaxagoras worked with a system of four fundamental oppositions: hot/cold and moist/dry, to which he added dense/rarefied and light/dark. The passage offers analyses of the elements earth and aither following this schema, from which it is easy to extrapolate similar analyses of fire (hot/dry/rarefied/light), water (cold/moist/rarefied/light) and ice (cold/moist/dense/light).

*The dense and the moist and the cold and the dark assembled here, where now there is earth; the rarefied and the hot and the dry and the bright went out to the further part of the aither.*<sup>26</sup>

Finally, in a passage that treats questions of cosmogony, one finds a phrase that shows Anaxagoras understood cold to have the capacity to

<sup>22</sup> *Timaeus* 59de: Τὸ πυρὶ μεμιγμένον ὕδωρ, ὅσον λεπτόν ὑγρόν τε διὰ τὴν κίνησιν καὶ τὴν ὁδὸν ἦν κυλινδούμενον ἐπὶ γῆς ὑγρὸν λέγεται, μαλακὸν τε αὐτῷ τὰς βάσεις ἤττον ἐδραίους οὖσας ἢ τὰς γῆς ὑπείκειν, τοῦτο δταν πυρὸς ἀποχωρισθὲν ἀέρος τε μονωθῇ, γέγονε μὲν ὁμαλότερον, ξυνέωσται δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν ἐξιόντων εἰς αὐτό, παγὲν τε οὕτω τὸ μὲν ὑπὲρ γῆς μάλιστα παθὸν ταῦτα χάλαζα, τὸ δ' ἐπὶ γῆς κρύσταλλος... τὸ δ' ἐπὶ γῆς ξυμπαγὲν, ἐκ δρόσου γενόμενον, πάχνη λέγεται.

<sup>23</sup> Most notably Epicurus, as reported by Diogenes Laertius 10.109, Pseudo-Aristotle, *De Mundo* 394a25, and Plutarch, *De Primo Frigido* 949b.

<sup>24</sup> Anaxagoras, Fragment 46B11 (Diels-Kranz): ἐν παντὶ παντός, μοῖρα ἔνεστι πλὴν νοῦ, ἔστιν οἷσι δὲ καὶ νοῦς ἐνι.

<sup>25</sup> Anaxagoras, Fragment 46B8 (DK): οὐ κεχώριται ἀλλήλων τὰ ἐν τῷ ἐνὶ κόσμῳ οὐδὲ ἀποκέκοπται πελέκει οὔτε τὸ θερμὸν ἀπὸ τοῦ ψυχροῦ οὔτε τὸ ψυχρὸν ἀπὸ τοῦ θερμοῦ.

<sup>26</sup> Anaxagoras, Fragment 46B15 (DK): τὸ μὲν πυκνὸν καὶ <τὸ> διερὸν καὶ τὸ ψυχρὸν καὶ τὸ ζοφερὸν ἐνθάδε συνεχώρησεν, ἐνθα νῦν <ἡ γῆ>, τὸ δὲ ἀραιὸν καὶ τὸ θερμὸν καὶ τὸ ξηρὸν <καὶ τὸ λαμπρὸν> ἐξεχώρησεν εἰς τὸ πρόσω τοῦ αἰθέρος.

cause matter to solidify and become more dense: "From earth, stones are solidified by the cold."<sup>27</sup> If stones thus originate from the action of cold on earth, what then of cold on water? The answer is obvious.

Returning to the Strymon passage of Aeschylus' *Persae*, we can now see that the text establishes the Persians as a people of the east, whose lives and well-being in the moment of their retreat depended on the night and the ice, but who found themselves trapped in the west, where their lives were threatened — and ultimately taken — not by human enemies, but by elements and qualities constituted as their natural antitheses: day and fire. Although the Greeks are not mentioned in this passage, the system of oppositions it organizes invites one to set them in polar contrast to the Persians (Figure 19.1).

Persians	: [Greeks]
East	: West
Night	: Day
Cold/dark	: Hot/bright
Ice	: Fire
Cold/moist/dense	: Hot/dry/rarefied

Fig. 19.1 Correlated binary oppositions in *Persae* 492-507.

The analysis worked out in this passage is reminiscent of that advanced in the Hippocratic treatise *On Airs, Waters, and Places*, which is difficult to date, but is usually thought to have followed the *Persae* by at least some decades.<sup>28</sup> This text has survived only in truncated form.

<sup>27</sup> Anaxagoras, Fragment 46B16 (DK): ἐκ δὲ τῆς γῆς λίθοι συμπήγνυνται ὁπὸ τοῦ ψυχροῦ.

<sup>28</sup> On the nature and importance of this text, see Charlotte Triebel-Schubert, "Anthropologie und Norm: der Skythenabschnitt in der hippokratischen Schrift *Über die Umwelt*," *Medizin-historisches Journal* 25 (1990): 90-103, Lincoln, *Death, War, and Sacrifice*, pp. 198-208, Maria Michela Sassi, *La Scienza dell' uomo nella Grecia antica* (Turin: Boringheri, 1988), pp. 99-104, Claude Calame, "Environnement et nature humaine. Le racisme bien tempéré d'Hippocrate," in *Sciences et racisme* (Lausanne: Payot, 1986), pp. 75-99, Alain Ballabriga, "Les eunuques scythes et leurs femmes. Stérilité des femmes et impuissance des hommes en Scythie selon le traité hippocratique *des airs*," *Métis* 1 (1986): 121-39, Jouanna, "Les causes de la défaite des Barbares chez Eschyle, Hérodote et Hippocrate," *op cit.*, and Backhaus, "Der Hellenen-Barbaren-Gegensatz und die hippokratische Schrift *Peri aerōn hydatōn topōn*," *op cit.* Edith Hall, ed. and trans. *Aeschylus, Persians* (Warminster, Eng.: Aris & Phillips, 1996), p. 144 has discussed the Strymon scene in connection with the ethnography and physiology of this Hippocratic text.

Thankfully, its theoretical sections are relatively intact, which developed a unified theory of geography, climate, physiology, and character (chapters 1-11, 23-24). Here, the key variables hot/cold and moist/dry were understood to co-vary with points of the compass and their interaction had profound effects on the minds and bodies of the populations exposed to these qualities over long periods of time. Two examples were to follow: Libyans, representing the south, and Scythians, doing similar service for the north. The text has a large lacuna, however, and only the latter discussion survives, which treats the Scythians as so influenced by their cold, moist climate that they are weak, flabby and — in a word — phlegmatic. From what remains, it is clear that the Libyans were construed as precisely the reverse: hot, dry and bilious.

Like the Hippocratic treatise, the Strymon passage of the Persae thematizes ethnographic difference through a patterned contrast between paired elementary qualities. It is possible to pursue the analysis by coding these contrasts as marked and unmarked categories, with the mark reflecting the presence of heat and moisture (qualities normally associated with the capacity to sustain life).<sup>29</sup> In this regard, Persae initially codes Greeks and Persians as symmetric opposites: The Greeks, associated with the sun, are thus hot/dry (+/-), while the Persians, associated with the ice, are (super-)cold/moist (-/+). Events at the Strymon complete the process of elevating Greeks over Persians, and do so in conclusive fashion. Thus, the life of the Greeks is sustained by earth, the hot/moist element (+/+), and also by water (-/+), while the latter element — in the form of the thawed river — brings death to the hapless Persians.

Several important differences should be noted between Persae and the Hippocratic *On Airs, Waters, and Places*. Where the ethnographic focus of the former falls along an east-west axis, the orientation of the latter is decidedly north-south. The two texts also differ in the way they organize their constituent elements, for all that they do this toward similar ends. Thus, the Persae begins with a symmetric opposition between Greeks and Persians, which it modifies in ways preferential to

<sup>29</sup> Here, it is interesting to observe that Anaxagoras used an unusual term — *to dieron* — to denote the moist (Fragments 46B4, 46B12, and 46B15). In adjectival form from Homer on, this moisture characterized a vital, living being (ζ 201: ἀνὴρ διερός βροτός). Aeschylus, *Eumenides* 263, has the Furies use the same term with reference to Clytemnestra's spilt blood. See Pierre Chantraine, *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue grecque* 1: 281 and Richard Onians, *The Origins of European Thought* (Cambridge: University Press, 1951), pp. 254-56.

the Greeks, who end up being favored by both fire *and* water. For its part, the Hippocratic treatise also begins with a symmetric opposition, but here Libyans and Scythians establish the terms of a comparison in which both the initial terms are equally devalued. Greeks enter at a later stage of the discussion as the mediating third entity — associated with the center, rather than any of the cardinal points — whose perfect moderation is contrasted with the excesses and failings of north and south alike.

The differences between the details of the two texts are sufficient to make it unlikely that either one depends on the other in any direct fashion. Still, their strong family resemblances suggest they participated in a common discourse, which organized different peoples on geographic axes (north/south, east/west, center/quarters) and thematized their differences via concrete images of opposite qualities (hot/cold, moist/dry, light/dark, and rarefied/dense) in such a fashion that Greek preeminence was ultimately asserted. The result was a highly prejudicial, hellenocentric ethnography-*cum*-physiology. On the strength of Persae 492-507, it appears this discourse was already emergent in the 470s.

It is beyond the scope of this chapter, and perhaps impossible under any circumstances, to recover the origins of this discourse in absolute fashion. Still, it seems likely that Anaxagoras played an important role. Ever since Anaximander, concrete entities like fire and mist, where the opposites were implicit, had figured in cosmologic discussions. Anaxagoras, however, first articulated hot/cold and moist/dry as abstract qualities and gave them a salient position in his theories.<sup>30</sup> Arriving in Athens immediately after Xerxes' invasion (480/79, according to Kirk and Raven),<sup>31</sup> he quickly made contact with the circle of Pericles, where he met and influenced Aeschylus.<sup>32</sup> Particularly noteworthy in this regard is a fragment where the latter described the flooding of the Nile as the product of dialectic interaction between entities opposed in their elemental qualities: hot/dry and cold/moist.

<sup>30</sup> Lloyd, "The Hot and the Cold, the Dry and the Wet," *op cit.*, esp. pp. 92 and 95-100. See esp. Fragments 46B4, 46B12, and 46B15 (DK).

<sup>31</sup> G.S. Kirk, J.E. Raven, and M. Schofield, *The Presocratic Philosophers*, 2d ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), pp. 353-54.

<sup>32</sup> For the fullest discussion, see Wolfgang Rösler, *Reflexe vorsokratischen Denkens bei Aischylos* (Meisenheim am Glan: Anton Hain, 1970), pp. 56-87.

*... Moreover, the fire-eyed sun, having shone forth flame,  
Melts the mountain snow, and all flourishing  
Egypt, swelling her holy stream,  
Brings forth Demeter's life-bearing grain.*<sup>33</sup>

As Wolfgang Rösler has demonstrated, this fragment reflects Anaxagoras' views on the Nile, which are attested in numerous sources.<sup>34</sup> Following the philosopher, Aeschylus here integrated cosmology, climatology, and hydrology, but in the Strymon passage of the Persae, he went further still, subtly working ethnology into the mix. As I hope to have shown, the results of that innovation were highly consequential, for in the moment that he introduced the idea that an elemental difference divided peoples, so also did he naturalize the supremacy of the west over its Oriental other.

<sup>33</sup> Aeschylus, Fragment 293 (Nauck):

... ἐν δ' ἥλιος πυροπὸς ἐκλάμψας φλόγα  
τήκει πετραίαν χιόνα; πᾶσα δ' εὐθαλῆς  
Αἴγυπτος ἄγνοῦ νάματος πληρουμένη  
φερέσβιον Δήμητρος ἀντέλλει στάχυν.

<sup>34</sup> See, inter alia, Diodorus Siculus 1.38.4-5, Aetius 4.1.3, Seneca, *Naturales Quaestiones* 4.2.17, Joannes Lydus, *De Mensibus* 4.107, Hippolytus 1.8.5, and the Scholium to Apollonius of Rhodes 4.269 and the discussion of Rösler, *Reflexe vorsokratischen Denkens bei Aischylos*, pp. 59-60.

## CHAPTER TWENTY

### ON PERSIAN PEDAGOGY AND GREEK MACHISMO

#### I

For the most part, Greek authors were favorably impressed by the education Persians provided for their children or, more precisely, for young males of aristocratic status.<sup>1</sup> In the earliest and most famous account, Herodotus summarized the Persian curriculum with a tone of respect, although not without a hidden barb (as we will ultimately see): "They educate children from five years until they are twenty years old in three things only: to ride a horse, to shoot a bow, and to tell the truth."<sup>2</sup> Three other descriptions of Persian pedagogical practice and two elegies celebrating men who fulfilled its ideals confirm the Herodotean account in its general lines and structure, while differing on some details.

<sup>1</sup> Xenophon, *Anabasis* 1.9.3 states that the sons of noble Persians were educated at the king's court, but *Cyropaedia* 1.2.15 gives a more nuanced picture, detailing the way that education helped secure the reproduction of noble status and privilege.

*The Persians say they are 120,000 in number, and by law none of them is excluded from honors and positions of power. All Persians can send their sons to the common schools of justice, but those who are able to rear their sons without working do this, and those who are not able do not. Those educated by the common teachers advance to pass their youth in the status of adolescents, and those who have not completed this education do not. Those who have fulfilled the status of adolescents according to custom, they advance to the status of mature men, who assemble to share all honors and magistracies...*

λέγονται μὲν γὰρ Πέρσαι ἀμφὶ τὰς δώδεκα μυριάδας εἶναι· τούτων δ' οὐδεὶς ἀπελήλαται νόμον τιμῶν καὶ ἀρχῶν, ἀλλ' ἔξεστι πᾶσι Πέρσαις πέμπειν τοὺς ἑαυτῶν παῖδας εἰς τὰ κοινὰ τῆς δικαιοσύνης διδασκαλεῖα. ἀλλ' οἱ μὲν δυνάμενοι τρέφειν τοὺς παῖδας ἀργοῦντας πέμπουσιν, οἱ δὲ μὴ δυνάμενοι οὐ πέμπουσιν. οἱ δ' ἂν παιδευθῶσι παρὰ τοῖς δημοσίοις διδασκάλοις, ἔξεστιν αὐτοῖς ἐν τοῖς ἐφήβοις νεανισκεύσθαι, τοῖς δὲ μὴ διαπαιδευθῆσιν οὕτως οὐκ ἔξεστιν. οἱ δ' ἂν αὖ ἐν τοῖς ἐφήβοις διατελέσωσι τὰ νόμιμα ποιοῦντες, ἔξεστι τούτοις εἰς τοὺς τελείους ἄνδρας συναλίσσθαι καὶ ἀρχῶν καὶ τιμῶν μετέχειν...

As Pierre Briant, *Histoire de l'empire perse*, p. 339 observed, this means that in addition to its manifest function of transmitting culturally valorized knowledge and preparing youths for adult responsibilities, the Persian educational system also had the latent function of reproducing the privilege and social dominance of the nobility, here represented as the only ones who could afford the theoretically open schooling which was the necessary condition for their sons' advancement to positions of power.

<sup>2</sup> Herodotus 1.136: παιδεύουσι δὲ τοὺς παῖδας ἀπὸ πενταέτεος ἀρξάμενοι μέχρι εικοσαέτεος τρία μῦνα, ἱππεύειν καὶ τοξεύειν καὶ ἀληθίζεσθαι.

Thus, on the simple matter of chronology, Strabo agreed that formal education began at five years of age, but thought it continued until the pupils were twenty-four.<sup>3</sup> Xenophon gave no precise age at which education commenced, but differentiated two stages, one in which "boys" (*paides*) were instructed in basic subjects until the age of sixteen or seventeen, at which point they were promoted to the class of "youths" or "adolescents" (*ephēboi*).<sup>4</sup> In that status they spent another ten years practicing and perfecting the skills and virtues they had been taught as boys until, at the age of twenty-six or twenty-seven, they advanced to the rank of "mature, i.e. fully accomplished men" (*teleioi andres*).<sup>5</sup>

Xenophon gave two accounts of the curriculum, which differ slightly from one another. Both implicitly distinguish two sides to the boys' education, which was seen to involve moral and physical components. As regards morality, in both the *Cyropaedia* and the *Anabasis*, Xenophon described Persian pedagogy as being concerned to foster strong capacities of self-control and moderation (*sōphrosynē*).<sup>6</sup> The former text pairs *sōphrosynē* with an equally strong sense of justice (*dikaiosynē*),<sup>7</sup> but the *Anabasis* only touches lightly on justice,<sup>8</sup> while emphasizing two qualities that apparently are meant to be understood as constituent subcategories of the just: never lying (*mēdamōs pseudesthai*) and showing reciprocity to those who have treated one well or badly (a quality that encompasses the simpler virtue of generosity).<sup>9</sup>

Both texts show that physical training cultivated skill in the arts of war (*polemon ergōn*), specifically shooting a bow and hurling a spear.<sup>10</sup> The *Anabasis* also makes mention of horsemanship,<sup>11</sup> about which the *Cyropaedia* is silent, although it may be implicitly encompassed within

<sup>3</sup> Strabo 15.3.18.

<sup>4</sup> Xenophon, *Cyropaedia* 1.2.8.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid. 1.2.12.

<sup>6</sup> Xenophon, *Cyropaedia* 1.2.8, *Anabasis* 1.9.3.

<sup>7</sup> Xenophon, *Cyropaedia* 1.2.6-7.

<sup>8</sup> Xenophon, *Anabasis* 1.9.16 and 19 speak of Cyrus the Younger's interest in supporting men who were just, and 1.9.30 emphasizes that he was able to judge rightly (*krinein orthōs*), implying that he acquired these habits from his education, but it is not stated directly that he himself was devoted to justice, this being implicit in the entire discussion of 1.9.2-31.

<sup>9</sup> Discussion of these qualities stands outside the treatment of education proper at *Anabasis* 1.9.2-6. The immediately following passage details the virtues Cyrus exhibited as a mature man, implying that these were abundantly present in his nature, but cultivated by his education. Never lying is treated at 1.9.7-10; abundantly repaying in kind those who did him good and evil, at 1.9.11-31.

<sup>10</sup> Xenophon, *Cyropaedia* 1.2.8, *Anabasis* 1.9.5.

<sup>11</sup> Xenophon, *Anabasis* 1.9.5.

its treatment of hunting, a topic to which both texts devote considerable attention.<sup>12</sup> Like the other physical activities emphasized in the curriculum, hunting was understood as preparation for war<sup>13</sup> and it formed part of a daily routine that also included athletic contests, police work and guard duty.<sup>14</sup>

The correspondence between Xenophon's description of Persian pedagogy and that of Herodotus is thus strong, but partial. The two historians differed slightly in their description of the physical skills that were inculcated and rather more as regards moral qualities. Of the latter, Herodotus mentioned one only: speaking the truth, which Xenophon also noted in the *Anabasis*, where he set "never lying" alongside a concern for reciprocity.<sup>15</sup> Within the *Cyropaedia*, truth entered the discussion only as a subcategory of *dikaiosynē*, and once more it figured in negative terms. Thus, Xenophon's description of the mock courts in which Persian youths learned "justice" reveals three foci, since these were concerned to check false speech (deceit, slander, perjury), rough acts (theft, robbery, violence),<sup>16</sup> and to foster reciprocity.<sup>17</sup> Similarly, the virtue of *sōphrosynē* seems to have encompassed several subordinated

<sup>12</sup> Xenophon, *Cyropaedia* 1.2.9-11, *Anabasis* 1.9.6. According to Strabo 15.3.18, Persian hunts were often conducted on horseback.

<sup>13</sup> *Cyropaedia* 1.2.10: ὅτι ἀληθεστάτη αὐτοῖς δοκεῖ εἶναι αὕτη ἡ μελέτη τῶν πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον ... ὥστε οὐ ῥάδιον εὑρεῖν τί ἐν τῇ θήρᾳ ἄπεστι τῶν ἐν πολέμῳ παρόντων.

<sup>14</sup> Guard duty is treated at *Cyropaedia* 1.2.9 and 12, athletic contests and police duty at 1.2.12.

<sup>15</sup> Xenophon, *Anabasis* 1.9.7-10.

<sup>16</sup> Xenophon, *Cyropaedia* 1.2.6-7: "For accusations of theft, robbery, violence, deceit, slander, and other things arise among boys, just as among men. And if they discover those guilty of such injustices, they give judgment against them. And they punish anyone they find making accusations unjustly." γίγνεται γὰρ δὴ καὶ παισὶ πρὸς ἀλλήλους ὥσπερ ἀνδράσιν ἐγκλήματα καὶ κλοπῆς καὶ ἀρπαγῆς καὶ βίας καὶ ἀπάτης καὶ κακολογίας καὶ ἄλλων οἷων δὴ εἰκός. οὓς δ' ἂν γνῶσι τούτων τι ἀδικοῦντας, τιμωροῦνται. κολάζουσι δὲ καὶ δὴ ἂν ἀδίκως ἐγκαλοῦντα εὐρίσκωσι.

<sup>17</sup> *Cyropaedia* 1.2.7: "They also pass judgment on accusations regarding that which people hate most in each other, but for which they are least inclined to seek judgment: ingratitude. And if they know that someone is able to return/repay a favor (lit. an act of grace, a *kharis*) and does not return/repay it, they chastise him severely. For they think ingrates treat gods, parents, fatherland, and friends most negligently, and shamelessness seems to accompany ingratitude most of all, for it is the leader of all shameful things." δικάζουσι δὲ καὶ ἐγκλήματος οὗ ἕνεκα ἄνθρωποι μισοῦσι μὲν ἀλλήλους μάλιστα, δικάζονται δὲ ἥκιστα, ἀχαριστίας, καὶ δὴ ἂν γνῶσι δυνάμενον μὲν χάριν ἀποδιδόναι, μὴ ἀποδιδόντα δὲ, κολάζουσι καὶ τοῦτον ἰσχυρῶς, οἴονται γὰρ τοὺς ἀχαριστοὺς καὶ περὶ θεοῦ ἂν μάλιστα ἀμελῶς ἔχειν καὶ περὶ γονέας καὶ πατρίδα καὶ φίλους. ἐπεσθαι δὲ δοκεῖ μάλιστα τῇ ἀχαριστίᾳ ἡ ἀναισχυντία· καὶ γὰρ αὕτη, μεγίστη δοκεῖ εἶναι ἐπὶ πάντα τὰ αἰσχρὰ ἡγεμών.



	<i>Herodotus</i> 1.136	<i>Xenophon,</i> <i>Cyropaedia</i> 1.2.6-8	<i>Xenophon,</i> <i>Anabasis</i> 1.9.2-31	<i>Strabo</i> 15.3.8
Physical skills	To ride a horse ( <i>hippeuein</i> )		To make use of horses ( <i>hippois... xrēsthai</i> )	To ride a horse ( <i>hippazesthai</i> )
		To hurl a spear ( <i>akontizein</i> )	Throwing a spear ( <i>akontisis</i> )	To hurl a spear ( <i>akontizein</i> )
	To shoot a bow ( <i>toxoeuin</i> )	To shoot a bow ( <i>toxoeuin</i> )	Bowmanship ( <i>toxikē</i> )	To shoot a bow ( <i>toxoeuin</i> )
Moral qualities		Justice ( <i>dikaiosynē</i> )		
	To tell the truth ( <i>alēthizesthai</i> )	They punish deceit ( <i>apatē</i> ), evil speech ( <i>kakologia</i> ), and unjust accusations ( <i>adikōs egkalounta</i> )	Never to lie ( <i>mēdamōs pseudesthai</i> )	To tell the truth ( <i>alētheuein</i> )
		Self-control ( <i>sōphrosynē</i> )	Self-control ( <i>sōphrosynē</i> )	

Table 20.1 Greek accounts of the subjects taught to young Persians.

qualities, including obedience to superiors,<sup>18</sup> moderation (i.e., control over bodily appetites),<sup>19</sup> and the ability to endure extremes of heat, cold, and fatigue.<sup>20</sup>

Finally, there is Strabo, who provided a few details lacking in Herodotus and Xenophon. We shall have occasion to treat the most important of these, but for the moment, let us call attention only to his summary of the Persian curriculum, which closely resembles that given by Herodotus: "From five until twenty-four years of age, they educate their boys to shoot a bow, to throw a spear, to ride a horse, and to tell the truth."<sup>21</sup>

The four sources thus agreed in their descriptions and used a similar vocabulary to name the subjects in which young Persians received instruction (Table 20.1).

<sup>18</sup> Xenophon, *Cyropaedia* 1.2.8, *Anabasis* 1.9.5.

<sup>19</sup> Xenophon, *Cyropaedia* 1.2.8, *Anabasis* 1.9.5.

<sup>20</sup> Xenophon, *Cyropaedia* 1.2.10.

<sup>21</sup> Strabo 15.3.18: Ἀπὸ δὲ πέντε ἐτῶν ἕως τετάρτου καὶ εἰκοστοῦ παιδεύονται τοξεύειν καὶ ἀκοντίζειν καὶ ἵπτάζεσθαι καὶ ἀληθεύειν.

## II

If Strabo did not make explicit mention of *sōphrosynē*, certain details in his account implied awareness that Persian education sought to inculcate that virtue. Thus, like Xenophon, he described how the youths were awakened at dawn,<sup>22</sup> taught to endure heat, cold, moisture, and dryness,<sup>23</sup> and trained to achieve a disciplined control over their hunger and thirst.<sup>24</sup> Both authors agreed that boys and youths alike were permitted no drink save water,<sup>25</sup> but differed in their accounts of diet, which, according to Strabo, was organized in a binary structure. According to him, while they were hunting or on military maneuvers — both activities of the morning<sup>26</sup> — the lads were expected to subsist by scavenging wild fruits (*karpois agriois*), including terebinth, acorns, and wild pears.<sup>27</sup> All were eaten raw, but it was forbidden to consume any game while they were still in the wild.<sup>28</sup> Only at the evening meal were youths free to eat the meat they had carried “home,” although it is not clear whether Strabo used this phrase (*komizein oikade*) to denote a familial residence or one shared with members of one’s age grade (Xenophon’s account would suggest the latter).<sup>29</sup> but in either event, this was the space of culture, not nature.

<sup>22</sup> Ibid.: συνάγουσι δ’ εἰς ἓνα τόπον, ψόφῳ χαλκοῦ πρὸ δρθρου διεγείροντες.

<sup>23</sup> Ibid. One notes a certain slippage in the analysis, which states that the youths were trained “for heat, cold, and rains, how to cross winter-swollen torrents while keeping armor and clothes dry” (καὶ πρὸς καῦμα δὲ καὶ πρὸς ψυχὸς καὶ δμβρους καὶ χειμάρρων διαβάσεις, ὥστ’ ἄβροχα φυλάττειν καὶ δπλα καὶ ἐσθῆτα). The text thus describes practices organized around the binary oppositions hot/cold and moist/dry, but does not treat them in parallel fashion. Thus, while both members of the first pair are constituted as equally severe threats the boys must learn to master (cf. *Cyropaedia* 1.2.10), those of the second pair are not, since the exercise in question teaches them to defend something dry against something wet. One is tempted to imagine a parallel exercise in preserving something wet against arid conditions.

<sup>24</sup> Strabo 15.3.18: ποτὸν δ’ ὕδωρ.

<sup>25</sup> Strabo 15.3.18: οὐχ ἄπτονται δὲ τῶν θηρευμάτων οἱ παῖδες, ἀλλὰ κομίζειν οἴκαδε ἔθος. Xenophon, *Cyropaedia* 1.2.8 (boys) and 1.2.11 (adolescents).

<sup>26</sup> Ibid.: συνάγουσι δ’ εἰς ἓνα τόπον, ψόφῳ χαλκοῦ πρὸ δρθρου διεγείροντες ὥς ἐπὶ ἐξοπλισίαν ἢ θήραν.

<sup>27</sup> Strabo 15.3.18: ἀγρᾶν καὶ καρποῖς ἀγρίοις χρῆσθαι, τερμίνθῳ, δρυοβαλάνοις ἀχράδι.

<sup>28</sup> Strabo 15.3.18: οὐχ ἄπτονται δὲ τῶν θηρευμάτων οἱ παῖδες, ἀλλὰ κομίζειν οἴκαδε ἔθος. Xenophon, *Cyropaedia* 1.2.11 differs. According to him, adolescents on expedition took rations of bread and cardamon with them and were permitted to eat of the game they killed.

<sup>29</sup> At *Cyropaedia* 1.2.3-4, Xenophon described a structure he called the “magistracy” (*arkheia*), which was located in the central *agora* alongside the royal palace, and divided in four sections, one for each of the age-grades. Boys and mature men were obliged to present themselves here early each morning and elders were expected to come frequently, although not required to do so. Adolescents, however, passed their nights there as part of

Accordingly, the meat would be cooked (roasted or boiled) and eaten along with other refined foods of civilization: wheat bread and barley cakes flavored with cardamon (*Lepidium sativum*) and salt.<sup>30</sup> A similar contrast was drawn between the morning hunt and the day's later activities.

*In the afternoon, they learn to cultivate plants, gather roots, make armor, and fabricate cords and nets.*<sup>31</sup>

The day was thus divided into two phases. Morning was used for exercises (*gymnasion*) that developed physical skills and prepared one for war, and these included the hunt (*thēra*) and military maneuvers (*exoplisia*).<sup>32</sup> Afternoon was given to pacific pursuits that developed agricultural and artisanal skills. The day thus alternated between a time/place in which the boys learned how to kill (wild animals and rival humans), and another time/place in which they learned how to make life flourish, especially vegetation, which provides food for all other species; also how to transform inert matter into the tools of civilization or, more precisely, armor and nets: the non-injurious gear employed in war and hunting (Table 20.2).

<i>Time</i>	<i>Morning</i>	<i>Afternoon/Evening</i>
<b>Place</b>	Wild	Home
<b>Food</b>	Wild fruits (terebinth, acorns, wild pear)	Cooked foods (roast or boiled meat, bread, cakes with spices)
<b>Activity</b>	Exercises: Hunting and Martial Drills	Agricultural (cultivating plants, gathering roots)
<b>Objects of one's actions</b>	Animals, Men	Plants, Inanimate matter
<b>Training for</b>	War	Peace

Table 20.2 Bifurcation of the educational day, according to Strabo 15.3.18.

their training and were thus ready to muster with the others at dawn. Cf. Strabo 15.3.18: "Waking at dawn to the clang of bronze, they assemble at one place, as if for military maneuvers or the hunt" συνάγουσι δ' εἰς ἓνα τόπον, ψόφῳ χαλκοῦ πρὸ ὄρθρου διεγείροντες ὡς ἐπὶ ἐξοπλισίαν ἢ θήραν.

<sup>30</sup> Strabo 15.3.18: ἡ δὲ καθ' ἡμέραν δίαίτα ἄρτος μετὰ τὸ γυμνάσιον καὶ μάζα καὶ κάρδαμον καὶ ἄλῶν χόνδρος καὶ κρέα ὅπτα ἢ ἐφθὰ ἐξ ὕδατος.

<sup>31</sup> Ibid.: δειλῆς δὲ φυτουργεῖν καὶ ριζοτομεῖν ἀσκούσι καὶ ὀπλοποιεῖν καὶ λῖνα καὶ ἄρκυς φιλοτεχνεῖν.

<sup>32</sup> Strabo 15.3.18: συνάγουσι δ' εἰς ἓνα τόπον, ψόφῳ χαλκοῦ πρὸ ὄρθρου διεγείροντες ὡς ἐπὶ ἐξοπλισίαν ἢ θήραν.

## III

The goal of Persian education, as described by these Greek authors, seems to have been the production of men who possessed certain physical skills and moral qualities.<sup>33</sup> The skills were associated with violent pursuits (war and hunt), while the qualities were more loosely supportive of peaceful existence (self-control, moderation, a concern for justice, truth, reciprocity, and the flourishing of life). The two elegiac texts that have occasionally been compared to these accounts give a similar picture. First and simplest is an inscription written early in the 4th Century B.C.E. by the poet Symmachus for one Arbinas, a Lycian dynast who enjoyed Achaemenian support and absorbed Persian values in some measure.<sup>34</sup>

*Having slain many and having glorified his father, Gergis,  
Arbinas conquered many cities, and left a fair fame throughout  
Asian land for himself and his ancestors,  
Outstanding in all, all that wise men know,  
Knowing archery, virtue, and equestrian pursuits.*<sup>35</sup>

At first glance, the tripartite set of the final line seems to mirror the Herodotean passage with which we began, using nearly identical terms

<sup>33</sup> The only explicit testimony concerning the *telos* of Persian pedagogy is that of Xenophon, who emphasized its moral intent: "Persian customs take care at the outset that those who will be their citizens do not permit any base or shameful deed" (*Cyropaedia* 1.2.3: οἱ δὲ Περσικοὶ νόμοι προλαβόντες ἐπιμέλονται ὅπως τὴν ἀρχὴν μὴ τοιοῦτοι ἔσονται οἱ πολῖται οἷοι πονηροῦ τινος ἢ αἰσχροῦ ἔργου ἐφίεσσαι). One might also infer the system's goals from the same author's statement that the troop of adolescents that shows its members to be most manly and most trustworthy (*andrikōtatoi kai eupistotatoi*) was judged best educated (*daēmonestatoi*), winning honors for itself, its teachers, and its magistrates (*Cyropaedia* 1.2.12).

<sup>34</sup> On Arbinas and this text, see Jean Bousquet, "Arbinas, fils de Gergis, dynaste de Xanthos, *Comptes rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions & Belles-Lettres* (1975) 138-48, Louis Robert, "Les conquêtes du dynaste lycien Arbinas," *Journal des Savants* (1978) 3-34, Jean Bousquet, "Les inscriptions gréco-lyciennes," *Fouilles de Xanthos* 9 (1992): 147-99, Briant, *Histoire de l'empire perse*, pp. 626-27 and 689-91, and above all, Clarisse Herrens Schmidt, "Une lecture iranienne du poème de Symmachos dédié à Arbinas, dynaste de Xanthos," *Revue des études anciennes* 87 (1985): 125-36. Less satisfactory is Ivana Savalli, "L'idéologie dynastique des poèmes grecs de Xanthos," *L'Antiquité classique* 57 (1987): 103-23.

<sup>35</sup> The text cited represents lines 11-15 in Inscription No. 1245 in H.W. Pleket & R.S. Stroud, eds., *Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum*, Vol. 28 (Amsterdam: J.C. Gieben, 1982), p. 157.

Κτείνας γὰρ πολλός, πατέρα εὐκλείσας τὸν Γ[έργιν],  
πολλὰ μὲν ἄστεα ἔπερσε, καλὸν δὲ κλέος κ[ατὰ] πᾶσιν]  
γῆν Ἀσίαν Ἀρβίνας ἑαυτῷ προγόνοις τε λείοιτε,  
πάντα ἐμὲ πᾶσι πρέπων ὅσα περ σοφοὶ ἄνδρες ἴ[σασιν],  
τοξοοῦναι τε ἀρετῇ τε, ἵππων τε διώγματα εἰδ[ῶς].

for mastery of bow (*toxoein/toxosynai*) and horse (*hippeuein/hippōn... diōgmata*). The single term dealing with moral qualities corresponds less exactly, however, for although *aretē* (here translated "virtue") may have some general relation to truth, justice, or self-control, its semantics are broad enough to encompass all admirable human qualities, although in the present context it may be used in more restrictive fashion to foreground martial virtues ("valor" or the like).<sup>36</sup>

More precise in its correspondence and much greater in its import is a text almost a century older that represents our chief piece of Persian evidence proper: the funerary inscription of Darius the Great (r. 522-486 B.C.E.) at Naqš-i Rostam, which we had occasion to consider in Chapter Fourteen. Here, moral qualities and physical skills were represented as divine gifts, consistent with Achaemenian royal ideology in general and Darius's propaganda in specific.<sup>37</sup> For that which lesser mortals might have hoped to acquire by years of onerous study and diligent practice, kings claimed to obtain by the immediate grace of God.<sup>38</sup>

*A great god is the Wise Lord... who deposited wisdom (xraθu) and physical prowess (aruvasta) in Darius the King.*<sup>39</sup>

Although Old Persian *xraθu* is hapax legomenon and a noun whose capacious semantics make it nearly untranslatable, this word was chosen to summarize the mental and moral qualities (intelligence, good judgment,

<sup>36</sup> On *aretē*, see Chantraine, *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue grecque*, p. 107, and Arthur Adkins, *Merit and Responsibility, a Study in Greek Values* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1975).

<sup>37</sup> For the fullest discussions of the Achaemenian kings as enjoying the special favor of the Wise Lord (Ahura Mazdā), see Root, *King and Kingship in Achaemenid Art*, op cit., Heleen W. A. M. Sancisi-Weerdenburg, "Legitimatie in het Achaemenidenrijk," in *Legitimiteit of leugen, achtergronden van macht en gezag in de vroege Staat* (Leiden: Institute of Cultural and Social Studies, 1981), pp. 147-81 and Ahn, *Religiöse Herrscherlegitimation im Achaemenidischen Iran*, op cit.. On DNb, Herrenschildt, "Le moi mazdéen et les âmes," op cit. is most helpful.

<sup>38</sup> Having observed that the terms by which Darius names his skills and qualities (*xraθu* and *aruvasta*; *ūši*, *manah*, and *yaumaini* could be added to the list) occur only in this inscription, Herrenschildt, "Le moi mazdéen et les âmes," suggests that *xraθu* and *aruvasta*, being hapax legomena, should be understood as unique prerogatives of the king. While this is possible, it seems a strong conclusion to base on slim evidence, since the corpus of Achaemenian inscriptions is small and overwhelmingly focused on the royal person. What can be said with more confidence is that the way the king obtains these gifts — "by the Wise Lord's will" (*vašnā Auramazdāhā*) — is unique to him. See further Chapter Twenty-one.

<sup>39</sup> DNb §1: *baga vazrka Auramazdā... haya xraθum utā aruvastam upari Dārayavaum xšāyaθiyam niyasaya*.

will power, etc.) that Darius claimed to possess.<sup>40</sup> In subsequent paragraphs, the text went on to identify two component subcategories of *xraθu*, specifically a) a desire (*kāma*) for what is right, straight, legal, and true (Old Persian *rāsta*), and b) a capacity for self-control, whereby the king used his powers of mind and will (Old Persian *manah*) to master unruly emotions like anger and fear.<sup>41</sup> The first of these qualities (i.e. the desire for right), seen through Greek eyes, might well be described as sense of justice (*dikaïosynē*), virtue (*aretē*), reciprocity, and/or truth (*alētheia*); the second, as self-control and moderation (*sōphrosynē*).

*Proclaims Darius the King: By the Wise Lord's will, I am the sort of person that I am a friend to Right (rāsta). I am not a friend to Wrong (miθah). It is not my desire that the weak man should have what is wrong done to him on account of the powerful. It is not my desire that the powerful man should have what is wrong done to him on account of the weak. The Right, that is my desire. I am not friend to a lying man. I am not hot-tempered. That which comes into being from me in conflict, I hold firmly under control with my mind (manah). I am firmly ruling over myself. The man who cooperates, according to his cooperation I take care of him. He who causes harm, I interrogate/punish him according to the harm caused.... When a man acts or conveys gifts according to his ability, I become satisfied and my pleasure is great. And (when) I am well-satisfied, I give greatly to loyal/trustworthy men.*<sup>42</sup>

<sup>40</sup> In the Babylonian version of DNB §1, Old Persian *xraθu* is translated by Akkadian *tēmē hissatum* "word, or message of wisdom." Cognates in other Indo-Iranian languages provide some help in interpretation, but each has its own semantics. According to Mayrhofer, *Kurzgefasstes etymologisches Wörterbuch des Altindisches* 1: 276, the following are relevant: Avestan *xratu*, "understanding, will"; Vedic Sanskrit *krātu*, "power, understanding, judgment, will"; Khotan Saka *grata*, "understanding, intelligence, sagacity"; Persian *hirad*, "understanding." He goes on to add "Da 'wirksame, magisch wirksame, bezwingende Kraft' die Grundkonzeption der arischen Wörter gewesen sein dürfte, scheint eine Verbindung mit gr. κράτος, ion. κρέτος 'Stärke', hom. κρᾶτός 'stark' möglich." It is also worth citing the interpretation offered for Older Avestan *xratu* by Kellens and Pirart, *Les textes vieil-avestiques* 2: 231, who gloss the term as "faculté d'usage optimal, efficacité, intelligence."

<sup>41</sup> According to the attractive suggestion of Herrenschildt, "Le moi mazdéen et les âmes," the anger and panic described at DNB §§2b and 2g were understood as demonic forces operative in a cosmos characterized by mixture and struggle. The moral qualities the king received from the Wise Lord thus permitted him first to master these forces in himself, and then to lead the struggle against all the demonic forces that afflict the world in general. See further the discussion of Chapter Fifteen above.

<sup>42</sup> DNB §§2a-2e: θāti Dārayavauš xšāyaθiya: vašnā Auramazdāhā avākaram ami, taya rāstam dauštā ami, miθa nai dauštā ami; nai mā kāma, taya skaθaiš tunuvatahyā rādi miθa kariyaiš, nai mā ava kāma, taya tunuvā skaθaiš rādi miθa kariyaiš. taya rāstam, ava mā kāma; martiyam draujanam nai dauštā ami; nai manauviš ami; yacimaj pṛtanayā bavati, dṛṣam dārayāmi manahā; uvaipašiyahyā dṛṣam xšayamna ami. martiya haya hantaxšatai, anudim hankṛtahyā avaθādim paribarāmi, haya vināθayati, anudim vinastahyā avaθā pṛsāmi ... martiya taya kunaṇti yadivā ābarati anu taṇmanīšai, avanā xšnuta bavāmi utā mām vasai kāma, utā uθanduš ami utā vasai dadāmi agriyānām martiyānām.

Having treated the king's moral qualities at length, the text then provided a somewhat briefer, but no less thorough analysis of his "physical prowess" (*aruvasta*).<sup>43</sup> Three specific skills were listed as the component parts of the status he claimed for himself as an excellent warrior (*ušhamaranakara*, literally "one who is good in the making of battles"), and each skill corresponds to one branch of a military that was divided into cavalry, archers, and infantry.<sup>44</sup>

*Again, this is my physical prowess (aruvasta). Because my body is strong, as a warrior I am a good warrior... As a horseman, I am a good horseman. As an archer, I am a good archer, both on foot and on horse. As a spearman, I am a good spearman, both on foot and on horse.*<sup>45</sup>

Physical skills thus constituted martial competence, while the moral qualities favored by Persians — specifically, a desire for what is right and true, a desire that no injustice be done, will power sufficient to control negative emotions, and a concern for reciprocity — were all associated with peace. As if to underscore this dyadic structure, the text extended this homology by aligning certain powers of hearing (*ūšī*, "understanding, comprehension," literally "ears") with complementary powers of speech (*framāna*, "command")<sup>46</sup> and associating these with peace and war, respectively.

*Of such sort are my understanding (ūšī) and my command (framāna), when you see or when you hear that which is done by me in the palace and in war-camp...*<sup>47</sup>

<sup>43</sup> On *aruvasta* as "physical prowess," see Benveniste, "Etudes iraniennes," pp. 40-41 and Schaefer, "Altpersisch *aruvastam* 'Rüstigkeit,'" pp. 289-93. This interpretation is supported by the Akkadian translation of the term by *it-ba-ru-tum* "activity," from *abāru* "to be strong."

<sup>44</sup> Herodotus 1.103 credits Cyrus's grandfather, Cyaxares with having established the standard pattern of military organization: "He first divided those in Asia according to regiments and he first organized each separately: spearbearers, archers, and cavalry. Before that, all were mixed up and confounded." καὶ πρῶτος τε ἐλόχισε κατὰ τέλεα τοὺς ἐν Ἀσίῃ καὶ πρῶτος διέταξε χωρὶς ἐκάστους εἶναι, τοὺς τε αἰχμοφόρους καὶ τοὺς τοξοφόρους καὶ τοὺς ἰππέας πρὸ τοῦ δὲ ἀναμιξέῃν πάντα ὁμοίως ἀναπεφυρμένα.

<sup>45</sup> DNb §2g-2h: *imapatimaj aruvastam tayamaj tanuš tāvayati, hamaranakara ami ušhamaranakara... asabāra uvasabāra ami, θανuvaniya uθανuvaniya ami utā pastiš utā asabāra, ῥῥῥika ami uvῥῥῥika utā pastiš utā asabāra.*

<sup>46</sup> Cf. Strabo's statement that education included "training in loud speech, breath, and the lungs" (15.3.18: ἄμα καὶ μεγαλοφωνίαν καὶ πνεῦμα καὶ πλευρὰν ἀσκοῦντες), presumably to cultivate the capacity for command.

<sup>47</sup> DNb §2f: *avākaramcimaj ušī utā framānā, yaθāmaj taya kṛtam vajñāhi yadivā āxšnavāhaj utā viθiyā utā spāya(n)tiyāyā.*

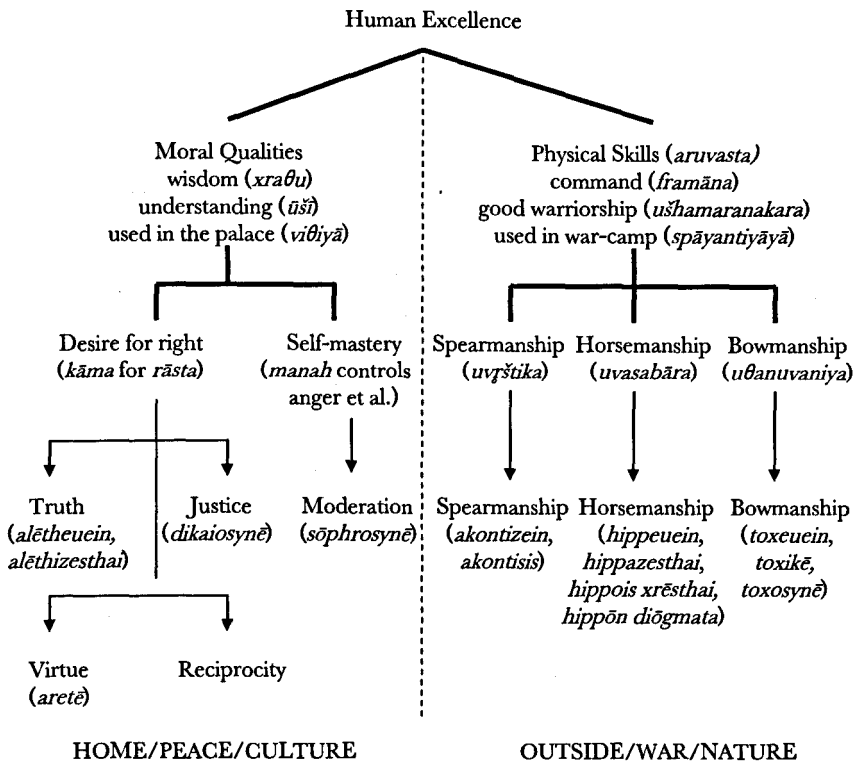


Fig. 20.1 Taxonomy underlying the Persian system of education, as attested in Darius's funerary inscription at Naqš-i Rostam (DNb) and confirmed in Greek sources. Arrows represent Greek translations of Persian concepts and terminology.

#### IV

The six texts we have considered yield a fairly consistent picture. There are certain capacities that high-ranking men are meant to acquire, whether by divine grace (in the case of kings) or by cultural transmission and formal education (in the case of nobles). Such capacities were theorized as falling into two major classes: the moral qualities appropriate to peace and the physical skills appropriate to war. Each of these was then subject to sub-categorization, as represented in Figure 20.1.

All in all, the Greeks seem to have had fairly accurate knowledge of Persian pedagogy and the model of (male) excellence such instruction meant to foster. A certain understandable slippage is evident as Greek authors struggled to translate the abstract terms with which the Persians



named their moral ideals, but the concrete nature of the physical skills afforded them less difficulty. Still, even here one notes a few lapses, as in Herodotus's omission of spears. It is not entirely clear how the earlier historians obtained their information, although Herodotus seems to have spoken with Persian informants in Athens and elsewhere, while Xenophon had direct exposure during his service under Cyrus the Younger.<sup>48</sup> Strabo, however, may have been best situated of all, having had access not only to his predecessors' writings, but to the Naqš-i Rostam inscription itself, as mediated by one of Alexander's companions.

*Onesicritus recalled the inscription on Darius's tomb: "I was a friend to my friends. I became the best horseman and archer. Among huntsmen, I was foremost. I was able to do all things."*<sup>49</sup>

In this radically abbreviated and greatly simplified paraphrase, the moral qualities Darius discussed at such length were reduced to friendship alone, an eminently Greek recoding of the Persian concern for reciprocity.<sup>50</sup> Like his countrymen, Onesicritus was better on the physical skills valued by Persians than on their abstract values, but even here he was not perfectly accurate, for he introduced hunting — unmentioned in the Naqš-i Rostam inscription — into his quotation of that text, while overlooking mastery of the spear, which is there explicitly attested. In a bit, we shall have to ask why he, like Herodotus (and Symmachus) made this omission. But first, there are a few other issues to consider.

<sup>48</sup> On Herodotus's sources, see Drews, *Greek Accounts of Eastern History*, op cit., Oswyn Murray, "Herodotus and Oral History," *Achaemenid History* 2 (1987): 97-115, idem, "Herodotus and Oral History Reconsidered," in Nino Luraghi, ed., *The Historian's Craft in the Age of Herodotus* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2001), pp. 314-25, Robert Rollinger, "Herodotus and the Intellectual Heritage of the Ancient Near East," in Sanna Aro and R. M. Whiting, eds., *The Heirs of Assyria* (Helsinki: The Neo-Assyrian Text Corpus Project, 2000), pp. 65-83, and Nino Luraghi, "Local Knowledge in Herodotus' Histories," in Luraghi, ed., *The Historian's Craft in the Age of Herodotus*, pp. 138-60; on Xenophon, Steven W. Hirsch, *The Friendship of the Barbarians: Xenophon and the Persian Empire* (Hanover and London: University Press of New England, 1985), James Tatum, *Xenophon's Imperial Fiction: On The Education of Cyrus* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1989), and Christopher Tuplin, "Persian Decor in the *Cyropaedia*: Some Observations," *Achaemenid History* 5 (1990): 17-29.

<sup>49</sup> Strabo 15.3.8: Μέμνηται δ' Ὀνησίκριτος καὶ τὸ ἐπὶ τῷ Δαρείου τάφῳ γράμμα τόδε. Φίλος ἦν τοῖς φίλοις· ἱππεὺς καὶ τοξότας ἄριστος ἐγενόμην κυνηγῶν ἐκράτον πάντα ποιεῖν ἡδυνάμην.

<sup>50</sup> Cf. DNB §2a "I am the sort of person that I am a friend to Right," §2b "I am not friend to a lying man," §2c "The man who cooperates, according to his cooperation I take care of him," and §2e "And (when) I am well-satisfied, I give greatly to loyal/trustworthy men." Note also Xenophon's observation that the Persians believed those guilty of ingratitude would treat their friends, parents, country, and gods all in negligent fashion (*Cyropaedia* 1.2.7).

## V

Some relatively slight hints permit us to perceive a hierarchic ranking whereby Persians placed the moral qualities associated with peace above the physical skills of war. For the most part, these hints are found in the spatial and temporal associations of the two.

Such associations exist at three levels: daily rhythms, the course of the life cycle, and cosmic temporality, in all of which the skills of war were subordinated to the greater good of peace. Thus, as we have seen, Strabo described the Persian educational routine as breaking the day into two phases, with hunting, martial exercises, time in the wilderness, and raw foods all in the morning. Later in the day, activity shifted back home for peaceful activities and cooked meals, including meat brought home from the wild and transformed — i.e. domesticated, moralized, and perfected — through the culinary arts. The state of the wild was thus identified as problematic: a domain one entered temporarily and at a certain risk, since one existed there as a killer and thief among other savage beings.<sup>51</sup> One would not wish to remain in this domain, any more than one might wish to possess the skills of violence alone, unmitigated by their moral complement. Rather, the point of the hunt was to win something in the wild that could be adapted for use in the civilized sphere where one passed the bulk of one's life, while making the wilderness a little less wild. What is more, there were not two times to the day, but three, for youths started at home, then assembled for morning activities,<sup>52</sup> and returned to the home from which they began. The times and space of peace thus encompassed the much more limited time and space of war.

Similarly, Xenophon described education as part of an age grade system involving four distinct stages. Thus, boys (*paides*) were taught what they needed to become adolescents (*ephēboi*); adolescents practiced those skills and virtues until they became mature men (*teleioi andres*);

<sup>51</sup> Strabo 15.3.18. Strabo also suggests that the status of youths was viewed as somewhat morally deficient when they were engaged in hunts that took them into the wild, saying that at such time "These boys are called 'Kardakes,' since they rear themselves through acts of theft, for 'karda' designates what is manly and warlike." καλοῦνται δ' οὗτοι Κάρδακες, ἀπὸ κλοπείας τρεφόμενοι· κάρδα γὰρ τὸ ἀνδρῶδες καὶ πολέμικόν λέγεται. The etymology of this name has been discussed by Widengren, *Feudalism in alten Iran*, op cit., pp. 82-85, whose broader interpretation of Strabo's account as evidence for the existence of an "Arische Männerbund" is questionable.

<sup>52</sup> Such is implied by Strabo's description of the boys assembling (*synagousi*) for the hunt or for martial exercises each morning (15.3.18): συνάγουσι δ' εἰς ἓνα τόπον, ψόφῳ χαλκοῦ πρὸ ὀρθροῦ διεγείροντες ὥς ἐπὶ ἐξοπλισίαν ἢ θήραν.

and mature men continued military service until the age of 50, although they discarded bow and spear for the weapons of close combat.<sup>53</sup>

Men who survived beyond the age of 50 became elders (*geraiteroi*), in which status they held prime responsibility for ensuring the moral life of the people.

*These elders no longer do military service away from their homes. Staying home, they judge both public and private cases. They decide on capital offenses and select all magistrates.*<sup>54</sup>

Elsewhere, Xenophon stated that teachers of the boys (i.e. the youngest of students) were always drawn from the elders,<sup>55</sup> and most of the passage he devoted to this stage of education focuses on the inculcation of moral virtues.<sup>56</sup> In contrast, those responsible for the training of adolescents were drawn from the mature men,<sup>57</sup> and the passage treating this second stage of education focuses chiefly on martial skills.<sup>58</sup> The system organizing the life cycle thus mirrored the course of the day, beginning and ending in contexts of peace — i.e. the situation of boys who did not yet hunt and elders who no longer went to war — with more turbulent times, places, and persons situated in the middle.

This same pattern was repeated at the grandest level of all, for as we have seen in previous chapters, Persian cosmology posited an initial period of perfection, following on the Wise Lord's establishment of "happiness for mankind" (*šiyāti... martiyahyā*) as the culminating act of his original creation. Primordial perfection ended, however, when the Lie entered and corrupted existence, ushering in the historic era we inhabit. This turbulent age will end, however, when the Lie is finally and definitively vanquished by the Persian army and empire, led by their divinely-chosen King. Once this has been accomplished, full happiness will be restored and will last forever.

<sup>53</sup> *Cyropaedia* 1.2.13.

<sup>54</sup> *Cyropaedia* 1.2.14: Οἱ δ' αὖ γεραίτεροι οὗτοι στρατεύονται μὲν οὐκέτι ἔξω τῆς ἑαυτῶν, οἴκοι δὲ μένοντες δικάζουσι τὰ τε κοινὰ καὶ τὰ ἴδια πάντα. καὶ θανάτου δὲ οὗτοι κρίνουσι, καὶ τὰς ἀρχὰς οὗτοι πάσας αἰροῦνται.

<sup>55</sup> Xenophon, *Cyropaedia* 1.2.5 and 1.2.13. Strabo 15.3.18 describes these instructors as the wisest (*sōphronestatoi*) of the Persians.

<sup>56</sup> Xenophon, *Cyropaedia* 1.2.6-8. The passage contains nineteen sentences. Seventeen are devoted to the virtues of *dikaïosynē* and *sōphrosynē*, and the ways these were taught. One deals with physical skills, and one is a neutral summation.

<sup>57</sup> *Ibid.* 1.2.5.

<sup>58</sup> *Ibid.* 1.2.9-12. It is more difficult to tabulate the content of this passage than that which treats the education of boys. Several sentences either mention or allude to qualities associated with *sōphrosynē* that are cultivated in the course of guard duty and the hunt, while also treating the physical skills proper. But even if one counts generously, these amount to no more than four or five of the passage's twenty-one sentences, the rest of which focus on martial skills.

	<i>Daily pedagogical routines (as reported by Strabo 15.3.18)</i>	<i>Male life cycle (as reported by Xenophon, Cyropaedia 1.2.3-15)</i>	<i>Cosmic temporality (as reconstructed from Achaemenian inscriptions and Zoroastrian texts)</i>
<b>Early stage of peace</b>	Early morning at home	Boyhood, with instruction by elders, chiefly in moral virtues	Cosmogonic perfection, culminating in happiness for mankind
<b>Middle stage of war</b>	Morning activities of hunting and martial maneuvers; Diet of raw foods eaten in the wild	Adolescence, with training by mature men and practice of physical skills in hunting, athletic contests, guard and police duty; Mature manhood, with military service	Moral confusion and ongoing conflict introduced by assault of the Lie
<b>Final stage of peace</b>	Afternoon activities of cultivating plants and fabricating tools; Diet of cooked foods eaten at home	Elders, who insure justice, instruct youths, and select magistrates; Exempt from military service	Conclusive defeat of the Lie establishes eschatological perfection; Happiness for mankind restored

Table 20.3 Homologous temporal structures at the level of the day, the individual life, and the history of the cosmos.  
In all three, war is encompassed by peace.

From the trivial sequence of daily routine to the history of the cosmos writ large, temporal cycles begin and end with peace, while periods of war are represented as temporary disruptions, during which the civilizing forces of good overcome the disruptive forces of evil and restore God's intended order (Table 20.3).

## VI

One last text presents a different view of this system, inverting the hierarchic order of peace over war. This is a statement Herodotus put in the mouth of the Amazons as they contemplated some difficulties of their marital state.

*The Amazons said this to their Scythian husbands: "We can not dwell among your women, for the same customs do not exist for us and for them."*

*We shoot with the bow, throw spears, and ride horses, and we have not learned feminine tasks."*<sup>59</sup>

The set of physical skills that the Amazons claim to have mastered is the same as that taught to Persian males, and they contrast these martial capacities, not with the higher moral virtues of peace, but with lesser skills they dismiss as unworthy of their attention, being only "feminine tasks" (*erga... gynaikeia*). While the other texts we have considered organized this as a contrast between capacities of the body and those of the mind and spirit, those same categories are here gendered, with privilege going to the male body and the martial skills it cultivated.

## VII

Once throwing a spear, shooting a bow, and riding a horse are read as emphatically masculine forms of excellence, the phallic nature of the first suggests reasons why this skill might be judged most manly of all. Having recognized this, it is time to revisit the question of why Herodotus and others excised training in the spear from their descriptions of Persian pedagogy. In truth, even those who do include this part of the curriculum do so with a certain ambiguity, for both Xenophon and Strabo used terms that credit the Persians with light projectile weapons only: the javelin (*akontion*) or lance (*palton*), but not a heavy spear (*aikhmē*, *enkhos*, or *doru*).<sup>60</sup>

Herodotus himself employed a nuanced vocabulary. In his usage, there is no mention of the lance (*palton*), but whenever the javelin (*akontion*) appears, it is always in the hands of non-Greek barbarians.<sup>61</sup> A heavier spear — the *aikhmē* — is also given to Asians only,<sup>62</sup> but in his

<sup>59</sup> Herodotus 4.114: αἱ δὲ πρὸς ταῦτα ἐλεξαν τάδε. "Ἡμεῖς οὐκ ἂν δυνάμεθα οἰκέειν μετὰ τῶν ὑμετερέων γυναικῶν· οὐ γὰρ τὰ αὐτὰ νόμια ἡμῖν τε καὶ κείνησι ἐστὶ· ἡμεῖς μὲν τοξεύομεν τε καὶ ἀκοντίζομεν καὶ ἵππαζόμεθα, ἔργα δὲ γυναικῆα οὐκ ἐμάθομεν.

<sup>60</sup> The javelin (*to akontion*) or the act of throwing the javelin (*akontizein*) is mentioned by Xenophon, *Cyropaedia* 1.2.8 and Strabo 15.3.18. The lance (*to palton*) occurs at Xenophon, *Cyropaedia* 1.2.9, 1.2.13.

<sup>61</sup> Herodotus thus places javelins in the hands of Lydians (1.34), Egyptians (2.71), Scythians (4.70), Thracians (4.94, 7.75), Libyans (7.71), Mysians (7.74), Mares (7.79), Phoenecians (7.89), Cilicians (7.91), and Lycians (7.92). For a full listing, see J. Enoch Powell, *A Lexicon to Herodotus*, 2d ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1938), p. 10. The denominative verb *akontizein* is used of Lydians (1.43) and Amazons (4.114), also with preverbs, of Persians (9.17, 9.49).

<sup>62</sup> Spears (*aikhmē*) are given to Persians (1.214, 3.78, 3.128, 5.49, 7.61, 7.152), Lydians (1.34, 1.38, 1.39, 1.43, 1.52), Massagetae (1.214, 215), Egyptians (2.106, 2.111),

systematic catalogue of the Persian army's equipment (7.61-80), Herodotus describes virtually all spears carried by the various national divisions as being "short" (*brakhu*), "small" (*smikrē*), or diminutive in some other fashion.<sup>63</sup>

The point becomes clear in a speech Herodotus set in the mouth of Aristagoras, tyrant of Miletus, as he attempted to persuade Cleomenes and the Spartans to provide support for the Ionian revolt he was planning.

*Now, by the Greek gods, rescue the Ionians from slavery, men who are of the same blood as you. It is easy for you to accomplish such things, for the barbarians are not brave, while you, in battle, are greatest in valor. Their mode of warfare is this: bows and short spears. They go into battle wearing trousers and bonnets on their heads. They are thus easy to be conquered.*<sup>64</sup>

Notwithstanding his clear implication that the phallically-challenged Persians would make easy prey for the manly Spartans, Aristagoras failed to persuade Cleomenes. Accordingly, when he took his case to Athens, he shifted his rhetoric accordingly. No longer did he ridicule the short Persian *aikhmē*, speaking now of the longer, heavier *doru*, a weapon he said they were lacking.

*Coming before the populace, Aristagoras said the same things as in Sparta, concerning the good things in Asia and how the Persians were easy to be conquered, since they customarily use neither shield nor spear (oute aspida oute doru).*<sup>65</sup>

Scythians (4.3, 4.71), Doloncae (6.35), Assyrians (7.63), Bactrians (7.64), Medes (7.67), Sarangae (7.67), Ethiopians (7.69), Paphlagonians (7.72) Milyae (7.77), Moschae (7.78), and Colchians (7.79). See Powell, *Lexicon to Herodotus*, p. 10. "Spear-bearers" (*aikhmophorai*) are also attested for Asians only: Persians (7.40, 7.41, 7.55, 7.103), Lydians (1.8), Medes (1.103), Massagetae and Scythians (1.215).

<sup>63</sup> Thus, Herodotus described the Persian gear as including "short spears and large bows" (7.61: *aikhmas de brakheas... toxa de megalā*). The spears of the Bactrians, Milyae, and Colchians were said to have been short (7.64, 7.77, 7.79), those of the Paphlagonians "not large" (7.72: *aikhmas... ou megalas*), those of the Moschae "small" (*aikhmas smikras*). The spears of the Medes were like those of the Persians (7.62), and those of the Sarangae like those of the Medes (7.67). Only the spears of the Assyrians (7.63) and Ethiopians (7.69) escaped disparagement.

<sup>64</sup> Herodotus 5.49: νῦν ὦν πρὸς θεῶν τῶν Ἑλληνίων ῥυσασθε Ἴωνας ἐκ δουλοσύνης ἀνδρας ὁμαίμονας. εὐπετέως δὲ ὑμῖν ταῦτα οἶα τέ χωρέειν ἐστί· οὔτε γὰρ οἱ βάρβαροι ἄλκιμοι εἰσι, ὑμεῖς τε τὰ ἐς τὸν πόλεμον ἐς τὰ μέγιστα ἀνήκετε ἀρετῆς περὶ, ἥ τε μάχη αὐτῶν ἐστί τοιήδε, τόξα καὶ αἰχμὴ βραχέα· ἀναξυρίδας δὲ ἔχοντες ἔρχονται ἐς τὰς μάχας καὶ κυρβασίας ἐπὶ τῇσι κεφαλῇσι. οὕτω εὐπετέες χειρωθῆναι εἰσι.

<sup>65</sup> Herodotus 5.97: ἐπελθὼν δὲ ἐπὶ τὸν δῆμον ὁ Ἀρισταγόρης ταῦτα ἔλεγε τὰ καὶ ἐν τῇ Σπάρτῃ περὶ τῶν ἀγαθῶν τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἀσίῃ καὶ τοῦ πολέμου τοῦ Περσικοῦ, ὥς οὔτε ἀσπίδα οὔτε δόρυ νομίζουσι εὐπετέες τε χειρωθῆναι εἴησαν.

The same paragraph goes on to tell that Aristagoras succeeded in swaying the Athenian *dēmos*, who came to regret the aid they gave him.<sup>66</sup> Certainly, Herodotus depicts him as a scoundrel throughout, and other passages show that his assertions about the Persian spear were less than perfectly valid. Thus, although the *doru* is most often treated as equipment of Greeks and other westerners,<sup>67</sup> one group of Persians was credited with its use. These were one thousand soldiers who bore a golden pomegranate on the butt of their spears (*epi toisi dorasi*) as a mark of their elite status.<sup>68</sup> It was these crack troops that Xerxes threw into the breach at a crucial moment in the battle of Thermopylae. While Herodotus's mention of their equipment shows Aristagoras to have exaggerated his point, the text simultaneously confirms the general substance of the Milesian's argument.

*After the Medes had been roughly handled, they retired and the Persians whom the King called "the Immortals" went in after them. Hydarnes led them. They thought that these troops, at any rate, would easily prevail. But when they joined battle with the Greeks, they had no more success than the Median army, only the same, because they were fighting in a narrow pass, using shorter spears (dorasi brachyteroisi) than the Greeks, and they could not make use of their numbers.*<sup>69</sup>

### VIII

Notwithstanding Herodotus's remarks on pedagogy, the Achaemenian inscriptions make clear that spears were part of Persian weaponry, and instruction in their use surely had a place in the education of Persian

<sup>66</sup> Herodotus 5.97: ἐξ δ' ἀνέπεισε σφέας. πολλοὺς γὰρ οἶκε εἶναι εὐπετέστερον διαβάλλειν ἢ ἓνα, εἰ Κλεομένηα μὲν τὸν Λακεδαιμόνιον μόνον οὐκ οἶός τε ἐγένετο διαβάλλειν, τρεῖς δὲ μυριάδας Ἀθηναίων ἐποίησε τοῦτο.

<sup>67</sup> Herodotus describes the following peoples as using the *doru*: Greeks (7.211), Cypriots (5.9), Argives (6.77), Spartans (6.77, 7.224, 9.62), Lydians (1.34, 1.79), Carians (1.172), and Egyptians. (7.89). At 7.135, Spartans associate the *doru* with the defense of freedom.

<sup>68</sup> Herodotus 7.41: ἐκ τῶν λοιπῶν Περσέων ἀπολελεγμένοι μύριοι. οὗτος πεζὸς ἦν· καὶ τούτων χίλιοι μὲν ἐπὶ τοῖσι δόρασι ἀντὶ τῶν σαυρωτήρων ῥοιᾶς εἶχον χρυσέας καὶ περίεξ συνεκλήμιον τοὺς ἄλλους, οἱ δὲ εἰνακισχίλιοι ἐντὸς τούτων ἐόντες ἀργυρέας ῥοιᾶς εἶχον.

<sup>69</sup> Herodotus 7.211: Ἐπεῖτε δὲ οἱ Μῆδοι τρηχέως περιείποντο, ἐνθαῦτα οὗτοι μὲν ὑπεξήσαν, οἱ δὲ Πέρσαι ἐκδεξάμενοι ἐπήσαν, τοὺς ἀθανάτους ἐκάλεε βασιλεὺς, τῶν ἤρχε Ὑδάρνης, ὥς δὴ οὗτοι γε εὐπετέως κατεργασόμενοι. ὥς δὲ καὶ οὗτοι συνεμισγον τοῖσι Ἑλλήσι, οὐδὲν πλέον ἐφέροντο τῆς στρατιῆς τῆς Μηδικῆς ἀλλὰ τὰ αὐτά, ἅτε ἐν στεينوπόρῳ τε χώρῳ μαχομένοι καὶ δόρασι βραχυτέροιςι χρεώμενοι ἢ περ οἱ Ἕλληνες, καὶ οὐκ ἔχοντες πληθεῖ χρήσασθαι.

nobles.<sup>70</sup> Relief sculptures at Susa and Persepolis (Figures 20.2-3) also show Persians holding spears significantly taller than they are, although the actual length of Persian spears was never really the issue.<sup>71</sup> Were the Persian weapons but a few centimeters shorter than their Greek counterparts, Greeks were still capable of investing that small difference with great symbolic import. And were there no difference at all, Greek ideology and national pride could invent such difference and make it an item of faith. At times, Herodotus made his point in relatively direct fashion, as in the speeches he attributed to Aristagoras and his account of the "Immortals" at Thermopylae. At other moments, he tacitly advanced the same sniggling argument, as with the lacuna he left when describing the Persian curriculum. In his skillful hands, the supposed inadequacies of the Persian spear became a trope for the deficient masculinity of Asia and the phallic superiority of the West. A crude point, even when made with consummate subtlety.<sup>72</sup>

<sup>70</sup> In addition to Darius's celebration of himself as a "spearman" (*ṛštika*) at DNb §2h, he identifies Gaubaruva (= Gobryas in Greek) as his "spearbearer" (*ṛštibara*) at DNC and uses the spear as a trope of all Persian military power at DNa §4.

*If you should wonder, 'How many are the lands/peoples that King Darius held?,' look at the pictures of those who bear the throne (i.e., the accompanying relief, in which each throne-bearer represents a different land/people of the empire). Then you will learn, then it becomes known: 'The spear (ṛšti) of the Persian man went far.'*

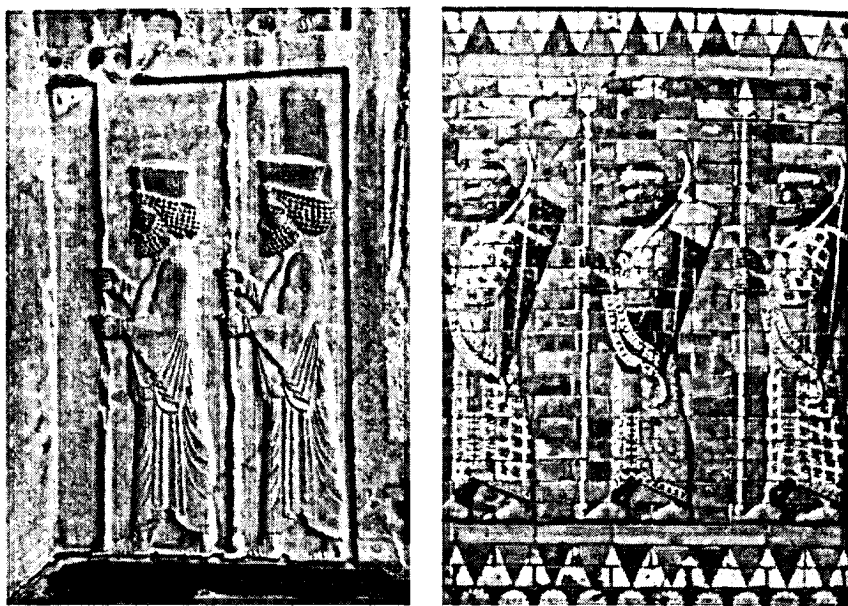
yadipati maniyāhai; ciyākaram avā dahyāva, tayā Dārayavauš xšāyaθiya adāraya, patikarā dīdi, tayai gāθum baranti; adā xšnāsāhi, adatai azdā bavāti; Pārsahyā martiyahyā dūrai ṛštiš parāgmatā.

On the nature of the *ṛšti*, see W.W. Malandra, "A Glossary of Terms for Weapons and Armor in Old Iranian," *Indo-Iranian Journal* 15 (1973): 265 and 270. Malandra notes two other terms for spears that are attested in Avestan: *frašna* (p. 276) and *vaēda* (pp. 276-77), the latter a light javelin.

<sup>71</sup> Stefan Bittner, *Tracht und Bewaffnung des persischen Heeres zur Zeit der Achaimeniden*, 2d ed. (Munich: Klaus Friedrich, 1985), p. 154 identifies these spears as thrusting weapons, a full 3 meters in length, and he differentiates them from projectile lances measuring only 2 meters.

<sup>72</sup> The same disparaging stereotype is advanced in the famous Eurymedon vase, a red-figured oinochoe that depicts a Persian archer (i.e. a warrior without a spear) presenting his posterior to a Greek who approaches him with erect phallus and transparent intent. See further Konrad Schauenberg, "Εὐρυμέδων εἶμι," *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts. Athenische Abteilung* 90 (1975): 97-121, Amy C. Smith, "Eurymedon and the Evolution of Political Personifications in the Early Classical Period," *Journal of Hellenic Studies* 119 (1999): 128-41, and Askold I. Ivantchik, "'Scythian' Archers on Archaic Attic Vases: Problems of Interpretation," *Ancient Civilizations from Scythia to Siberia* 12 (2006): 197-271, esp. pp. 249-52. This interpretation has been disputed, however, by Gloria Ferrari Pinney, "For the Heroes are at Hand," *Journal of Hellenic Studies* 104 (1984): 181-83. Regarding the Greek victory in the battle of Eurymedon in 466 that prompted this piece of crude propaganda, see Briant, *Histoire de l'empire perse*, pp. 574-75.





Figs. 20.2-3 Guards or soldiers equipped with long spears in reliefs from Persepolis (left) and Susa (right).

V.

VARIA

## CHAPTER TWENTY-ONE

### THE WISE LORD'S WILL AND THE MAKING OF WONDERS\*

Among the most common, and most discussed formulae in Achaemenian royal inscriptions is the phrase *vašnā Auramazdāha* "by the Wise Lord's will"<sup>1</sup> (Akkadian *ina šilli šá dū-ri-mi-iz-da*, Elamite *za-u-mi-in dU-ras-da-na*, Aramaic *bʾllh zy 'hwrmzd*).<sup>2</sup> It recurs throughout the extant corpus, but it is Darius (from whom most of our inscriptions derive) who uses it most often: 36 times at Bisitun, and 23 times elsewhere, for 74% of all occurrences. Of his successors, only Xerxes uses this formula with any frequency (13 times, 17%), and it shows up a total of 8 times (10%) in the inscriptions of all others, ranging from Ariaramnes to Artaxerxes II (the last of whom accounts for half of these). Scholars have rightly

\* An earlier version of this chapter was published as "Old Persian *fraša* and *vašna*: Two terms at the Intersection of Religious and Imperial Discourse," *Indogermanische Forschungen* 101 (1996): 147-167.

<sup>1</sup> The generally accepted etymology takes *\*vašna* to be a nominal derivative in *-no-* from the Indo-European verb *\*wek-* "to will, to wish" (Avestan *vas-*, Sanskrit *vaś-*; cf. Old Persian *vasaī* (adv.) "at will, greatly." For details, see Pokorny, *Indogermanisches etymologisches Wörterbuch*, p. 1135 or Mayrhofer, *Kurzgefasstes etymologisches Wörterbuch des Altindischen* 3: 170. Other analyses have been advanced by Szemerényi, "Iranica V," *op cit.*, pp. 325-343, and Skalmowski, "Old Persian *vazraka-*," *op cit.*

<sup>2</sup> The terms in all four languages do not correspond precisely, suggesting that scribes had some difficulty locating parallels for the Iranian term within the extant ideology and vocabulary of these other languages. Thus, for instance, Akkadian *šillu* (also written ideographically as *GIŠ.MI*) means, most literally "shadow, shade of a tree, shaded place." By extension, it came to denote the instruments through which shade is created ("awning, covering"), and by further extension still "protection, aegis, patronage" (i.e. the capacity to create comfort and security in a potentially difficult world). In particular, it is often used to denote the protection gods give to kings: a form of divine blessing that — as Florence Malbran-Labat, "La trilingue de Behistun et les singularités de la version babylonienne," *Semitica* 48 (1998): 69, has observed — brings happiness and calm with it, as when Gilgamesh asks the god Šamaš to bestow his "protection" on him (*ši-il-[I]am šuku[n elija]*) or when Esarhaddon represents himself as the person "to whom (the great gods) have extended their lasting protection, in order to calm their divine hearts" (*ša... ana nuḫḫi libbi ilūtišunu... GIŠ.MI-šu-nu dāri itrušu elišu*). See *Assyrian Dictionary of the Oriental Institute* 16: 189-192. Elamite *za-u-mi-in* is translated "exertion, effort" (*Mühe-waltung*) by Hinz and Koch, *Elamisches Wörterbuch*, p. 1286, consistent with the rendering of *adam hamataxšaj*, ("I exerted myself") by *za-um(?)ma* at DB §14. Elamite thus signals a more active work of intervention on the Wise Lord's part, while the semantic range of the Aramaic is similar to that of the Akkadian.

stressed the way it was used to legitimate Achaemenian rule in general,<sup>3</sup> and along these lines, it must be regarded as one of the more ideologically significant and historically consequential phrases in the history of discourse. Most specifically and most critically, through the repeated and emphatic deployment of this phrase, Darius was able to redefine the suspicious events of his accession (on which, see Chapters Two and Twenty-two) as nothing less than divine election and the acting out of God's will in history.

Closer investigation of the ways in which Darius and his successors used this formula yields a more nuanced understanding of the semantics and pragmatics of Achaemenian propaganda. Toward this end, in the first section of this chapter I will examine the verbs that occur in connection with the formula, in order to ascertain what precise actions the Achaemenians sought to authorize by invocation of "the Wise Lord's will." In the second section, I turn to the uses of an Avestan cognate (*vasna*) that has received surprisingly scant attention. I then pursue some lines opened up by these investigations to explore the significance of a related term in Old Persian (*fraša*) that we have repeatedly encountered.

## I

With a few exceptions,<sup>4</sup> all those things that are marked as having taken place "by the Wise Lord's will" (*vašnā Auramazdāha*) fall within four broad verbal categories: a) verbs of being and becoming; b) verbs of having and getting; c) verbs of violence and destruction; and d) verbs of doing and making. In each instance, details of usage are revealing.

A) Verbs of being and becoming. The verb *bav-* "to become," always appears in the first person singular imperfect and has one specific complement when used with this formula. The speaker thus narrates a transformative moment in his life history: The moment he assumed the office and identity that, *inter alia*, empowered him to tell his story in the fashion that best served his purposes: "By the Wise Lord's will, I became king."<sup>5</sup>

<sup>3</sup> See, *inter alia*, Ahn, *Religiöse Herrscherlegitimation im achämenidischen Iran*, pp. 3, 88, 196-199, et passim, Frei and Koch, *Reichsidee und Reichsorganisation im Perserreich*, p. 65, Gnoli, "Politique religieuse et conception de la royauté sous les Achéménides," pp. 164-165.

<sup>4</sup> All five exceptions occur in inscriptions of Darius. They are: two verbs of motion (*pari-ay-*, DB §8 and *vi-tar-*, DB §18), a verb of striving (*ham-taxš-*, DB §14), a verb of emotion (*tars-*, used in the negative, DPd §2), and a verb of seeming (*θand-*, DSj §3).

<sup>5</sup> DB §13, XPf §4: *vašnā Auramazdāha adam xšāyaθiya abavam*. cf. DB §52, DSm §2.

The formula is particularly useful for one who has come to the throne in irregular fashion. In order to legitimate his rule, the speaker displaces agency from the human realm to the divine, reemphasizing this point in the surrounding narration.<sup>6</sup> Thus, for example, Darius describes the murder of his predecessor.

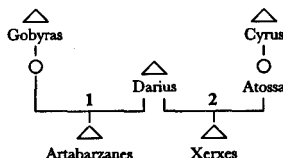
*Proclaims Darius the King... No one dared to proclaim anything about Gaumāta the Magus until I arose. Then I prayed to the Wise Lord for assistance. The Wise Lord bore me aid. Ten days of the month Bāgayādi had passed when I, with a few men, slew that Gaumāta the Magus and the people who were his foremost followers. A fortress named Sikayuvati, a land/people named Nisāya, in Media — there I slew him. I deprived him of the kingship/kingdom. By the Wise Lord's will I became king. The Wise Lord bestowed the kingship/kingdom on me.<sup>7</sup>*

Xerxes also used the same formula to describe how he came to rule, notwithstanding the fact that he was junior to his half-brother Artabazanes.<sup>8</sup> Although political calculation provided the primary motivation, within this account, three levels of agency are interwoven: the Wise

<sup>6</sup> Often, the formulaic claim "by the Wise Lord's will, I became king" follows (or less often, precedes) a formula stating that the Wise Lord bestowed (*frābara* or *abara*) a gift on the king: aid or assistance (*upastām*: DB §9), the kingship and kingdom (*xšačam*: DB §§5, 9, 13; DPd §2, DSf §3a, DSm §2, A<sup>2</sup>Hc §3), the land/people of Persia (*dahyāuš pārsā*: AmH and AsH), or "this earth" (*imām būmim* DNā §4), a phrase that Clarisse Herenschmidt reads as denoting the empire, "Désignation de l'empire et concepts politiques de Darius I<sup>er</sup> d'après ses inscriptions en vieux-perse," *op cit.*, pp. 42-45.

<sup>7</sup> DB §13: *θāti Dārayavauš xšāyaθiya: ... kašci naī adršnauš cišci θanstanai pari Gaumātām tayam magum, yātā adam ārsam, pasāva adam Auramazdām patiyāvanhyaī, Auramazdāmai upastām abara, Bāgayādaiš māhya daθā raucabiš θakatā āha, avaθā adam hadā kamnaībiš martiyaībiš avam Gaumātām tayam magum avājanam utā tayaišai fratamā martiyā anušiya āhantā, Sikayuvatiš nāmā didā, Nisāya nāmā dahyāuš Mādai, avadašim avājanam, xšačamšim adam adinam, vašnā Auramazdāha adam xšāyaθiya abavam, Auramazdā xšačam manā frābara.*

<sup>8</sup> Hayim Tadmor has discussed this passage in connection with other materials from the Ancient Near East in which similar arguments were advanced to deal with the difficulties of similar situations, "Autobiographical Apology in the Royal Assyrian Literature," in H. Tadmor and M. Weinfeld, eds., *History, Historiography and Interpretation* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1984), pp. 36-57. Darius's choice of Xerxes seems to have been predicated on the fact that his mother, Atossa, was the daughter of Cyrus the Great. In her son, the two lines of the Achaemenian family were thus united, and all potential objections to Darius's usurpation thereby put to rest. The relevant family relations, described in Herodotus 7.2-3, were as follows.



Lord's "desire" (*kāma*) that Darius should have many offspring, Darius's selection of Xerxes as crown prince, and the Wise Lord's "will" (*vaśna*) that he become king. Human choice, set in second position, is thus encapsulated within and rendered subordinate to divine volition.

*Proclaims Xerxes the King: There were other sons of Darius. The Wise Lord's desire was thus: Darius, my father, made me the greatest [= heir apparent] after himself. When my father Darius went to [his] place, by the Wise Lord's will I became king in my father's place.<sup>9</sup>*

The formula is not used in connection with the phrase "I became king" or the verb "to become" by any other member of the dynasty. One other passage provides an instructive contrast, however, for it uses a verbal form in the third person to tell how someone other than the author of the text assumed royal power.

*Proclaims Darius the King: This kingship/kingdom, of which Gaumāta the Magus deprived Cambyses, this kingship/kingdom was our lineage's since long ago. Then Gaumāta the Magus deprived Cambyses of Persia and Media and the other lands/peoples. He took them as his own. He made them his own possession. He became king.<sup>10</sup>*

No mention is made of the Wise Lord's will, an omission that carries the clear implication that Gaumāta's accession and reign ought therefore be judged illegitimate.<sup>11</sup> Darius thus redefines his predecessor as an unrighteous king, and his own act of usurpatory regicide as the restoration of rightful, divinely sanctioned rule.

Similarly, when used with the formula *vaśnā Auramazdāha*, the verb "to be" (*ah-*) appears mostly in first person forms. Two of these occurrences are in the imperfect (DB §5, XPh §3), but most are in the present tense, and focus on the divine support that sustains the king/speaker in

<sup>9</sup> XPf §4: *θāti Xšayaṛšā xšāyaθiya: Dārayavaḥuṣ pučā aniyašci āhantā; Auramazdām avaθā kāma āha: Dārayavauṣ haya manā pitā pasā tanūm mām maθištam akunauṣ; yaθamaṣ pitā Dārayavauṣ gāθavā ašiyava, vaśnā Auramazdahā adam xšāyaθiya abavam piča gāθava. Pace Schmeja, "Ging ein zum Throne der Götter," op cit., it seems unlikely that Old Persian gāθu means "throne" in this passage*

<sup>10</sup> DB §12: *θāti Dārayavauṣ xšāyaθiya: aṭta xšačam, taya Gaumāta haya maguṣ adinā Kambujiyam, aṭta xšačam hacā paruviyata amāxam taumāyā āha, pasāva Gaumāta haya maguṣ adinā Kambujiyam utā Pārsam utā Mādam utā aniyā dahyāva, haṣ āyasatā, uvāi-pašiyam akutā, haṣ xšāyaθiya abava.*

<sup>11</sup> A similar distribution is evident for the verb *dī-* "to take by force." When Darius appears as its subject and the realm as its object, it is immediately followed by the assertion: "By the Wise Lord's will I became king. The Wise Lord bestowed the kingship/kingdom on me" (DB §13: *xšačamšim adam adinam. vaśnā Auramazdāha adam xšāyaθiya abavam. Auramazdā xšačam manā frābara*). When Gaumāta is its subject, no mention is made of the divine will (DB §§12, 14).

the present moment, rather than that through which he initially gained royal power. For the most part, these are simply statements to the effect that "By the Wise Lord's will, I am king" (*vašnā Auramazdāha adam xšāyaθiya amī*), conjoined with the equally formulaic claim "the Wise Lord bestowed the kingship/kingdom on me" (*Auramazdā xšačam manā frābara*, DB §5, AmH, DNa §4, A<sup>2</sup>Hc).<sup>12</sup>

Twice, other verbal constructions appear. DPd opens without the standard formula "Proclaims Darius the King" (*θāti Dārayavauš xšāyaθiya*) and goes on to phrase the usual claims with an implied copula, making Darius the object, and not the speaker of the discourse.

*Great is the Wise Lord, who is greatest of the gods. He created Darius (as) king. He bestowed the kingship/kingdom on him. By the Wise Lord's will, Darius is king.*<sup>13</sup>

In one case only are actors other than the king said to "be" something "by the Wise Lord's will," and accordingly a third person plural appears. This sentence offers a complementary inversion of the usual ideology, for just as Darius portrays his royal identity as the result of divine favor, so also does he claim that God's will has made all provinces and people in the empire his subjects (*bandakā*, literally his "bondsmen"), further specifying that they bear (*bar-*) tribute to him, just as the Wise Lord bears him support.<sup>14</sup>

*Proclaims Darius the King: These lands/peoples that came to me, by the Wise Lord's will they were subjects to me. They bore me tribute.*<sup>15</sup>

<sup>12</sup> In one instance only is a different content conveyed, when Darius announces "By the Wise Lord's will, I am the sort of person who is a friend to him who is right" (*vašnā Auramazdāhā avākaram ami taya rāstam dauštā ami*, DNb §2a).

<sup>13</sup> DPd §1: *Auramazdā vazrka haya maθišta bagānām, hau Dārayavaum xšāyaθiyam adadā. haušaj xšačam frābara. vašnā Auramazdāhā Dārayavauš xšāyaθiya.*

<sup>14</sup> With a very few exceptions (DB §74, DNa §4), only two subjects govern the verb *bar-*. Both have their own characteristic objects that they convey to the same ultimate recipient. Thus, the lands/peoples (*dahyāva*) bear tribute (*bājim*) to the king (DB §7, DPe §2, DSe §3, DNa §3, XPh §3), while the Wise Lord bears him aid (*upastām*, AmH, DB §§9, 13, 18, 19, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 33, 35, 36, 38, 41, 42, 45, 46, 50, 62, 63, DNa §5, DSf §3d, DPd §3, DSk §2, XPh §§4a, 4c) and bestows (*fra-bar-*) on him the kingship/kingdom (*xšačam*, AmH, AsH, DB §§5, 13, Dpd §1, DPh §2, DSf §3a, DSm §2, DSp §1, DZc §1, DH §2, A<sup>2</sup>Hc). These texts locate the king at that point where two processes of transmission converge, both of which are necessary to sustain him, albeit in unequal measure: tribute from below and legitimacy from above. The same ideology finds visual representation in the Persepolis reliefs, on which see Chapters Six and Nine above. For a consideration of the Indo-Iranian background to some of these locutions, see Rüdiger Schmitt, "Nugae Bagistanenses," *Münchener Studien zur Sprachwissenschaft* 30 (1972): 142.

<sup>15</sup> DB §7: *θāti Dārayavauš xšāyaθiya: imā dahyāva, tayā manā patiyāiša, vašnā Auramazdāha manā bandakā āhantā, manā bājim abarantā.*

In one isolated instance, the formula is used together with the verb "to live" (*jīv-*), and this is motivated by peculiarities of circumstance. Here, Darius observes: "By the Wise Lord's will, my father, Vištāspa, and my grandfather, Arsames, were both living when the Wise Lord made me king in this earth/empire."<sup>16</sup> More than an actuarial peculiarity, the fact that his father and father's father survived to see Darius take the throne was a potentially distressing anomaly, for ordinarily one became king only upon the death of one's royal father. Since neither Vištāspa nor Arsames had ever ruled the empire, they did not have to die for Darius to accede (this honor fell to the hapless Gaumāta), but their continued existence afforded tangible evidence of the origins that made Darius's claim to rule more than mildly irregular. Potential for embarrassment was kept to a minimum, however, and the situation turned to advantage by defining this anomaly as a product of "the Wise Lord's will," and constituting it as a sign of Darius's divine election.

B) Verbs of having and getting. If the verb *bav-* was used with reference to the originary moment of the speaker's royal identity, while *ah-* served to mark the continuation of that identity in the moment of enunciation, a similar distribution is apparent with regard to verbs of possession.

Thus, the verb *grab-* "to grasp, seize, take captive" is used for initial acts of conquest and imperial annexation. Only Darius uses it, and thrice he does so in connection with the formulaic invocation of divine will, thereby legitimating the actions so denoted.<sup>17</sup> Thus, in two occurrences he makes the grand claim, "By the Wise Lord's will these are the lands/peoples that I seized,"<sup>18</sup> followed by a list of all provinces in the empire. The third (DB §20) singles out the conquest of Babylon.

In contrast, the verb *dar-* "to hold," describes a situation of secure and continuing control. Here, the inscription attributed to Arsames is of interest, insofar as *dar-* there occurs with a singular object: "By the Wise Lord's will, I hold this land/people."<sup>19</sup> In this fashion, the claim was advanced — well after the fact — that Darius's grandfather had been a king of sorts, albeit over a single *dahyu*. Darius himself, however,

<sup>16</sup> DSf §3b: *vašnā Auramazdāha haya manā pitā Vištāspa utā Aršāma haya manā niyāka tayā ubā ajīvatam yadi Auramazdā mām Xšyam akunauš ahyāyā BUyā.*

<sup>17</sup> Both *grab-* and *dī-* denote acts of seizure involving the use of force. The latter verb (on which, see further note 11 above) is more disreputable, however, for it also implies the use of stealth.

<sup>18</sup> DNa §3 = DSe §3: *vašnā Auramazdāhā imā dahyāva tayā adam agrbāyam.*

<sup>19</sup> AsH §2: *vašnā Auramazdāha imām dahyāum dārayāmi.*



always used *dar-* with a plural or collective object: "these lands/peoples" (*imā dahyāva*, DPe §2) or "this kingship/kingdom" (*ima xšačam*, DB §9). The latter passage is particularly instructive for the way it describes the consolidation of imperial power. First, by virtue of the Wise Lord's support (*upastā*), Darius gains control over the kingship/kingdom. A hapax legomenon signals this phase of operations by compounding the verb *dar-* with the preverb *ham-*.<sup>20</sup> Only in the second phase does the uncompounded verb appear, together with the assertion that the king holds the realm "by the Wise Lord's will."

*Proclaims Darius the King: The Wise Lord bestowed this kingship/kingdom on me. The Wise Lord bore me aid until I held together (hamadārayai) this kingship/kingdom. By the Wise Lord's will I hold (dārayāmi) this kingship/kingdom.*<sup>21</sup>

C) Verbs of violence and destruction. The verb *grab-* thus indexes the violence through which Achaemenian rule was initially imposed, while *dar-* does similar service for the implicit threat of violence through which that rule was thereafter maintained. The verb that Darius uses most commonly of all in connection with the formula *vašnā Auramazdāha* (18 of 36 occurrences, 50%) is *jan-* "to strike, smite, defeat." All of these are found in the Bisitun inscription, and refer to the military actions of 522-521 B.C.E., in which he put down rebellions throughout the empire.

Some of these rebellions (particularly those of non-Iranian provinces) involved an attempt to break free of Persian domination and restore native rule; others were attempts to replace Darius with another ruler. In either case, Darius portrayed insurgents as motivated by "the Lie" (*drauga*), a phrase that in Old Persian, as Bo Utas observed, "is a sharply cut symbol with traits of ethical religion as well as 'Realpolitik.'"<sup>22</sup> Moreover, Darius wished his victories to be understood in theological terms. In describing them, he regularly asserted: "The Wise Lord bore me aid" (*Auramazdāmaḥ upastām abara*), after which one of several variants follows. When Darius commanded the troops himself, he uses a first person form to state "By the Wise Lord's will I smote that army

<sup>20</sup> See Schmitt, "Nugae Bagistanenses," pp. 139-142.

<sup>21</sup> DB §9: *θāti Dārayavauš xšāyaθiya: Auramazdāmaḥ ima xšačam frābara, Auramazdāmaḥ upastām abara, yātā ima xšačam hamadārayai, vašnā Auramazdāha ima xšačam dārayāmi.*

<sup>22</sup> Bo Utas, "Old Persian Miscellanies," op cit., pp. 129-137, esp. p. 132; see also Gilbert Lazard, "Notes de vieux-perse," *Bulletin de la Société de linguistique* 71 (1976): 178-180.

greatly" (*Auramazdāmaj upastām abara. vašnā Auramazdāha kārām tayam... adam ajanam vasaj*, DB §§19, 31; cf. XPh §4a). When speaking of campaigns from which he was absent, Darius uses third person forms of the verb, but still manages the discourse so as to reserve primary credit for himself. Thus, the description of each victory is preceded by a passage in which Darius appoints as commander a man whom he emphatically identifies as "my subject" (*manā bandaka*).<sup>23</sup> In most instances, however, this person disappears when the narrative reaches its formulaic conclusion, at which point Darius, his army and his god once more dominate the action.

*The Wise Lord bore me aid. By the Wise Lord's will, the army that is mine smote the army that was rebellious.*<sup>24</sup>

On three occasions only does Darius deign to mention the commander by name when he recounts the victory, and twice this is his father.<sup>25</sup>

Reflecting the shift from the period of imperial conquest to that of secure domination, the verb *jan-* is used much less frequently in the inscriptions of Darius's successors, and only once does it appear with the formula invoking "the Wise Lord's will." Here, Xerxes describes the lone rebellion he had to suppress upon assuming royal office, and in the sentence that follows, he uses the formula to legitimate another sort of violent act, using the verb *vi-kan-*. Not only is the physical nature of this violence different, but also its goal, for through this act of demolition, Xerxes sought to consolidate religious, as well as military control.

*When I became king, there was among the lands/peoples inscribed above, one that was seething (in rebellion). Then the Wise Lord bore me aid. By the Wise Lord's will, I smote that land/people and set it in place. And among these lands/peoples there was one where formerly daivas<sup>26</sup> were worshipped. Then, by the Wise Lord's will, I demolished that daiva-temple.*<sup>27</sup>

D) Verbs of doing and making. The verb *kar-* is used in two ways: in a broad, unrestricted fashion with the general sense "to make, to do," and

<sup>23</sup> Thus DB §§25, 26, 29, 33, 38, 41, 50.

<sup>24</sup> DB §§25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 33, 38, 45 and 46; cf. DB 41 and 42.

<sup>25</sup> DB §§35 and 36; cf. DB §50.

<sup>26</sup> This inscription and the significance of Old Persian *daiva* (cf. Av. *daēva* "old god, evil god" Skt. *dēva* "god," MPers *dēw* "demon") have been much discussed. The best treatment is probably that of Sancisi-Weerdenburg, *Yaunā en Persai*, op cit., pp. 1-47.

<sup>27</sup> XPh §4a-b: *yaθā taya adam xšāyaθiya abavam, asti antar aitā dahyāva, tayaṣ upari nipištā, ayaṣda. pasāvamaj Auramazdā upastām abara. vašnā Auramazdahā avām dahyāvam adam ajanam. utašim gāθavā nīšādayam. utā antar aitā dahyāva āha, yadātaya paruvam dajvā ayadiya; pasāva vašnā Auramazdahā adam avam dajvadānam viyakanam.*

with a more restricted semantics, "to build." Conjoined with the phrase *vašnā Auramazdāha*, it advances the claim that all the king's deeds have been divinely authorized or inspired, as in the statement: "By the Wise Lord's will, all I did/made/built was good."<sup>28</sup> Only past tenses are used: nine times the first person singular imperfect (DB §§14, 56, 62, DN<sup>a</sup> §5, DN<sup>b</sup> §2i, DS<sup>a</sup> §2, DSe §4, DSi §2, XPh §4c), and twice formations from the past passive participle (DB §§58 and 60). At sites other than Susa, Darius usually used this verb in unrestricted fashion (seven of ten occurrences, 70%);<sup>29</sup> thereafter only Xerxes did so, and he once only (XPh §4c).

At Susa, however, where Darius built his first administrative capital in the period between 518 and 512 B.C.E.,<sup>30</sup> *kar-* has its unrestricted sense just once (DSi §2), and six times it is used in restricted fashion with specific reference to construction of the palace (DS<sup>a</sup> §2, DS<sup>d</sup> §2, DS<sup>f</sup> §3d, DS<sup>j</sup> §3, DS<sup>o</sup>, DS<sup>z</sup> §5).<sup>31</sup> All the later Achaemenians adopt this latter usage (91% of the time for Xerxes, [10/11], 100% for all others: Artaxerxes [1/1], Darius II [1/1], and Artaxerxes II [3/3]). Verbal forms are always in past tenses (to mark projects that have been completed) and most often in the first person singular (XP<sup>a</sup> §3, XP<sup>b</sup> §3, XP<sup>d</sup> §3, XP<sup>g</sup>, A<sup>1</sup>Pa §3, D<sup>2</sup>S<sup>b</sup>, A<sup>2</sup>S<sup>d</sup> §2, and A<sup>2</sup>S<sup>a</sup> = A<sup>2</sup>Ha §2). Among the few exceptions are those inscriptions where Xerxes honored the accomplishments of his father, using the third person singular (XP<sup>c</sup> §3, XP<sup>g</sup>, XS<sup>a</sup>, XV §3) or when he spoke of their joint projects in the first person plural (XP<sup>a</sup> §3, XP<sup>f</sup> §4).

A major shift in the practices and ideology of empire can be perceived in the data we have been treating (Table 21.1). Thus, at the moment preserved in the Bisitun inscription, the formula "by the Wise Lord's will" (*vašnā Auramazdāha*) was used in connection with a set of verbs that describe Darius's irregular seizure of state power and his use of force against unruly subjects. Later in his rule, however, and in the

<sup>28</sup> DSi §2: *vašnā AMha visam najbam akunavam*.

<sup>29</sup> The exceptions are DB §70 (where the action is question is carving an inscription), and DB §72 = DB §75 (punishing those who fail to worship the Wise Lord).

<sup>30</sup> The site seems to have been selected in 521 or shortly thereafter. On Susa and its importance, see Boucharlat, "Suse et la Susiane à l'époque achéménide: Données archéologiques," Dandamaev and G. Lukonin, *Culture and Social Institutions of Ancient Iran*, pp. 256-259, and Hinz, *Darius und die Perser*, pp. 177-182.

<sup>31</sup> The text of DS<sup>z</sup> is taken from M.J. Steve, "Inscriptions des Achéménides à Suse (suite)," *Studia Iranica* 3 (1974): 164. Two other restricted uses of the verb *kar-* are found: DSe §4 (acts of pacification and establishment of law) and DSe §5 (restoration of damaged handiwork).

inscriptions of his successors, the same formula occurs more frequently with verbs that bespeak the consolidation of power and the construction of the administrative and ceremonial centers of Achaemenian rule.<sup>32</sup>

	<i>Phase I</i>	<i>Phase II</i>
Verbs of being and becoming	<i>bav-</i>	<i>ah-</i>
Verbs of having and getting	<i>grab-</i>	<i>dar-</i>
Verbs of violence and destruction	<i>jan-</i>	Absent, save for <i>vi-kan-</i> (1×)
<i>kar-</i>	Unrestricted: "to make, to do"	Restricted: "to build"

Table 21.1 Distribution of verbs used with the formula "by the Wise Lord's will." Phase I = Bisitun (c. 520 B.C.E.), Phase II = all later inscriptions.

## II

An Avestan cognate exists for the term that marks the Wise Lord's will: *vasna*, which appears three times in the Older Avesta (Yasna 34.15, 46.19, 50.11) and thrice in the Younger Avesta (Yasna 55.6, Yašt 19.11, 19.19). Although its use is less formulaic than that of its Old Persian counterpart (esp. the absence of the genitive modifier, OPers. *Auramaz-dāha*), there are some regularities worthy of note. Thus, the term always appears in the Singular Instrumental case, as is also true in Old Persian. Interestingly, in all Gāthic occurrences, *vasna* is found in the hymn's concluding strophe, a placement that seems appropriate to the eschatological context of these passages. Thus, for example, Yasna 34 ends with Zarathustra's fervent request of the Wise Lord: "Create an existence that is wondrous and true, by [your] will!"<sup>33</sup>

<sup>32</sup> Matthew Stolper has suggested to me that the distinction is more one of genre than of period: "Isn't it possible — even likely — that the differences in usage between DB and the later texts reflect the difference between political and military narrative and building inscriptions, rather than mere chronological development?" (personal communication 4 May 1994). His point is well taken, but I do not see this as an either/or question. Rather, historical developments make possible the shift from one genre to another, a shift that reflects the processes of which it is a product. Thus, Darius's military victories permitted him to consolidate his power, and producing the authoritative account of those victories at DB was the final piece of this project of consolidation. That being accomplished, in the next phase of his reign he was free to pursue other sorts of projects — particularly those of building — that are described in different sorts of texts.

<sup>33</sup> Yasna 34.15c: *fərašēm vasnā haiθyēm dā ahūm*.

Similarly, Yasna 50 ends when Zarathustra calls upon the Wise Lord — identified here as “Creator of existence” (*dātā aṇhēuš*) — for “the actualization of that which, according to [your] will, is most wondrous.”<sup>34</sup> Indeed, a striking pattern is evident (Table 21.2): Wherever *vasna* appears in the Avesta, one also finds the verb <sup>2</sup>*dā-* (“to create”), the noun *ahu* (“existence”) and the adjective *fraša* (“wondrous”).<sup>35</sup>

	<i>vasna</i>	<sup>2</sup> <i>dā-</i>	<i>ahu</i>	<i>fraša</i>
Yasna 34.15	<i>vasnā</i>	<i>dā</i>	<i>ahūm</i>	<i>fərašəm</i>
Yasna 46.19	<i>vasnā</i>		<i>parāhūm</i>	<i>fərašō.təməm</i>
Yasna 50.11	<i>vasnā</i>	<i>dātā</i>	<i>aṇhēuš</i>	<i>fərašō.təməm</i>
Yasna 55.6	<i>vasna</i>	<i>dāta, daθāna</i>	<i>aṇhēuš, ahūm</i>	<i>frašəm</i>
Yašt 19.11	<i>vasna</i>	<i>daθaite</i>	<i>ahūm, aṇhuš</i>	<i>frašəm</i>
Yašt 19.19	<i>vasna</i>	<i>daθən</i>	<i>ahūm</i>	<i>frašəm</i>

Table 21.2 Vocabulary correlated with *vasna* (“will”) in all Avestan occurrences.

To make (*kar-*) or create (<sup>2</sup>*dā-*) an existence that is wondrous in this sense is no mean feat. Within the Zoroastrian tradition, these terms describe the dramatic acts that bring history to an end: the final defeat of the Evil Spirit and the Lie, the resurrection of the dead, the last judgment, and the restoration of the Wise Lord’s creation to its original, pristine and perfect state.<sup>36</sup> Yašt 19.11 describes a portion of this drama.

*When they make existence wondrous,  
Unaging, undying,  
Undecaying, unputrefying,  
Ever-living, ever-thriving, independent;*

<sup>34</sup> Yasna 50.11d: *haiθyāvarəštəm / hyat vasnā fərašō.təməm*.

<sup>35</sup> Regarding the etymology and semantic range of *fraša*, see Lommel, “Awestische Einzelstudien,” op cit., pp. 29-32, Bailey, “Indo-Iranian Studies,” pp. 21-32, idem, “Armeno-Indo-iranica,” pp. 100-104, idem, *Zoroastrian Problems in the 9th Century Books*, pp. vii-xvi, Narten, *Der Yasna Haptanhāiti*, pp. 199-203, and Kellens and Pirart, *Les textes vieil-avestiques* 2: 270. Note, however, the critical remarks of Gershevitch, *Avestan Hymn to Mithra*, p. 224n. The attempt of Stanley Insler, *The Gāthas of Zarathustra* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1975), p. 172, to derive *fraša* from *fra-ar-* is impossible, for then one would expect Old Persian \**frārta-*.

<sup>36</sup> See, for example, the discussions of Lommel, *Die Religion Zarathustras*, pp. 224-225, Molé, *Culte, mythe, et cosmologie dans l’Iran ancien*, pp. 172-175, and Widengren, *Die Religionen Irans*, p. 88. The best Avestan descriptions are found at Yasna 30.7-9 and Yašt 19.10-11, and Pahlavi sources including Greater Bundahišn 34 (TD<sup>2</sup> MS. 220.15-228.5), Selections of Zādspram 34-35, and the Pahlavi Rivāyat accompanying the Dādes-tān ī Dēnīg 48 provide more extended discussions.

*When the dead arise,  
Indestructability comes to the living.  
By [your] will, existence is made wondrous.<sup>37</sup>*

The plural verb in the first line of this stanza (*yat kərənauuān frašəm ahūm*, "When they make existence wondrous") signals the belief that righteous/truthful human beings, through their "good thoughts, good words, and good deeds" can help perfect the world, and thereby contribute to the work of cosmic renewal. In a passage underscoring the value of certain prayers, the same point is made.

*We worship the Staota Yesnias, worthy of sacrifice, which are the laws of the beginning of existence, recalling, performing, learning, teaching, preserving, seeking, recollecting, remembering, offering, and making existence wondrous, according to [your] will.<sup>38</sup>*

The contrast with Old Persian usage is striking.<sup>39</sup> First, whereas the Achaemenian inscriptions constantly and emphatically speak of God's will, the much larger Avestan corpus does so on relatively few occasions. Second, where the actions legitimated in this fashion by the inscriptions are military, political, and engineering accomplishments of the immediate past, those in the Avesta are either acts yet to come, or those religious and ethical observances in the present that speed the coming of the end-time. Third, where the chief actors in the inscriptions are the king, his army, and his construction crews, the Avesta focuses on the Wise Lord and those righteous/truthful humans who will be his eschatological helpers (*saošiiant*). The discrepancies between these two patterns of usage can be reconciled, however, and in so doing one gains heightened appreciation not only for the skill, but also for the audacity with which Achaemenian rulers combined religious and political discourse.

<sup>37</sup> Yašt 19.11: *yat kərənauuān frašəm ahūm*  
\*azarəsəntəm amarəsəntəm  
afriθiianəm apuiiantəm  
yauuaējim yauuaēsum vasō.xšaθrəm  
*yat irsta paiti usəhištan*  
*jasāt juuaiiō amərəxtiš*  
*daθaite frašəm vasna aṇhuš.*

<sup>38</sup> Yasna 55.6: *staota yesniia yazamaide yā dātā aṇhōuš paouruiiehyā marəmna vərəzimna saxšəmna sācāiamna dadrāna paitišāna paitišmarəmna framarəmna frāiiazəmna frašəm vasna ahūm daθāna.*

<sup>39</sup> Some scholars understand the contrast as one between secular Old Persian usage and religious Avestan, e.g., Gnoli, "Politique religieuse sous les Achéménides," p. 176 and n. 326 or Narten, *Der Yasna Haptanhāiti*, p. 201, but this seems to me mistaken, for the reasons spelled out below. Preferable is the view of Molé, *Culte, mythe, et cosmologie*, pp. 35-36.

## III

To this end, we ought consider the Old Persian neuter substantive *fraša* (Akkadian *būnu*; Elamite transliterates the term as *pír-ra-ša-um*) "wonder," more specifically, "something luxuriant, abundant, vigorous; filled with vital force"<sup>40</sup> The term appears twelve times, most often as the object of the verbs *kar-* and *²dā-*, but also with several others: *ah-* ("to be"), *θand-* ("to seem"), and *fra-mā-* ("to measure out"). Three occurrences hold particular interest, since they appear in variants on the creation myth we have repeatedly considered (Table 21.3).

<i>DNa §1 et al.</i> <sup>41</sup>	<i>DNb §1 and XPl §1</i>	<i>DSs</i>
A great god is the Wise Lord,	A great god is the Wise Lord,	A great god is the Wise Lord,
who created this earth,	who created this wonder ( <i>fraša</i> ) that sees itself,	who makes a wonder ( <i>fraša</i> ) on this earth,
who created that sky,		
who created mankind,		who makes mankind on this earth,
who created happiness for mankind,	who created happiness for mankind,	who makes happiness for mankind,
		who makes good horses and good chariots.
who made Darius king: one king over many, one commander over many. <sup>42</sup>	who deposited wisdom and physical prowess in Darius (or: Xerxes) the king. <sup>43</sup>	On me he bestowed them. May the Wise Lord protect me and what has been done (or: built) by me. <sup>44</sup>

Table 21.3 Variants on the creation account in which earth and sky are replaced by the term *fraša* ("wonder").

<sup>40</sup> For etymological discussions, see the literature cited in note 35 above. The fact that scribes had recourse to transliteration in Elamite indicates that no equivalent term was available in that language. Use of Akkadian *būnu* is so puzzling that the *Assyrian Dictionary of the Oriental Institute* 2: 320-322 suggests the existence of multiple homonymous *būnus*, one of which — quite badly attested elsewhere — translates *fraša* in the inscriptions and means "good thing."

<sup>41</sup> Identical to DNa §1 in their presentation of the original creations are DSe §1, DSf §1, DSt §1, DSab §1, DE §1. XPa §1, XPb §1, XPc §1, XPd §1, XPe §1, XPh §1, XE §1, XV §1, A<sup>1</sup>Pa §1, D<sup>2</sup>Ha §1, A<sup>2</sup>Hc §1, A<sup>3</sup>Pa §1. In DZc §1, sky precedes earth and the same is true in the Babylonian version of DSab §1.

<sup>42</sup> DNa §1: *baga vazrka Auramazdā, haya imām būmīm adā, haya avam asmānam adā, haya martiyam adā, haya šiyātim adā martiyahyā, haya Dārayavaum xšāyaθiyam akunauš, aivam parūnām xšāyaθiyam, aivam parūnām framātāram.*

<sup>43</sup> DNb §1: *baga vazrka Auramazdā, haya adadā ima frašam, taya vainatai, haya adadā šiyātim martiyahyā, haya xraθum utā aruvastam upari Dārayavaum xšāyaθiyam niyasaya. XPl §1 is identical, except that Xerxes replaces Darius and in place of the third person singular imperfect (adadā), it has the third person singular aorist (adā).*

<sup>44</sup> DSs: *baga vazrka Auramazdā haya frašam ahyāyā būmiyā kunaṭti, haya martiyam ahyāyā būmiyā kunaṭti, haya šiyātim kunaṭti martiyahyā, haya uvaspā uraθācā kunaṭti. manā haḡdiš frābara mām Auramazdā pātu utā tayamaj kṛtam.*

In these variants, the term *fraša* ("wonder") replaces — and denotes — either the material elements of the cosmos (earth + sky, as in DSs) or all elements save "happiness" (earth + sky + mankind, as in DNb and XPI). In either case, the creations in question are pristine, pure, and perfectly good, exactly as the Wise Lord intended, which is what gives them their "wondrous" quality.

Like the Wise Lord, the Achaemenian king is also capable of creating a "wonder," as all other occurrences of *fraša* in Old Persian demonstrate.

*Proclaims Darius the King: By the Wise Lord's will I built that. May that which I built appear a wonder to all.*<sup>45</sup>

*Proclaims Darius the King: By the Wise Lord's will — for him who should see this palace, may it seem to all a wonder made by me. May the Wise Lord protect me and my land/people.*<sup>46</sup>

*Proclaims Darius the King: By the Wise Lord's will, I built here at Susa a wonder.*<sup>47</sup>

Three observations are important here: First, Darius alone dared to claim that he had made a "wonder." Second, he did so only in inscriptions at Susa, where the palace itself was defined as the wonder in question. Third, he consistently stated that he was able to accomplish this feat "by the Wise Lord's will" (*vašnā Auramazdāha*). To these we can add a fourth point. In the passages just quoted, Darius used the verb *kar-* to describe his action of building a "wonder." In the closing paragraph of DSf, he employed another verb (*fra-mā-*) that has particular resonance.

*Proclaims Darius the King: In Susa a great wonder was planned. A great wonder was built.*<sup>48</sup>

Most literally, the verb *fra-mā-* that appears in this passage means "to measure out."<sup>49</sup> As a finite verb, it is fairly rare, occurring here, in another

<sup>45</sup> DSa §2: *θāti Dārayavauš XŠ: vašnā AMha adam ava akunavam. taya akunavam visahyā frašam θadayāti.*

<sup>46</sup> DSj §3: *θāti Dārayavauš XŠ: vašnā AMhā haya ima hadiš vaināti taya manā kṛtam visahyā frašam θadayāti. mām AM pātu utamaj DHum.*

<sup>47</sup> DSo: *θāti Dārayavauš XŠ: vašnā AMha Čušāyā idā frašam akunavam.*

<sup>48</sup> DSf §4: *θāti Dārayavauš XŠ: vašnā Auramazdāha Čušāyā paru frašam framātam. paru frašam kṛtam.*

<sup>49</sup> Etymologically, Old Persian *mā-* is related to Avestan *mā-* "to measure," *māta* "built," and *zastō.miti* "the measurement of one hand;" Sanskrit *māti*, *mīmāti* "he measures, arranges, forms, builds;" Ossetic *amajun* "to build," and many terms in other Indo-European languages (Latin *mētior*, Greek μέτρον, etc.). Sanskrit *mātar*, "one who measures," is an agent noun built on the same root and the verb appears with the same preverb in Avestan *fra-mīmaθā* (second person plural subjunctive "you order, command, organize," Yasna 32.4) and Sanskrit *pra-mā-* "to measure, form, create, arrange."



passage that shows how planning and building complement one another,<sup>50</sup> and in one final passage from DSf that describes how Darius planned (i.e. measured) and built the palace at Susa.

*The Wise Lord bore me aid. That which was planned by me, that he made well-done by me. All that I built, I built by the Wise Lord's will.*<sup>51</sup>

If *fra-mā-* appears relatively seldom as a finite verb, it is found much more frequently in the agent noun derived therefrom. *framātar* is usually translated "commander, lord," in the sense of "one who plans, directs, supervises," but at its base is an architectural metaphor: the planner who measures out buildings (or perhaps the priest who measures out ritual ground).<sup>52</sup> This term occurs sixteen times, being used for virtually all kings from Darius to Artaxerxes III, but always in the same highly significant context. This is the cosmogonic myth, which — we can now recognize — describes creation in three steps. First, the Wise Lord created the material world (heaven and earth, which three texts describe more concisely as the "wonder" [*fraša*]). Second, he created animate beings and all that is necessary for life to flourish (mankind and "happiness for mankind;" the latter phrase includes animals, plants, and water). Finally, after a period of time during which these original creations suffered loss and corruption due to "the Lie," "The Wise Lord... made Darius king, one king over many, one commander (*framātar*) among

See further Mayrhofer, *Kurzgefasstes etymologisches Wörterbuch des Altindischen* 2: 638 and Pokorny, pp. 703–4.

<sup>50</sup> XPg: "Proclaims Xerxes the great king: By the Wise Lord's will, Darius the King, who was my father, built and planned much that was good." θατι Xšayāršā xšāyaθiya vazrka: vašnā Auramazdāha vasaj taya najbam akunaš utā frāmāyatā Dārayavauš xšāya-θiya haya manā pitā.

<sup>51</sup> DSf §3d: Auramazdāmaj upastām abara tayamaj framātam cartanaḡ ava ucārammaj akunaš taya adam akunavam viṣam vašnā Auramazdāha akunavam.

<sup>52</sup> For the most thorough discussion of this term, see Ilya Gershevitch, "Extrapolation of Old Persian from Elamite," in Heidemarie Koch and D.S. MacKenzie, eds., *Kunst, Kultur und Geschichte der Achämenidenzeit und ihr Fortleben* (Berlin: Dietrich Reimer, 1983), p. 57, who argued that this title denotes "control of all and any administrative details," further contrasting the content of *xšāyaθiya* to that of *framātar* as the difference between ruling and regulating. Attention to the architectural metaphor embedded in the verb *fra-mā-* only strengthens this interpretation and adds nuance to it. The Akkadian and Elamite translations tend to expand the sense of the term beyond its original etymological significance. Thus, Akkadian renders *framātar* by several related terms, most often *mute'emu* "ruler, lawgiver." Elamite usually transliterates (thus: *pir-ra-ma-ta-ram*), but in three instances, DNā §1, DSe §1, and DSf §1, offers *te-nu-um.da-ut-ti-ra*, which seems to reflect Old Persian \**dainām.dātar*, "religion-giver" (thus Lecoq, *Les inscriptions de la Perse achéménide*, p. 219).

many.”<sup>53</sup> As king (*xšāyaθiya*), the Achaemenian ruler was expected to vanquish the Lie, quell rebellion, and restore order, consistent with what we earlier described as “Phase One” of Darius’s royal activities. As *framātar* — “commander,” but more precisely “planner, measurer, architect” — he was expected to undertake “Phase Two”: the project of reconstruction he began at Susa.<sup>54</sup>

#### IV

Finally, the pattern becomes clear: The Wise Lord created (*²dā-*) heaven and earth, and these were tantamount to a “wonder” (*fraša*). Later, he made (*kar-*) Darius king and “commander” (*framātar*). Once Darius succeeded in establishing his kingship through martial force, he asserted his mastery by planning (*fra-mā-*) and building (*kar-*) the palace at Susa, which he called his “wonder” (*fraša*). In so doing, he constituted it as something equivalent to the Wise Lord’s original inanimate creations (heaven and earth). And here, it is useful to consider the materials used in Susa’s construction, as described in the three inscriptions that take a keen interest in the topic (DSf, DSz, and DSaa).

Two of these texts note the centripetal flow of goods from the imperial periphery: “This palace that I built at Susa: its ornamentation is borne from afar.”<sup>55</sup> All three list the same precious substances used in the palace, although they do so in different fashion. Two follow geography, describing where each of these substances came from. The third omits such information and presents the materials in a logical fashion: First come precious metals (gold, silver), next gemstones (lapis lazuli, turquoise, carnelian), then exotic woods (cedar, “wood of Maka,” ebony), and finally a mixed set including ivory, ornamentation used in relief sculptures, and stone for the building’s columns.<sup>56</sup> Regardless of what it is that holds this last group together (their hard, lustrous surfaces,

<sup>53</sup> DN a §1: Auramazdā... haya Dārayavaum xšāyaθiyam akunauš, aivam parūnām xšāyaθiyam, aivam parūnām framātāram. Cf. DSe §1, DSf §1, DE §1, XP a §1, XP b §1, XP c §1, XP d §1, XP f §1, XP h §1, XE §1, XV §1, A1Pa §1, D2Ha §1, A2Hc §1, A3Pa §1.

<sup>54</sup> The distinction between “Phase One” and “Phase Two” is also encoded in the phrase that occurs at DN b §2f, distinguishing two sites of the king’s excellence: “at home and at war,” utā viθiyā uta spāya(n)tiyāyā.

<sup>55</sup> DSf §3e: ima hadiš tya Čušāyā akunavam hacāci dūradaša arjanamšaj abariya.

<sup>56</sup> DSaa §3: a-ga-a si-im-ma-nu-u šā a-na bīti(GÁ) a-ga-a ep-šu hurāšu (KÜ.GI) kaspu (KÜ.BABBAR) NA<sub>4</sub> uknu (ZA.GIN) NA<sub>4</sub> eli ašgiku (UGU.AŠ.GÌ.GÌ) NA<sub>4</sub> samtu (GUG) gušūre (GÌŠ.ÜR.MES) GÌŠ.ērēni (ERIN) musukkanni (GÌŠ.ÜR.MEŠ.MÁ.GAN.NA) GÌŠ.ú.šu-ú ši-in-nu pi-i-ri ù si-im-ma-nu-ú šā ú-šur-tum gab-bi ṭim-ma-a-nu šā NA<sub>4</sub> ga-la-la. Cf. DSf §§3g-3j, DSz §9-12.

perhaps), all items listed share the same general characteristics, being rare, expensive, and beautiful products of the earth itself.<sup>57</sup> This is matter in its most precious forms, imported from all over the globe or — to make use of the inscriptions' own idiom — from every land/people of the empire (on the significance of such tribute, see above Chapters Six and Nine).

DSaa names all of those from whom these substances were extracted, although it does not attempt to match materials to the places of their origin. In all, twenty-two lands/peoples are named, along with an umbrella category — “lands by the sea” (*ma-ta-a-ta ša<sub>2</sub> ina AŠnāri<sup>ID<sub>2</sub></sup> ma-ar-ra-tum*) — that might account for the gap between this list and the twenty-seven *dahyāva* that figure in DSe's list of the empire. If so, the umbrella category would include Sind, Libya, Ethiopia, Caria, and Thrace, all of which possessed some littoral and belonged to the outermost circle of the imperial imaginary.<sup>58</sup>

DSf and DSz differ somewhat in their presentation,<sup>59</sup> but details notwithstanding, it is clear what the palace was meant to represent. Most obviously, Susa was a stunning display of the Great King's wealth and power.<sup>60</sup> Beyond that, it was a microcosmic representation of the empire as a whole, each part of which contributed to its construction. Further still, it was the site to which the world's most exquisite materials were sent. Here, it is probably relevant to note that the same kind of rarefied substances also figured in Artaxerxes' banquet, as described in the Bible.

<sup>57</sup> Ivory is slightly anomalous.

<sup>58</sup> DSaa §4: a-ga-an-né-e-ti ma-ta-a-ta ša si-im-ma-nu-ú ša bīti (GÁ) a-ga-a iš-šá-a-nu pa-ar-su<sup>KI</sup> ELAM.MA<sup>KI</sup> KUR<sup>KI</sup> ma-da-a-a<sup>KI</sup> bābil<sup>KI</sup> (KÁ.DINGIR.RA<sup>KI</sup>) KUR<sup>KI</sup> aš-šur<sup>KI</sup> KUR<sup>KI</sup> a-ra-bi mi-šir<sup>KI</sup> ma-ta-a-ta ša ina AŠnāri<sup>ID</sup> ma-ar-ra-tum sa-pa-ar-da<sup>KI</sup> KUR<sup>KI</sup> ia-a-ma-ni ú-ra-aš-da<sup>KI</sup> ka-at-pa-tuk-ku<sup>KI</sup> ba-ah-ti-ir<sup>KI</sup> su-gu-ud<sup>KI</sup> ga-an-da-ri<sup>KI</sup> gi-mir-ri<sup>KI</sup> sa-at-ta-gu-ú-ši-ih<sup>KI</sup> a-ru-ha-at-ih<sup>KI</sup> qa-di-e<sup>KI</sup>. DSaa has rarely been studied in its own right and is usually treated as little more than a defective variant of DSf. See, for instance, Herrenschildt, “Sur la charte de fondation DSaa,” op cit.

<sup>59</sup> Only fifteen lands/peoples appear in DSf §§3f-3k and DSz §§7-12 as having contributed materials or labor, and one needs three different rationales to account for the lacunae: 1) Iranians or “Aryans” (i.e. Persians, Parthians, Arians, perhaps also Sattagydi-ans and Drangianans) apparently were not obliged to contribute (cf. Herodotus 3.97); 2) Certain peoples who were obliged to provide living animals or plants, rather than inanimate substances taken from the earth are not listed, presumably because they did not contribute material substance to the building (thus, Armenians and Cappadocians traditionally gave horses [Herodotus 3.90], Libyans grain [3.91], and Arabians frankincense [3.97]); 3) Peoples of the outermost periphery (Scythians, Libyans, Thracians) are once more omitted.

<sup>60</sup> Not just a sign or index of wealth and power, it was also a discursive instrument through which power was exercised over and wealth extracted from the subject peoples of the empire.



## CHAPTER TWENTY-TWO

### COSMOGONIC MYTH AND DYNASTIC CRISIS

#### I

When European scholars first became aware of the monumental inscription Darius the Great placed on the rock wall at Bisitun, they were struck by how closely it followed the story already familiar to them from Herodotus 3.30 and 3.61-79. Taking each variant to confirm the other, they accepted this account of Darius's accession as historic fact.<sup>1</sup> By the middle of the 20<sup>th</sup> Century, however, the importance of some discrepancies in detail had been noted, as were certain implausible features of the story that served to advance its author's interests. As a result, following critical discussions by A.T. Olmstead, Elias Bickerman and others, opinion has shifted considerably. Although some disagreement remains, most experts now take the crucial paragraphs of the Bisitun text (above all, §§10-14) as the product and instrument of Darius's desperate, but highly successful attempt to put the best possible face on his otherwise dubious seizure of imperial power.<sup>2</sup>

This portion of the text begins in non-controversial fashion, presenting basic information well known to all.

<sup>1</sup> The Bisitun inscription was first made available to western readers by H.C. Rawlinson, "The Persian Cuneiform Inscription at Behistun, deciphered and translated," *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* 10 (1847): i-lxxi, 1-349.

<sup>2</sup> One of the first to voice skepticism was A.T. Olmstead, *History of the Persian Empire*, op cit., pp. 107-10. Others have since developed this perspective, while differing in the specific pieces of the narrative on which they focus their critical attention. Significant contributions include Dandamaev, *Persien unter den ersten Achämeniden*, idem, *Political History of the Achaemenid Empire*, pp. 103-13, Bickerman and Tadmor, "Darius I, Pseudo-Smerdis and the Magi," Herrenschildt, "Les historiens de l'empire achéménide et l'inscription de Bisotun," Balcer, *Herodotus and Bisotun*, and Briant, *Histoire de l'empire perse*, pp. 109-27. Those who continued to defend the historicity of the Bisitun account in the face of rising criticism include Franz Altheim and Ruth Stiehl, *Die aramäische Sprache unter den Achämeniden* (Frankfurt am Main: V. Klostermann, 1960), pp. 75-105, Hinz, *Darius und die Perser*, pp. 122-45, Wiesehöfer, *Der Aufstand Gaumatas und die Anfänge Dareios I*, Gershevitch, "The False Smerdis," and Elfenbein, "The Oldest Detective Story in World History."

*A man named Cambyses, the son of Cyrus, of our lineage — he formerly was king here. The brother of that Cambyses was named Bardiya. He had the same mother and the same father as Cambyses.*<sup>3</sup>

Cambyses and Bardiya were thus full brothers, born to Cyrus, founder of the Persian empire.<sup>4</sup> Upon Cyrus's death in 530 B.C.E., Cambyses acceded to power, having been selected by his father, presumably as his first-born.<sup>5</sup> Other sources tell us that Cambyses was childless and as a result it is likely that Bardiya was regarded as heir apparent when the king left Persia for the conquest of Egypt in 525.<sup>6</sup> Although the Bisitun text does not mention this, Darius — then in his late twenties — served in that campaign as Cambyses's spearbearer, an office that suggests he was a trusted noble, but not necessarily of royal lineage (Figure 22.1).<sup>7</sup>

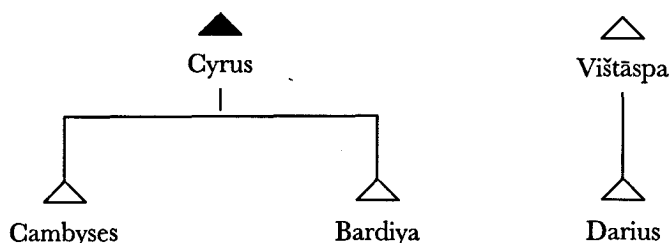


Fig. 22.1 Relations described in DB §10, dating roughly to the moment Cambyses departed for Egypt in 525 B.C.E.

Continuing his narrative, Darius introduces novel information, purporting to reveal a secret that explains how a previously well-ordered world and empire fell into terrible trouble. It is here that he begins reshaping characters and events to emplot a complex narrative in which he will be the hero.

<sup>3</sup> DB §10: Kambujiya nāma, Kurauš puça, amāxam taumāyā, hau paruvam idā xšāya-θiya āha, avahyā Kambujiyahyā brātā Bṛdiyam nāma āha, hamātā hamapitā Kambujiyahyā.

<sup>4</sup> Herodotus 3.30 also emphasizes that Bardiya and Cambyses were full and not half-brothers.

<sup>5</sup> Thus Xenophon, *Cyropaedia* 8.7.9-11 and Ctesias, *Persika* 11, as preserved in the epitome of Photius 72.8.

<sup>6</sup> See Herodotus 3.66 on Cambyses's lack of progeny.

<sup>7</sup> Herodotus 3.139. Xenophon's report that Cyrus created an elite bodyguard of 10,000 spearbearers and recruited low-born Persians for such service (*Cyropaedia* 7.5.66-68; cf. Herodotus 7.41 and Athenaeus, *Deipnosophistae* XII 514bc) complicates any attempt to correlate the office with noble status, but the sole occurrence of the corresponding title in Old Persian (*γστίβαρα*) names Gobryas as having served Darius in this capacity (DNC). See Briant, *Histoire de l'empire perse*, 272-73.

*Afterwards, Cambyses slew that Bardiya. When Cambyses slew Bardiya, it did not become known by the people/army that Bardiya was slain. Then Cambyses went off to Egypt. When Cambyses went to Egypt, then the people/army became vulnerable to deception and the Lie became great throughout the land/people — in Persia and Media and other lands/peoples.<sup>8</sup>*

Thirty-six documents have been discovered in Babylon dating from April 14 through October 9 of 522 B.C.E. that reflect the dramatic events of that year. Mostly commercial in nature, their interest lies in the fact that they name not Cambyses, but Bardiya as king of the empire.<sup>9</sup> Babylonian knowledge lagged a bit behind events, as it took some days for news to travel, but the Bisitun inscription confirms that Bardiya rose against his brother in March 522, had himself crowned as king in July, and remained on the throne until late September. But given the secret that the Bisitun text (purportedly) revealed — the fact that Cambyses had murdered Bardiya in 525 — the question inevitably arises: how could Bardiya possibly have usurped the throne in 522? Darius, creator of the plot whose complications provoke this query, answered it by revealing a second secret.

*There was one man, a Magus named Gaumāta. He rose up from Paišiyāuvādā — a mountain named Arakadri, from there. Fourteen days in the month Viyaxna had passed when he rose up (11 March 522 B.C.E.). He lied to the people/army, [saying] thus: "I am Bardiya, the son of Cyrus, the brother of Cambyses." Then the people/army all became rebellious from Cambyses. It went over to him — Persia and Media and the other lands/peoples. Nine days had passed in the month Garmapada (1 July 522 B.C.E.), when he seized the kingship/kingdom. Then Cambyses died his own-death.<sup>10</sup>*

Herodotus understood this last phrase to suggest that Cambyses died as the result of an accident, itself determined by fate.<sup>11</sup> Others have taken it

<sup>8</sup> DB §10: pasāva Kambujiya avam Bṛdiyam avāja, yaθā Kambujiya Bṛdiyam avāja, kārahyā naj azdā abava, taya Bṛdiya avajata, pasāva Kambujiya Mudrāyam ašiyava, yaθā Kambujiya Mudrāyam ašiyava, pasāva kāra arika abava utā drauga dahyauvā vasaī abava, utā Pārsai utā Mādaī utā aniyāuvā dahyūšuvā.

<sup>9</sup> The texts are collected and discussed in Graziani, *Testi editi ed inediti datati al regno di Bardiya*, op cit.

<sup>10</sup> DB §11: pasāva aiva martiya maguš āha, Gaumāta nāma, haṇ udapatatā hacā Paišiyāuvādā, Arakadriš nāma kaufa, hacā avadaš, Viyaxnahya māhyā çačudaθā raucabiš θakatā āha, yadi udapatatā, haṇ kārahyā avaθā adurujiya: adam Bṛdiya ami, haya Kurauš puça, Kambujiyahyā brātā, pasāva kāra haruva hamičiya abava hacā Kambujiyā, abi avam ašiyava, utā Pārsa utā Māda utā aniyā dahyāva, xšačam haṇ agrbāyatā, Garmapadahya māhyā navā raucabiš θakatā āha, avaθā xšačam agrbāyatā, pasāva Kambujiya uvamršiyuš amariyatā.

<sup>11</sup> Herodotus 3.64-66. This view has also been defended by Gerold Walser, "Der Tod des Kambyzes," in Heinz Heinen, ed., *Althistorische Studien Hermann Bengtson zum 70. Geburtstag darbebracht von Kollegen und Schülern* (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner, 1983),

to denote suicide.<sup>12</sup> Careful study, however, has shown that “to die one’s own death” is a formulaic expression in Iranian languages that marks a death as natural and not the result of homicide.<sup>13</sup> The thrust of Darius’s discourse was thus twofold. First, he established there was no possible legitimacy to “Bardiya’s” kingship, for it was not Bardiya but the previously unknown “Gaumāta the Magus” who sat on the throne. As a Magus, moreover, he was doubly disqualified from royal office, being both a Mede (not a Persian) and a priest (not a member of the warrior nobility from which kings were drawn).<sup>14</sup> Second, by asserting that Cambyses’s death was natural, Darius deflected suspicion that some member of Cambyses’s entourage — his spearbearer, perhaps — might have helped effect the king’s death, acting either at “Bardiya’s” behest or on their own initiative (Figure 22.2).

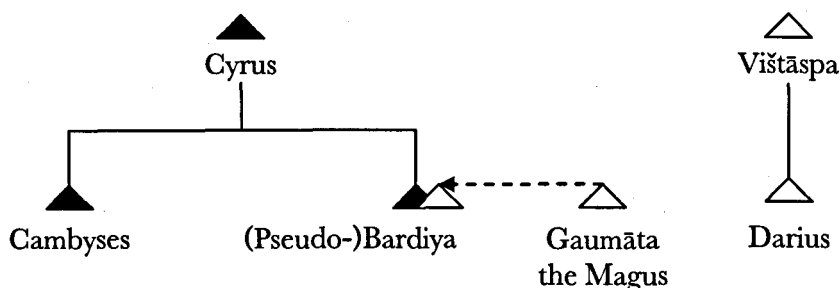


Fig. 22.2 Redefinitions of the situation in 522 B.C.E.  
accomplished through DB §§10-11.

pp. 8-18. Egyptian evidence, on which see Bresciani, “La morte di Cambise ovvero dell’empietà punita: A proposito della ‘Cronaca Demotica’, Verso, col. C. 7-8,” *op cit.*, asserts that Cambyses caused his own death, which was a punishment visited upon him. Ctesias, in the Epitome of Photius 72.14, narrates an equally accidental death, albeit one that differs somewhat in its details.

<sup>12</sup> Thus, Ernst Herzfeld, “Der Tod des Kambyzes: *hvāmṛšyuš amryatā*,” *Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies* 8 (1935-37): 589-97.

<sup>13</sup> This interpretation was first advanced by Wilhelm Schulze, “Der Tod des Kambyzes,” *Sitzungsberichte der preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaft zu Berlin*, hist.-phil. Klasse (1912), pp. 685-703 and has been augmented by Alfred Hübner, “Zum Tod des Kambyzes,” *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung* 68 (1944): 57, H. H. Schaefer, “Des eigenen Todes sterben,” Asmussen, “Iranica, A: The Death of Cambyzes,” Jaan Puhvel, “The ‘Death of Cambyzes’ and Hittite Parallels,” *Studia Classica et Orientalia Antonino Pagliaro Oblata* (Rome: Bardi, 1969) 3: 169-175, and Herrmann, “Zu altpersisch *uv’mṛšiyuš ‘mriyt’*.”

<sup>14</sup> On the significance of the title “Magus,” the careful discussion of Emile Benveniste, *Les Mages dans l’ancien Iran* (Paris: G.P. Maisonneuve, 1938) remains fundamental.



The role assigned to Gaumāta was further refined by the text's assertion "he lied" (*adurujiya*, from the verb *duruj-*), which depicts him as one who has been corrupted by "the Lie" (*drauga*) and whose actions spread its demonic power.<sup>15</sup> The Bisitun text further specifies that the Lie multiplied rapidly when Cambyses went to Egypt and failed to acknowledge he had put his brother to death.<sup>16</sup> The king's falsehood-by-omission thus opened the door to Gaumāta's more active deceptions: "I am Bardiya," and "I am King."<sup>17</sup> From this, there followed further woes: Credulous people rallied to the imposter, as did the army; rebellion followed; Cambyses died; and the kingship passed into Gaumāta's hands.<sup>18</sup>

A reign of terror followed, at least if Darius is to be believed: a reign of terror that ended only when the Wise Lord intervened through his chosen instrument of Darius.

*Proclaims Darius the King: There was not a man — not a Persian, nor a Mede, nor anyone of our lineage — who could have deprived that Gaumāta the Magus of the kingship/kingdom. The people feared him mightily. He would kill greatly among the people/army those who knew Bardiya in the past. For that reason, he would kill among the people/army (thinking): "Lest they might recognize me and know I am not Bardiya, the son of Cyrus." No one dared to proclaim anything about Gaumāta the Magus*

<sup>15</sup> The verb "he lied" (*adurujiya*) is applied to Gaumāta at DB §§11 and 52, also in the minor inscription DBb, which serves as a caption to his picture in the relief sculpture. On the demonic nature of "the Lie," see above, Chapters Twelve-Fourteen.

<sup>16</sup> DB §10: "When Cambyses went to Egypt, then the people/army became vulnerable to deception and the Lie became great" *yaθā Kambujiya Mudrāyam ašiyava, pasāva kāra arika abava utā drauga dahyaūvā vasaj abava.*

<sup>17</sup> DB §11: "He lied to the people/army [saying] thus: 'I am Bardiya, the son of Cyrus, the brother of Cambyses.'" *haṇ kārāhyā avaθā adurujiya: adam Bṛdiya ami, haya Kurauš puça, Kambujiyahyā brātā, DBb: "This Gaumāta the Magus lied. He proclaimed thus: 'I am Bardiya, the son of Cyrus. I am King.'" iyam Gaumāta haya maguš adurujiya, avaθā aθanha: adam Bṛdiya ami, haya Kurauš puça, adam xšāyaθiya ami.*

<sup>18</sup> DB §§11-12:

*Then the people/army all became rebellious from Cambyses. It went over to [Gaumāta] — Persia and Media and the other lands/peoples. Nine days had passed in the month Garmapada (1 July 522 BCE), when he seized the kingship/kingdom. Then Cambyses died his own-death. Proclaims Darius the King: This kingship/kingdom, of which Gaumāta the Magus deprived Cambyses, this kingship/kingdom was our lineage's since long ago. Then Gaumāta the Magus deprived Cambyses of Persia and Media and the other lands/peoples. He took them as his own. He made them his own possession. He became king.*

*pasāva kāra haruva hamiçiya abava hacā Kambujiyā, abi avam ašiyava, utā Pārsa utā Māda utā aniyā dahyāva, xšačam haṇ agrbāyatā, Garmapadahya māhyā navā raucabiš θakatā āha, avaθā xšačam agrbāyatā, pasāva Kambujiya uvamršiyuš amariyatā. θāti Dārayavauš xšāyaθiya: aṭta xšačam, taya Gaumāta haya maguš adinā Kambujiyam, aṭta xšačam hacā paruviyata amāxam taumāyā āha, pasāva Gaumāta haya maguš adinā Kambujiyam utā Pārsam utā Mādam utā aniyā dahyāva, haṇ āyasatā, uvāipašiyam akutā, haṇ xšāyaθiya abava.*

*until I arose. Then I prayed to the Wise Lord for assistance. The Wise Lord bore me aid. Ten days of the month Bāgayādi had passed (29 September 522) when I, with a few men, slew that Gaumāta the Magus and the men who were his foremost followers. A fortress named Sikayuvati, a land/ people named Nisāya, in Media — there I slew him. I deprived him of the kingship/kingdom. By the Wise Lord's will I became king. The Wise Lord bestowed the kingship/kingdom on me.*<sup>19</sup>

Here, the legitimating narrative reaches its culmination. The power struggle between Darius and Bardiya is twice redefined: first as a struggle between Darius and Gaumāta, second between the Wise Lord and the Lie, i.e. between all that is good and all that is evil. Darius came to rule, not just because he won a desperate power struggle, but because God chose him, bore him aid, showed him favor, and made him King. It is the same story told by countless usurpers, for those who cannot claim the throne under the established standards of legitimacy (be these dynastic succession, predecessor's choice, or some other form of election) regularly represent themselves as God's darling, the deity — and not the flag — being the last, best recourse of the (successful) scoundrel.<sup>20</sup>

## II

Most of the conclusions presented above summarize arguments that have been offered by other scholars. Among those who most aggressively argued the case is Jack Martin Balcer, who rightly understood, not only that the Bisitun text exists to justify a coup d'état, but that it does so by reshaping messy events to conform with narrative genres that were widely diffused, much beloved, and highly persuasive. As he put it:

*The motifs basic to western epics within the Indo-European language community, including Old Persian, appear as significant elements basic to Bisitun's Bardiya exposition. Darius may have consciously structured his*

<sup>19</sup> DB §13: θāti Dārayavauš xšāyaθiya: naī āha martiya naī Pārsa naī Māda naī amāxam taumāyā kašci, haya avam Gaumātam tayam magum xšačam dītam caxriyā, kār-ašim hacā dšam atša, kām vasaī avājaniyā, haya paranam Bṛdiyam adānā, avahyarādī kām avājaniyā, mātayamām xšnāsāti, taya adam naī Bṛdiya ami, haya Kurauš puça, kašci naī adršnauš cišci θanstanai pari Gaumātam tayam magum, yātā adam ārsam, pasāva adam Auramazdām patiyāvanhyai, Auramazdāmai upastām abara, Bāgayādaiš māhya daθā raucabiš θakatā āha, avaθā adam hadā kamnaibiš martiyaibiš avam Gaumātam tayam magum avājanam utā tayaišai fratamā martiyā anušiya āhantā, Sikayuvatiš nāmā didā, Nisāya nāmā dahyāuš Mādai, avadašim avājanam, xšačamšim adam adinam, vašnā Auramazdāha adam xšāyaθiya abavam, Auramazdā xšačam manā frābara.

<sup>20</sup> Cf. the superb discussion of Lancastrian propaganda by Paul Strohm, *England's Empty Throne: Usurpation and the Language of Legitimation, 1399-1422* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998).

*Accession Logos upon the epic narration, a form fundamental to his own national epic heritage. The haunting specter of a learned scribe or literate priest, steeped in oral epic development, having initially developed the Bisitun oral proto-testimony, however, must always lurk in the corners of our historical minds.*<sup>21</sup>

This observation I find astute, although I do think one can go beyond the suggestions Balcer advanced concerning the materials Darius and his scribes used in shaping their narrative. Relying heavily on W.T.H. Jackson, *The Hero and the King* (1982), Balcer took the Bisitun text to have developed a story like that of the *Iliad*, *Aeneid*, or *El Cid*, thematizing competition between flawed kings (like Bardiya) and noble heroes (like Darius), while also building Darius up into a hero-king and monster slayer.<sup>22</sup>

All this is to the good, but I think we can do better. As we have seen, two operations were key to Darius's tendentious work of narrative emplotment. With the first, he removed the character "Bardiya" from the story by making him the unfortunate victim of a previously unknown murder. With the second, he introduced the character "Gaumāta" — also previously unknown — and set him in the late Bardiya's place. The advantage of this is abundantly clear. However questionable Bardiya's claim to the kingship might have been, as Cyrus's son he enjoyed infinitely greater legitimacy than Darius could ever muster. By contrast, Gaumāta — a liar, imposter, usurper, and Mede — made Darius's slender credentials look good.

The decisive move was thus the invention of "Gaumāta" and we have seen how certain attributes assigned to this character — his nationality, priestly office, and connection to "the Lie" — ably served Darius's goals. It is also worth asking a question that has never been properly posed: Why did Darius choose the name he assigned this character, whose presence transformed a seamy political thriller into a religiously-grounded narrative of legitimation?

Formally, the name Gau-māta- is a compound, the first member of which is Old Persian *gau*, a noun that can mean "bovine," "bull," or "cow," depending on its gender (cf. Avestan *gav*, Sanskrit *gó*, Pahlavi

<sup>21</sup> Balcer, *Herodotus and Bisitun*, p. 61.

<sup>22</sup> Ibid., pp. 61-67, drawing on W.T.H. Jackson, *The Hero and the King: An Epic Theme* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1982). Elsewhere (pp. 101-105), Balcer suggests that other generic plots — the trickster, competition between two brothers, harem romances, etc. — were also pressed into service.

*gāw* < Indo-European \**g<sup>w</sup>ou-*).<sup>23</sup> Another man bearing that name is mentioned in the Persepolis Fortification Tablets,<sup>24</sup> and several other names are attested that are similar in their formation. Among these, one could mention *Gau-baruva* (Greek Γοβρύης),<sup>25</sup> \**Gau-bāra* (Greek Γωβάρης),<sup>26</sup> \**Gau-dāta*,<sup>27</sup> \**Gau-tama* (Avestan *Gaotama*, Vedic *Gótama*);<sup>28</sup> Avestan *Gao-mant*,<sup>29</sup> *Gao-pivanhu*.<sup>30</sup> The second element of the compound, however, is more ambiguous, and the name has been taken to mean “equipped with cattle,”<sup>31</sup> “Cow-man,”<sup>32</sup> “Bull-size,”<sup>33</sup> or “He whose mother was a cow.”<sup>34</sup> All these theories have some plausibility, but each

<sup>23</sup> Kent, *Old Persian*, p. 182, Brandenstein and Mayrhofer, *Handbuch des Altpersischen*, p. 121, Meillet and Benveniste, *Grammaire du Vieux Perse*, p. 58, Mayrhofer, *Iranisches Personennamenbuch*, Vol. I/2, p. 21, idem, *Zum Namengut des Avesta* (Vienna: Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1977), p. 18.

<sup>24</sup> PFT 756, in Richard T. Hallock, *Persepolis Fortification Tablets* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1969), p. 226. The name appears in Elamite, where *Kam* is the regular representation of Old Persian *Gau* (see Meillet and Benveniste, p. 58) as *Kam-māda* (cf. DBElam §§10, 11, 12, and 13, where it appears as *‘Gammāta*).

<sup>25</sup> *Gau-baruva* appears in DB §68 and 71, also DNa, where he is named as Darius’s spearbearer; the Greek form is in Herodotus 3.70, 73, 78, and elsewhere.

<sup>26</sup> \**Gau-bāra* appears as *Kaubara* in the Persepolis Fortification Tablets (listed as 8.805 in Manfred Mayrhofer, *Onomastica Persepolitana*, p. 180).

<sup>27</sup> A letter addressed to a royal functionary named Γαδύτας is preserved in an inscription found at Magnesia on the Maeander and dating to the 2<sup>nd</sup> Century, which we discussed briefly in Chapter Four. The name has been connected to an underlying Old Persian \**Gau-dāta* “He to whom cattle are given” by Pierre Lecoq, *Les inscriptions de la Perse achéménide* (Paris: Gallimard, 1997), p. 277.

<sup>28</sup> \**Gau-tama* appears in the Persepolis Fortification Tablets in the form *Kaudama*. The Avestan cognate is found at Yašt 13.16. See Mayrhofer 8.806, *Onomastica Persepolitana*, p. 180 and Benveniste, *Titres et noms propres en Iranien ancien*, p. 86.

<sup>29</sup> Yašt 13.125. The adjectival form of the same word occurs with the meaning “cattle-possessing” (Hadoxt Nask 2.16).

<sup>30</sup> Yašt 13.111. Less certain, but potentially relevant are three other names in Avestan: *Gaoray* and *Gaorayana* (both of which appear in Yašt 13.118), and *Gaōkərəna* (the mythical tree that figures in Yašt 1.30, Vidēvdād 20.4, and elsewhere).

<sup>31</sup> Wiesehöfer, *Der Aufstand Gaumātas und die Anfänge Dareios I*, p. 46.

<sup>32</sup> Jack Martin Balcer, *Prosopographical Study of the Ancient Persians*, p. 96.

<sup>33</sup> Gershevitch, “The False Smerdis,” p. 347. This hypothesis takes *māta* to be a past passive participle of the verb *mā-* “to measure,” but the name then would mean “Measured by (or like?) a bovine.” In all likelihood, Gershevitch’s interpretation was motivated by traditions that emphasized the strength and size of Cambyse’s brother (above all, Herodotus 3.30), who bears the name Tanoxares in Xenophon and Tanyoxarkēs in Ctesias, both of which derive from Old Persian \**Tanu-vazrka* “He whose body is great.”

<sup>34</sup> William Malandra, personal communication, March 2005. In this interpretation, the normal declensional pattern of Old Persian *mātar* “mother” has been modified for its appearance in a compound of masculine gender, rather than retaining its standard feminine form: thus, *-māta*, rather than *-mātā*. The hypothesis encounters difficulty, however, given that *ha-mātar* “one who has the same mother (as another man)” appears in the nominative as *hamātā* (i.e., with long final *-ā*) at DB §10. One would also expect \**Gaumātaram* in the accusative, instead of the attested *Gaumātām*.

one has its difficulties. What is certain, however, is the bovine reference in the compound's first member and it is this, in fact, that holds chief interest, for it suggests that Darius wanted it understood that he came to power by killing someone who was somehow bull-like and this detail, along with others, is reminiscent of a narrative widely diffused in antiquity. This is a myth that described creation of the cosmos and/or the sociopolitical order as the result of a ritual (or crime) in which a man and an animal (normally a bovine) were killed and sacrificially dismembered by a man closely related to the victim. Sometimes the sacrificer and his human victim were parent and child, sometimes siblings, occasionally husband and wife. In the strongest version, they are twin brothers who occupy complementary offices, the one being a priest and the other a king.<sup>35</sup>

Although some — myself included — have incorrectly treated this myth as “Indo-European,” its distribution is not limited to any linguistic, ethnic, or cultural group. Variants are found throughout Eurasia: among those who spoke Indo-European languages, to be sure (Romulus

<sup>35</sup> I have discussed this myth on several occasions, including *Priests, Warriors, and Cattle*, pp. 69-95, *Myth, Cosmos, and Society*, and “Hegelian Meditations on ‘Indo-European’ Myths,” *Papers from the Mediterranean Ethnographic Summer Seminar* 5 (2003): 59-76. Other discussions include A.W. Macdonald, “A propos de Prajāpati,” *Journal asiatique* 240 (1953): 323-38, Hoang-son Hoang-sy-Quy, “Le mythe indien de l’homme cosmique dans son contexte culturel et dans son évolution,” *Revue de l’histoire des religions* 175 (1969): 133-54, and Jaan Puhvel, “Remus et Frater,” *History of Religions* 15 (1975): 379-86. For critical views, see Enrico Campanile’s review of *Myth, Cosmos, and Society* in *Bulletin de la Société de Linguistique de Paris* 82 (1987): 211-16, T.P. Wiseman, *Remus: A Roman Myth* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), and Francine Mawet, “Inde: réponses ou questions?,” in Sylvie Vanséveren, ed., *Modèles Linguistiques et Idéologies: “Indo-Européen”* (Brussels: Editions Ousia, 2000), pp. 61-84, esp. 67-80. I responded to Campanile’s chief argument (the meaning of Latin *caedes* and *caedo* in the context of sacrificial ritual) in *Death, War, and Sacrifice*, p. 185n9 and anticipated one of Mawet’s chief points (the role of Spityura in Iranian myths of Yima) in “Pahlavi kīrēnīdan and traces of Iranian creation mythology,” *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 117 (1997): 681-685, an article of which she apparently was unaware. In broad terms, Mawet and Wiseman both felt that the methods used to reconstruct an “Indo-European” prototype failed to do justice to the complexities and particularities of Indic and Roman materials, respectively, and in this they are surely correct. After years of reflections on these materials and the issues they raise, I would venture a much stronger criticism, observing that any attempt to establish a single, primordial prototype is of necessity simplistic and distorting. Rather, one needs to imagine a wide continuum of variants, in which certain core narrative elements (creation by sacrifice, complementarity of human and bovine, complementarity of king and priest, homology of microcosm and macrocosm, the intimate relation of sacrificer and victim, dismemberment as a process of deconstructive analysis) were continuously redeployed with considerable ingenuity. That continuum, moreover, included peoples of diverse languages, geographies, ethnicities, and cultures.

and Remus in Rome, Puruṣa and others in India, Ymir, Mannus and Tuisto among the Germans, Bruteno and Witowudi among the Old Prussians, etc.), but also in Mesopotamia (Marduk's dismemberment of Kingu and Tiamat in the *Enuma Eliš*), Egypt (the conflict of Horus, Seth, Isis and Osiris), Israel (Abraham and Isaac), and elsewhere. The story is also well attested in Iran, where the most common Zoroastrian cosmogony recounts that the first man and the first bovine were killed by the Evil Spirit, after which all varieties of animate beings were born from their sundered remains.<sup>36</sup>

As one piece of its overall project, the Bisitun text rearranges the constitutive elements of this myth to serve its own purposes. The resultant narrative transforms a ruthless power grab into a quasi-ritual sacrifice that establishes not just a new king, but a new moral order, authorized by God himself. This sacrifice might be understood to involve two victims: a king (Cambyzes) and a "bull" (Gaumāta). Alternatively, it might have one victim who was decidedly duplex in nature, being a priest who mimes (or "twins") both a king and a bull (Gaumāta cum Bardiya).

### III

Herodotus's version of the story adds several details that support this reading. There, we find not one Magus, but two Magian brothers, one more priestly and one more royal, who together plotted to steal the throne.<sup>37</sup> The "royal" one was also a twin of sorts, for "he bore a close resemblance to Smerdis, Cyrus's son and Cambyzes's brother, whom the latter had killed. Not only was he like in form to Smerdis, but he also had the name 'Smerdis.'"<sup>38</sup> The element of dismemberment also enters the story, albeit in underdetermined fashion, as one of Darius's allies loses an eye, while the Magi lose their heads in the final battle.<sup>39</sup> Another detail from this episode is also revealing.

<sup>36</sup> The story is told, *inter alia*, in Greater Bundahišn 4.19-26 (TD<sup>2</sup> MS. 43.10-45.5), 6E-F (TD<sup>2</sup> MS. 68.1-70.6) and 13-14 (TD<sup>2</sup> MS. 93.8-107.14). For discussion, see the classic work of Arthur Christensen, *Le premier homme et le premier roi* 1: 7-105, Hartman, *Gayōmart*, and Lincoln, *Priests, Warriors, and Cattle*, pp. 69-79. Elements of this myth also show up in other Iranian narratives, as in the story that the primordial king Yima was killed and dismembered by his brother, Spityura (Yašt 19.46 et al.).

<sup>37</sup> Herodotus 3.61.

<sup>38</sup> Ibid.: οἰκῶς μάλιστα τὸ εἶδος Σμέρδι τῷ Κύρου, τὸν δὲ Καμβύσης ἐόντα ἐσω-  
τοῦ ἀδελφεὸν ἀπέκτεινε· ἦν τε δὴ ὁμοῖος εἶδος τῷ Σμέρδι καὶ δὴ καὶ οὐνομα  
τὸ αὐτὸ εἶχε Σμέρδιν.

<sup>39</sup> Ibid. 3.78-79.

*Two of the seven conspirators fell upon [one of the Magi], Darius and Gobryas. When Gobryas clinched with the Magus, Darius stood close, watching them in the darkness and being concerned not to strike Gobryas. Seeing him stand idle, Gobryas asked why he didn't use his hands, and Darius said "Being concerned for you, I will not strike." Gobryas responded, "Thrust the sword, even if it goes through us both." Persuaded, Darius thrust, and by luck he got the Magus.*<sup>40</sup>

Here, Darius strikes at another duplex figure, which unites the Magus and Gobryas, his own comrade in arms. Conceivably, any one of Darius's compatriots might have served this narrative purpose, but perhaps not equally well. Not only did Gobryas go on to become Darius's spearbearer,<sup>41</sup> he alone bore a name that — like that of Gaumāta (itself absent in Herodotus)<sup>42</sup> — conjures up bovine associations, as Old Persian *Gau-baruva* means "Eater of cattle."<sup>43</sup>

#### IV

While the Bisitun text treats Cambyses' secret murder of Bardiya as the original sin from which all others followed, Herodotus traces causality one step further. For him, the story begins when Cambyses impiously murdered the most sacred of animals in Egypt.

*The priests led the Apis Bull in, and Cambyses — being half-mad — drew his dagger with the desire to smite the belly of the Apis, but struck its thigh instead... So the festival was broken up for the Egyptians, the priests were punished, and the Apis, wounded in the thigh, lay in the temple and wasted away. And when it died from that wound, the priests buried it, unknown to Cambyses. The Egyptians say that Cambyses immediately went mad as a result of this act of injustice, not having been sound of mind before.*

<sup>40</sup> Ibid. 3.78: καὶ οἱ συνεσπίπτουσι τῶν ἐπὶ δύο, Δαρείος τε καὶ Γοβρύης. συμπλακέντος δὲ Γοβρύεω τῷ Μάγῳ ὁ Δαρείος ἐπεστεῶς ἠπόρεε οἷα ἐν σκότει, προμηθεόμενος μὴ πλήξῃ τὸν Γοβρύην. ὁρέων δὲ μιν ἄργον ἐπεστεῶτα ὁ Γοβρύης εἶρετο δ τι οὐ χράται τῇ χειρὶ· δ δὲ εἶπε "Προμηθεόμενος σέο, μὴ πλήξω." Γοβρύης δὲ ἀμείβετο "Ὡθεε τὸ ξίφος καὶ δι' ἀμφοτέρων." Δαρείος δὲ πειθόμενος ὥσέ τε τὸ ἐγγχειρίδιον καὶ ἔτυχέ κως τοῦ Μάγου.

<sup>41</sup> DNC: "Gobryas, a Patischorian, spearbearer of Darius the King." Gaubaruva Pātīšvariš Dārayavahauš xšāyaθiyahyā rštibara.

<sup>42</sup> The classical sources vary widely in the names they assign to the Magus (or Magi). The following are attested: Smerdis and Patizeithes (Herodotus), Sphendadates (Ctesias), Oropastes and Gomētēs (Pompeius Trogus). Of these, only the last reflects the phonology of Darius's Gaumāta.

<sup>43</sup> The name is attested in Old Persian *G-u-b-ru-u-v-*, Akkadian *Gu-ba-ru'*, Elamite, Greek Γοβρύης, and Aramaic *Gwbrw*. On its interpretation, see Manfred Mayrhofer, *Iranisches Personennamenbuch* 1: 32-33.

*The first of the evils he did was to Smerdis, his brother, born of his own father and mother, whom he sent back to Persia from Egypt due to envy.<sup>44</sup>*

So Cambyses's jealousy and anger at Smerdis (= Bardiya) was the first product of his madness and others followed in quick succession. Thus, when the king heard in a dream that Smerdis sat on the throne, he took this as an omen and, mistakenly believing fate could be avoided, he had his brother killed.<sup>45</sup> In typically ironic fashion, however, this only created the dream's conditions of fulfillment, for it permitted "Smerdis-the-Magus" to take the place of the king's murdered brother and to seize the imperial throne.<sup>46</sup> Learning this, the anguished Cambyses made one last mistake, bringing the story full circle.

*Having wept and become agitated at the whole mishap, he leapt on his horse, intending to advance against the Magus with all possible speed. But as he was mounting his horse, the tip fell off his scabbard, and his naked sword struck his thigh, wounding him in the same way that he himself had earlier smote the Egyptians' god Apis.<sup>47</sup>*

Cambyses's wound, which mirrors that of the Apis bull, proved fatal and his death repaid the murder of the sacred beast. At the same time, one can read his death as completing the paired sacrifice of a king and a bull, an offering that permits a new king to take the throne and consecrates the new order he inaugurates. Presumably, this was how Bardiya spun

<sup>44</sup> Herodotus 3.29-30: 'Ὡς δὲ ἤγαγον τὸν Ἄπιν οἱ ἱερεῖς, ὁ Καμβύσης, οἷα ἐὼν ὑπομαργότερος, σπασάμενος τὸ ἐγχειρίδιον, θέλων τύψαι τὴν γαστέρα τοῦ Ἄπιος παῖτι τὸν μηρόν... ὁρτὴ μὲν δὴ διελέλυτο Αἰγυπτίοισι, οἱ δὲ ἱερεῖς ἐδικαιεῦντο, ὁ δὲ Ἄπιν πεπληγμένος τὸν μηρόν ἐφθινε ἐν τῷ ἱρῷ κατακείμενος. καὶ τὸν μὲν τελευτήσαντα ἐκ τοῦ τρώματος ἔθασαν οἱ ἱερεῖς λάθρη Καμβύσει. Καμβύσης δέ, ὥς λέγουσι Αἰγύπτιοι, αὐτίκα διὰ τοῦτο τὸ ἀδίκημα ἐμάνη, ἐὼν οὐδὲ πρότερον φρενήρης. καὶ πρῶτα μὲν τῶν κακῶν ἐξεργάσατο τὸν ἀδελφεὸν Σμέρδιν ἐόντα πατρός καὶ μητρός τῆς αὐτῆς, τὸν ἀπέπεμψε ἐς Πέρσας φθόνῳ ἐξ Αἰγύπτου. Note that the dagger or short sword (*enkheiridion*) used by Cambyses is a weapon of barbarians, which Herodotus never attributes to a Greek in the course of the *Histories* (thus Powell, *Lexicon to Herodotus*, p. 96).

<sup>45</sup> Ctesias reorganized this narrative somewhat. Thus, in his version Cambyses's jealousy toward his brother was originally incited by the Magus, who had his own reasons for resentment and assumed the brother's place after his death. The ominous dream signaled to Cambyses that none of his descendants would rule. After this, he wounded himself and died, at which point the Magus assumed the throne. Photius, *Epitome* 72.11-15.

<sup>46</sup> Ibid. 3.30 and 3.61.

<sup>47</sup> Ibid. 3.64: ἀποκλαύσας δὲ καὶ περιημεκτήσας τῇ ἀπάσῃ συμφορῇ ἀναθρόσκει ἐπὶ τὸν ἵππον, ἐν νόφ ἔχων τὴν ταχίστην ἐς Σοῦσα στρατεύεσθαι ἐπὶ τὸν Μάγον. καὶ οἱ ἀναθρόσκοντι ἐπὶ τὸν ἵππον τοῦ κολεοῦ τοῦ ξίφους ὁ μύκης ἀποπίπτει, γυμνωθὲν δὲ τὸ ξίφος παῖτι τὸν μηρόν· τρωματισθεὶς δὲ κατὰ τοῦτο τῇ αὐτὸς πρότερον τὸν τῶν Αἰγυπτίων θεὸν Ἄπιν ἐπληξε...



the story, and here the Herodotean text preserves his propaganda, rather than that of Darius (Table 22.1).<sup>48</sup>

<i>Eurasian mythic pattern</i>	<i>Darius's accession Bisitun §§10-14</i>	<i>Darius's accession Herodotus 3.67-82</i>	<i>Smerdis's accession Herodotus 3.29-30 and 61-67</i>
Bovine victim	Gau-māta ("Bull-sized")	Go-bryas ("Bull-eater")	Apis bull
Human victim: (normally a king)	Bardiya (a king, but also a priest in disguise)	Smerdis (a king, but also a priest in disguise)	Cambyes (a king who functions as a [mad] priest in the bovine's death)
Close relation (twinsip)	Gaumāta impersonates Bardiya	a) Smerdis the Magus has the same name and appearance as Smerdis the Prince; b) Smerdis the Magus has a brother, who is also a Magus; c) Gobryas and Smerdis are indistinguishable when struggling	a) Cambyes and Smerdis are brothers; b) Cambyes and the Apis bull suffer identical wounds
Sacrificer: (most often a priest)	Darius	Darius	Cambyes performs the acts; Smerdis is the beneficiary
Dismemberment		a) One of Darius's co-conspirators loses his eye; b) The two Magi are beheaded	

Table 22.1 Reworkings of Eurasian cosmogony in narratives of dynastic crisis and succession in 522 B.C.E.

<sup>48</sup> Egyptian records show that an Apis bull was buried in 524, shortly after Cambyes conquered the country, but no Egyptian source makes the king responsible for the animal's death, nor is there any mention of impiety on his part. Rather, such evidence as there is suggests he took pains to comport himself according to the dictates of Egyptian religion. Herodotus's account has been much discussed, and most authors have taken it to reflect Darius's propaganda. See Georges Posener, *La première domination perse en Egypte* (Cairo: Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale, 1936): 30-47, 171-75, K.M.T. Atkinson, "The Legitimacy of Cambyes and Darius as Kings of Egypt," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 76 (1956): 167-71, E. Bresciani, "The Persian Occupation of Egypt," in Ilya Gershevitch, ed., *Cambridge History of Iran. Vol. 2: The Median and Achaemenian Periods* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), pp. 504-6, idem, "La Morte di Cambise," op cit., Balcer, *Herodotus and Bisitun*, pp. 87-93, Hofmann and Vorbichler, "Der Kambyesbild bei Herodot," Lloyd, "Herodotus on Cambyes," R.V. Monson, "The Madness of Cambyes," *Arethusa* 24 (1991): 43-65, and Briant, *Histoire de l'empire perse*, pp. 66-68.

Although these Achaemenian reworkings follow the Eurasian pattern in many ways, three innovations are noteworthy. In the first place, the role normally assigned to a priest here falls to the hero who becomes king with the narrative's closure. Were he identified as a priest, this would make him an improper king, thereby defeating the purpose of the story. Accordingly, the role of priest is reassigned to the man on the throne when the action begins. His death thus resolves a confusion of priestly and royal categories, permitting restoration of proper kingship and world order. Second, whereas the older myths treated the sacrificer and his human victim as close relatives, even twins, this is reworked as a relation of near-identity (imposture, resemblance, homonymy, and/or confusion in the dark) between the two victims (Bardiya and Gaumāta, Smerdis-the-Magus and Smerdis-the-royal-brother, Smerdis and his brother Magus, Smerdis and Gobryas). Finally, the motif of dismemberment is generally absent. Only in one case does it appear (Smerdis's death, as narrated by Herodotus 3.78-79), and even there it remains unmotivated and undeveloped.

## V

If the motif of dismemberment seems lacking in the materials we have considered, the case is quite different in an account of the death of Artaxerxes III Ochus (r. 359-338), an energetic monarch who restored Achaemenian territory and power after a long period of decline. Last of his accomplishments was his recovery of Egypt (343 B.C.E.), after it had enjoyed a sixty year period of independence.<sup>49</sup> Apparently, there were those — presumably including the king's scribes — who in this moment of triumph depicted him as a new Cambyses. If so, it was a representation doomed to backfire, and he was quickly accused of the same impieties as his predecessor. Several authors recount that like Cambyses, Ochus slew an Apis bull, which he served at a royal banquet, but there is no Egyptian evidence to support these charges.<sup>50</sup> Rather, they are most likely part of propaganda used to discredit Ochus after he

<sup>49</sup> On the reign of Artaxerxes III Ochus, see Dandamaev, *Political History of the Achaemenid Empire*, pp. 306-13, Rüdiger Schmitt, "Artaxerxes III," *Encyclopedia Iranica* 2 (1986): 658-59, and Briant, *Histoire de l'empire perse*, pp. 699-709.

<sup>50</sup> Aelian, *On the Nature of Animals* 10.28, Plutarch, *Isis and Osiris* 355c and 363c. The latter passage cites Deinon as its source for this information. On the dubious nature of the tradition, see J.D. Ray, "Egypt: Dependence and Independence (425-343 B.C.)," *Achaemenid History* 1 (1987): 90 and Dandamaev, *Political History of the Achaemenid Empire*, p. 311.

was assassinated by Bagoas, his chiliarch and chief adviser, in 338 B.C.E.<sup>51</sup> Aelian preserves the fullest — also, for us, the most interesting — account of that event.

*The eunuch Bagoas, who was Egyptian, plotted against Artaxerxes, who was also called Ochus. They say he was killed, cut into pieces and fed to the cats. Someone else was buried in his place and assigned to the royal tombs. (Other sacrileges are told of this Ochus, especially in Egypt.) For Bagoas, it was not sufficient to kill Ochus, and so he made handles for knives (makhairai) from the latter's thighs, displaying his own murderousness through these. He hated him because when Ochus was in Egypt, he killed the Apis bull, as Cambyes had done earlier.<sup>52</sup>*

For all that some pieces of the mythic scenario have been omitted and others embroidered, the basic pattern is immediately recognizable. Thus, the sacrificer appears in the form of a wicked eunuch, but not specifically a priest,<sup>53</sup> and dismemberment is treated as the result of his sadistic wrath, not a part of sacrificial practice. Even so, its ritual nature is revealed in two ways. First, the cats to whom Ochus was fed are meant to be understood as animals sacred to the Egyptians. The treatment of his body was thus an act of scornful vengeance, but also an offering to Egyptian gods. Second, his bones were transformed not into common knives, but more precisely *makhairai*: the ritual implements used for killing and butchering sacrificial beasts.<sup>54</sup> That the king's thighs served this purpose is also significant, since it reminds one of the fatal thigh-wounds Cambyes inflicted on the Apis and on himself. All of these details serve to insert the death of Artaxerxes III Ochus into a familiar mythic structure that made cosmogony result from the paired sacrificial deaths of a king and a bovine. Here, as in the examples considered above, the result was

<sup>51</sup> Diodorus Siculus specifies the office Bagoas held at 17.5.3 and calls him "the most trusted of the king's friends" (τοῦ βασιλέως... πιστότατος τῶν φίλων) at 16.47.3.

<sup>52</sup> Aelian, *Varia Historia* 6.8: Ἀρταξέρξη τὸν καὶ Ὠχὸν ἐπικληθέντα, ὅτε ἐπεβούλευσεν αὐτῷ Βαγῶας ὁ εὐνοῦχος, ὃς ἦν Αἰγύπτιος, φασὶν ἀναιρεθέντα καὶ κατακοπέντα τοῖς αἰλούροις παραβληθῆναι· ἐτάφη δὲ τις ἄλλος ἀντ' αὐτοῦ καὶ ἀπεδόθη ταῖς βασιλικαῖς θηκαῖς. [θεοσουλία μὴν τοῦ Ὠχοῦ καὶ ἄλλαι μὲν λέγονται καὶ μάλιστα κατὰ τὴν Αἴγυπτον.] τῷ δὲ Βαγῶα οὐκ ἀπέχρησε τὸ ἀποκτεῖναι τὸν Ὠχόν, ἀλλὰ γὰρ καὶ ἐκ τῶν μηρῶν αὐτοῦ λαβὰς μαχαιρῶν ἐποίησε, τὸ φονικὸν αὐτοῦ ἐνδεικνύμενος διὰ τούτων. ἐμίσησε δὲ αὐτόν, ἐπεὶ τὸν Ἄπιν ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ γενόμενος ἀπέκτεινε καὶ οὗτος, ὡς ὁ Καμβύσης πρότερον.

<sup>53</sup> Although the Greek sources consistently make Bagoas a eunuch, this is the product of narrative stereotypes, orientalist condescension, and mistranslations as Briant, *Histoire de l'empire perse*, pp. 285-88 and 794-95 has shown.

<sup>54</sup> See the evidence collected by Guy Berthiaume, *Les rôles du mágheiros: étude sur la boucherie, la cuisine et le sacrifice dans la Grèce ancienne* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1982), p. 109n14.

to redefine a moment of profound dynastic discontinuity as the emergence of a new order tantamount to a new creation (Table 23.2).

<i>Eurasian mythic pattern</i>	<i>Darius's accession Bisitun §§10-14</i>	<i>Darius's accession Herodotus 3.67-82</i>	<i>Smerdis's accession Herodotus 3.29-30, 3.61-67</i>	<i>Ochus's death Varia Historia 6.8</i>
<b>Bovine victim</b>	Gau-māta ("Bull-sized")	Go-bryas ("Bull-eater")	Apis bull	Apis bull
<b>Human victim (normally a king)</b>	Bardiya	Smerdis	Cambyses	Ochus
<b>Close relation (twinsip)</b>	Gaumāta impersonates Bardiya	a) Smerdis the Magus has the same name and appearance as Smerdis the Prince; b) Smerdis the Magus has a brother, who is also a Magus; c) Gobryas and Smerdis are indistinguishable when struggling	a) Cambyses and Smerdis are brothers; b) Cambyses and the Apis bull suffer identical wounds	
<b>Sacrificer (most often a priest)</b>	Darius	Darius	Cambyses performs the acts; Smerdis is the beneficiary	Bagoas, the Egyptian eunuch
<b>Dismemberment</b>		a) One of Darius's co-conspirators loses his eye; b) The two Magi are beheaded		a) The Apis bull is carved and served at a banquet; b) Ochus is cut into pieces and fed to cats; c) Ochus's thigh bones are made into handles for sacrificial knives

Table 22.2 Reworkings of Eurasian cosmogonic myth in Achaemenian narratives of dynastic crisis and succession in 522 and 338 B.C.E.

That this king's death provoked a crisis is abundantly clear and the leading role in the subsequent drama was played by Bagoas, of whom Diodorus Siculus reports "after Ochus's death, [Bagoas] always appointed the successor to the throne and he possessed all aspects of kingship, save the title."<sup>55</sup> Continuing this story, the same author tells how Bagoas killed all of Ochus's sons, save the youngest, Arsēs (r. 338-36), whom he installed on the throne.<sup>56</sup> When the latter began to show signs of independence, however, Bagoas killed him and his children.<sup>57</sup> Then, having eliminated all members of the immediate royal family, he installed Darius III Codomannus (r. 336-30), a member of a collateral line, famed for his bravery, and a close friend.<sup>58</sup> When Codomannus fell afoul of Bagoas, however, he escaped his predecessors' fate by forcing the eunuch to drink his own poison.<sup>59</sup> Still, the respite he won was relatively brief and he was the last of the Achaemenians.<sup>60</sup> Whatever power Ochus had managed to rebuild was squandered after his death and the empire fell easily to the Macedonians under Alexander.

## VI

It is hard to say who was responsible for narrating Ochus's death in such a manner as to reiterate once more the sacrifice of royal and bovine victims. Equally difficult is ascertaining the audience for whom this story was intended. Certain details — above all, the cats — suggest an Egyptian provenance, while others militate against this. Thus, although

<sup>55</sup> Diodorus Siculus 16.50.8: καὶ μετὰ τὴν ἐκείνου τελευτὴν τοὺς διαδόχους αἰεὶ τῆς βασιλείας οὗτος ἀπεδείκνυτο καὶ πάντα βασιλέως εἶχε πλὴν τῆς προσηγορίας. On Bagoas, see Ernst Badian, "The Eunuch Bagoas. A Study in Method," *Classical Quarterly* 8 (1958): 144-57, Mohammed Dandamaev, "Bagoas," *Encyclopedia Iranica* 4 (1988): 418-19, and Briant, *Histoire de l'empire perse*, pp. 281, 789-90, 794-97.

<sup>56</sup> Diodorus Siculus 17.5.3-4.

<sup>57</sup> Ibid. 17.5.4

<sup>58</sup> Ibid. 17.5.5: "The royal house was empty and there was no one of the lineage who could inherit the throne, so Bagoas chose Darius, one of his friends, and helped gain the kingship for him. He was the son of Arsanes, himself son of Ostanēs, who was the brother of Artaxerxes, who ruled as king of the Persians." ἐρήμου δ' ὄντος τοῦ βασιλέως οἴκου καὶ μηδενὸς ὄντος τοῦ κατὰ γένος διαδεχομένου τὴν ἀρχήν, προχειρισάμενος ἕνα τῶν φίλων Δαρεῖον ὄνομα τοῦτ' ἐσκατεσκεύασε τὴν βασιλείαν. οὗτος δ' ἦν υἱὸς μὲν Ἀρσάνου τοῦ Ὀσάνου, δὲ ἦν ἀδελφὸς Ἀρταξέρξου τοῦ Περσῶν βασιλεύσαντος. Cf. Curtius Rufus 6.3.12 and Strabo 15.3.24.

<sup>59</sup> Ibid. 17.5.6.

<sup>60</sup> On the problems surrounding Codomannus's claim to the throne and on his reign in general, see Briant, *Histoire de l'empire perse*, pp. 790-94 and Ernst Badian, "Darius III," *Encyclopedia Iranica* 7 (1989): 51-4.

Bagoas's identity as an Egyptian helped construct this as a tale of revenge and national self-reassertion, it is hard to imagine that other aspects of his characterization were meant to serve Egyptian interests. Alternatively, it is possible that the story originated in the propaganda through which one or another of Ochus's successors sought to legitimate his claim to power. If so, this would more likely have been Codomannus than Arsēs, since one doubts either king would have circulated such a tale when Bagoas was still alive.

Here, one should probably note that this narrative survives in a Greek text only and this may be no accident. Indeed, the ultimate beneficiary of the story was Alexander, for it served to establish that the Achaemenians had already been undone by their own crimes, impieties, folly, and courtiers well before the empire fell to the Macedonian. The royal line exhausted and the Persian throne occupied by a rank pretender, imperial power — indeed, world hegemony — was ripe for the taking. Even did the narrative originate with the work of Egyptian or Persian propagandists, it was surely appropriated, refined, and brilliantly exploited by their Macedonian counterparts.

This brings us to our last point. This story was useful precisely because it strategically refashioned a scenario familiar to people of many nationalities. The audience for this mythicohistoric discourse was not specifically Greek, Egyptian, or Persian, but the population of the empire. Not only these varied peoples, but Babylonians, Medes, Gandharans, and others were all familiar with the same general narrative pattern, not only from Darius's use of it, but from the traditions on which Darius, Bardiya, and others drew.<sup>61</sup> Like his predecessors, Alexander redeployed the elements of a widely diffused Eurasian cosmogonic tradition, and he did so to persuade his subjects, not just that one ruler had displaced another, but that in the process a new world had come into being.

<sup>61</sup> Cyrus the Great also produced a rather different variant on the same general theme, as preserved in Herodotus 1.107-30, but dealing with its details goes beyond what is possible in this essay. The similarity of this narrative to that of Romulus and Remus has been discussed, *inter alia*, by Adolf Bauer, *Die Kyrossage und Verwandtes, Sitzungsberichte der philosophisch-historisch Classe der kaiserliche Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien* 100 (1882), pp. 495-78, Aly, *Volksmärchen, Sage und Novelle bei Herodot* op cit., Andreas Alföldi, "Königsweihe und Männerbund bei den Achämeniden," *Schweizerisches Archiv für Volkskunde* 47 (1951): 11-16, and most extensively by Gerhard Binder, *Die Aussetzung des Königskindes Kyros und Romulus* (Meisenheim am Glan: Anton Hain, 1964).

## CHAPTER TWENTY-THREE

### REBELLION AND TREATMENT OF REBELS\*

#### I

There are some practical advantages to working with Old Persian materials, a finite corpus, formulaic discourse, and clear historic context being prime among them. Achaemenian inscriptions are the most official of texts, the product of cosmopolitan, highly knowledgeable scribes, working at the direction of extremely powerful, ambitious, and self-conscious rulers. Although deceptively simple at points, the diction of the inscriptions is extremely nuanced, such that they demand — and reward — careful study. Prior research has helped elucidate several recurrent *topoi*: royal titles, the list of the empire's lands/peoples, the account of creation, and some examples of prayer.<sup>1</sup> In each instance, subtle changes can be observed from one variant to another. Often, these have profound historic significance and reflect not only changes in circumstance, but the ongoing evolution of imperial ideology.

Most of the inscriptions deploy an atemporal discourse, representing themselves — also the king and the empire of which they are both product and servant — as the instantiation of eternal verities, immune to the vicissitudes of challenge or decay. The chief exception to this is the lengthy text Darius the Great (r. 522-486) placed on the cliff at Bisitun, astride the main highway between Susa and Babylon. The first four of this text's five columns (DB §§1-70) were written immediately after Darius seized and consolidated power in 522-521 B.C.E, defeating nine rivals — whom he characterized as rebels — in the process. Each rebellion is treated three different times: once in the main body of the inscription (DB §§10-50), once in a long paragraph of recapitulation (DB §52), and once as a set of captions to the accompanying relief sculpture (DBb-DBj).

\* An earlier version of this chapter was resented at a conference on the theme "Persecution and Conflict in the Ancient Mediterranean" organized by Fritz Graf and held at the Ohio State University, November 2003, later published in *Archiv für Religionsgeschichte* 7 (2005): 167-79.

<sup>1</sup> See, above all, Herrenschmidt, "Désignations de l'empire et concepts politiques de Darius," eadem, "Les créations d'Ahuramazda," and Kienast, "Zur Herkunft der Achämenidischen Königstitulatur."

In this chapter, I will concentrate on the last of these series, which is the earliest to have been written and also the most succinct.

Methodologically, I take the formulaic nature of these texts to be a great advantage, for in their repetitive, stereotyped phrases we may perceive precisely what the imperial apparatus imagined "rebellion" to be. By applying such language to specific persons and episodes, it constituted them as rebellious, and we catch them in the act of so doing. Further, from the fact that one of the minor inscriptions modifies the standard formulae in small, but significant ways, we can observe that some of Darius's adversaries fit the stereotype of "rebel" less well than others and it required more discursive labor to press these recalcitrant cases into the discursive mold. Close reading of all nine texts, in connection with the two other relevant series (DB §§10-50, DB §52), lets us recover neither the events as such, nor propaganda only, but the point of conjuncture between the two: the place where historic occurrence and tendentious categories of representation encountered and reshaped each other.

## II

Darius dominates the Bisitun relief, by virtue of his stature and his central position in the composition. The spatial locus given the nine "rebels," in contrast, announces their subjection to him. Most dramatically, the first in the series lies supine beneath the Great King's foot, while the others stand captive before him, bound at their hands and throat (Figure 23.1). Above and below each of these figures is a caption, and from details of their physical placement, it appears these "Minor Inscriptions" (DBb-DBj) were the first texts cut on the rock at Bisitun. The following example may be cited as typical.

*This is Nidintu-bēl. He lied. He proclaimed thus: "I am Nebuchadnezzar, the son of Nabonidus. I am King in Babylon."*<sup>2</sup>

Five kinds of contrast are embedded in this brief caption and the other eight like it. Collectively, they produce not only meaning, but a tendentious set of conclusions. The first sets two verbs of speech in opposition: "to lie" (Old Persian *duruḵ-*) and "to proclaim, to declare" (*aṇh-*). Normally, the latter form of speech is a prerogative of kings and carries with it the assurance that the content spoken is dependable, worthy, and true

<sup>2</sup> DBd: *iyam Nidintabaira adurujiya, avaθā aṇanha: adam Nabukudracara ami, haya Nabunaitahya puça, adam xšāyaθiya ami Bābirau.*



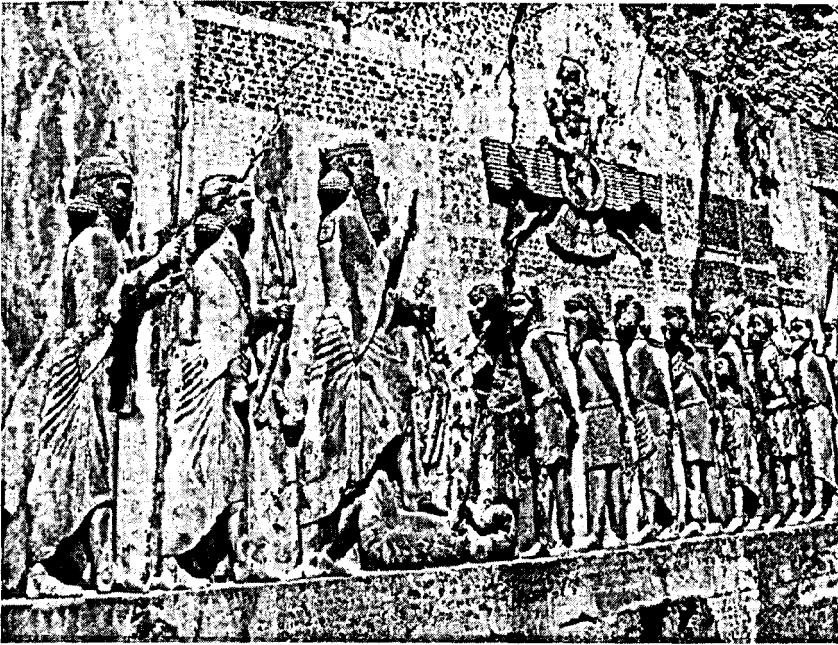


Fig. 23.1 Relief sculpture at Bisitun. Darius is the largest figure, third from the left. The figures to his right, with the exception of the winged god above, represent the “rebels” he conquered. The “Minor Inscriptions” (DBb-DBj) identify each of these figures by name and provide certain formulaic pieces of information. In each case, Old Persian and Elamite versions of the text are placed above the figure, Babylonian versions beneath.

(see further, Chapter Two). We have repeatedly noted the central importance of Truth in Achaemenian ethics and cosmology, in opposition to the archdemonic force of “the Lie” (*drauga*).

Darius’s charge that the others “lied” thus amounts to a damning judgment with vast implications. Clearly, Nidintu-Bēl and the others meant their speech not only to be accepted as true, but to function as performatives, i.e. speech acts that produce the effect they announce. By contrast, Darius treated their words as transparently deceitful and — therefore — self-deconstructing parodies of royal speech. For if a man not otherwise entitled to be King tries to “proclaim” himself such, he engages in falsehood and thereby reveals himself doubly disqualified for the throne.

A related point is made through a second contrast between the names the text assigned to the “rebels” and those they took for themselves, e.g. “Nidintu-Bēl,” as opposed to “Nebuchadnezzar, son of Nabonidus...

King in Babylon" (for a full list, see Table 24.1). Although this is framed as a confrontation between "real" names that encode lowly identities vs. pretentious acts of self-elevating imposture, it most probably reflects the transition from birth-names to the throne-names new kings assumed with their royal office.<sup>3</sup> By treating the birth-name as true, while rejecting the throne-name as false, the text implicitly dismisses the legitimacy and efficacy of the processes through which the man in question was made king (coronation rituals, formal proclamations, dynastic descent, etc.).

Often the throne-names had claims to nobility embedded in them, as is true for "Nebuchadnezzar," and genealogical assertions advanced the same argument. Where the text contrasted one name to another ("real" birth-name vs. "false" throne-name), on the genealogical plane it contrasted something to nothing, for when naming the rebels it ignores their fathers and families.<sup>4</sup> The effect is to treat them as quasi-bastards, depriving them of the patrilineal identity that defined social status and secured one's inheritance. In addition to reducing whatever stature these men might have enjoyed, this also has the effect of rendering them suspect, for those without legitimate family connections are structurally disposed (and stereotypically known) to be jealous, resentful, grasping, unscrupulous, which is to say: unworthy and untrustworthy.

Concerning the "real" identity he posits for eight of his opponents, Darius provides nothing beyond their name. The ninth case — that of Gaumāta — is anomalous and highly significant, for this was the first rival Darius confronted, who preceded him on the Achaemenian throne. By his own admission, Darius gained power by murdering this man, who called himself "Bardiya, son of Cyrus," and was recognized as such.<sup>5</sup> Darius, however, insisted that this man's "real" name was Gaumāta and — in contrast to all other cases — he attached a "real" title to this "real" name, referring to him as "Gaumāta the Magus." In so doing, he acknowledged that this man's claim to the throne was so strong that special steps were required to refute them. Such steps consisted of the information conveyed by the title of Magus, which marks

<sup>3</sup> On this practice, see Schmitt, "Achaemenian Throne-names," *op cit.*

<sup>4</sup> In contrast, the historic narrative of DB names certain non-royal men as the "real" fathers to four of the rebels. Such information is provided for Nidintu-Bēl (§16), Ācina (§16), Martiya (§22), and Araxa (§49). The Babylonian version of the first such account is particularly revealing, since it identifies the father of Nidintu-Bēl as a *zazakku*, i.e. a distinctly non-royal official responsible for the collection of taxes.

<sup>5</sup> The Babylonian documents collected by Graziani, *Testi editi ed inediti datati al regno di Bardiya*, for instance, refer to him as "Bardiya, King of Babylon, King of [all] countries" (*Bar-zi-ya šar Bābili' šar mātātē*).

its bearer for nationality and profession: as a Mede in the first instance and a priest in the second, thus someone doubly unsuited to sit on the Persian throne.

	<i>Name given by text</i>	<i>Name taken by speaker</i>	<i>Genealogy claimed</i>	<i>Title claimed<sup>6</sup></i>	<i>Title given by text</i>
DBb	Gaumāta	Bardiya	son of Cyrus	King	the Magus
DBc	Āçina			King in Elam	
DBd	Nidintu-Bēl	Nebuchadnezzar	son of Nabonidus	King in Babylon	
DBe	Fravarti	Xšaθrita	of the lineage of Cyxares	King in Media	
DBf	Martiya	Imani		King in Elam	
DBg	Tritantaxma		of the lineage of Cyxares	King in Sagartia	
DBh	Vahyazdāta	Bardiya	son of Cyrus	King	
DBi	Araxa	Nebuchadnezzar	son of Nabonidus	King in Babylon	
DBj	Frāda			King in Margiana	

Table 23.1 Competing identities between those claimed by speakers and those assigned by the "Minor Inscriptions" at Bisitun (DBb-DBj).

A third contrast is that between the two speakers. On the one hand, there is the text itself, which is to say, Darius, his scribes, and his imperial apparatus. Insofar as the text establishes the conditions of its own veracity — or, to put it differently, insofar as it succeeds in producing its own truth-effect — it constitutes Darius as a truth-teller and righteous king, whose simple, straightforward assertions oppose and overpower the inflated, self-serving, deceitful speech of his enemies, just as surely as his troops vanquished theirs in battle.

Finally, there are contrasts of timing and genre. Thus, although the others may have spoken first, Darius's military victories secured him the privilege of the last word. Insofar as the others continued to speak after their defeat and execution, they did so only through the medium of Darius's inscription, with the result that their discourse was encapsulated by

<sup>6</sup> The Babylonian version of the Minor Inscriptions varies somewhat. There, Āçina and Martiya are said to have proclaimed themselves "King of Elam" (*šar matu elammar<sup>ki</sup>*) and Frāda "King in Margiana" (*šarru ina matu mar-gu*) but the others assert only their name and genealogy, not a royal title. The Elamite version is identical to the Old Persian.

his: disarmed, imprisoned, and turned against itself. Consistently, the text introduces their speech with the phrase *avaθā aθanha* ("He proclaimed thus"), thereby framing them as direct quotation. In actuality, however, these are exercises in post mortem ventriloquism, authored by Darius and his scribes, who crafted the "speeches" through which his enemies would be remembered — and discredited — thereafter.

This brings us to the fifth contrast: that of genre or, more precisely, the kinds of communication technology employed by the rival parties. Where others spoke, Darius wrote and, what is more, he carried out the equivalent of a mass media campaign through the medium of writing. Thus, beyond placing the Bisitun text on the rock face astride the empire's most-traveled road, he also had copies made in (at least) four different languages (Old Persian, Elamite, Akkadian, and Aramaic), some on clay and some on parchment, which were disseminated from one end of the empire to the other. Not only did he speak last, he also spoke loudest and he spoke most enduringly: a state of affairs conducive to establishing one's point of view.

### III

The cumulative effect of these contrasts — verbal (lying vs. proclaiming), nominal (true birth-name vs. false throne-name), subjective (Darius vs. his adversaries), sequential (first speaker vs. last), and generic (written vs. oral) — was to consolidate Darius's battlefield victories through discursive means. By discrediting the possibly quite legitimate claims his adversaries made, he characterized them as rebels and constituted their defeat as a form of divine judgment on the lies they told. Notwithstanding this general picture, he did not treat all nine "rebels" as identical in all regards. Rather, small variants in the text's formulaic descriptions suggest differentiations among them. Some of these take the form of general rules, others of idiosyncratic cases.

First, as regards the rules, we can observe the following.

- 1) The two men who represented themselves as "King" (Gaumāta and Vahyazdāta) thereby claimed the right to rule over the empire as a whole. In support of that claim, they both took the name "Bardiya, son of Cyrus." Such descent would have made them direct heirs to the founder of the Achaemenian dynasty and would have given them legitimacy superior to that claimed by Darius, who — if his own self-presentation is to be believed — belonged to a collateral, distinctly cadet line of the imperial family (Figure 23.2).



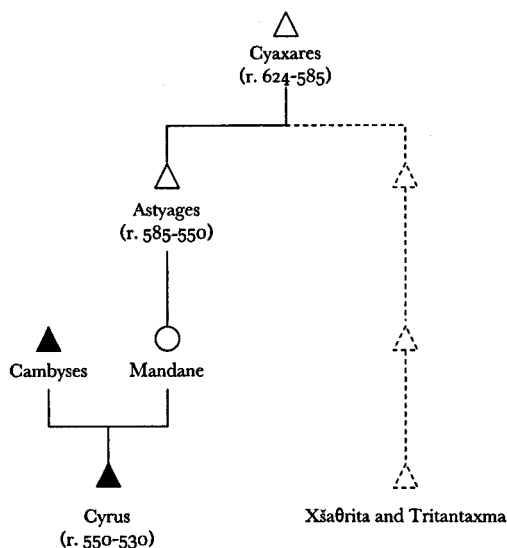


Fig. 23.3 Transition from Median to Persian empire. Plain triangles and circles represent persons of Median ethnicity; colored triangles, represent Persians, given the principle of patrilineal descent. Solid lines indicate relations attested in Herodotus; dotted lines represent relations that are not attested, but not excluded by any direct testimony and which could account for the claim of Xšaθrita and Tritantaxma to be properly Median “descendants of Cyaxares.”

- 3b) Rebels in Media (Fravarti) and Sagartia (Tritantaxma) both claimed to be “of the lineage of Cyaxares,” invoking the penultimate Median king (r. 624-585), rather than his successor, Astyages (r. 585-58). This was the strongest claim a Mede could make, for Astyages had no sons, only two daughters. After him, the Median throne was supposed to pass to the Mede who married the elder daughter, but before this could happen, Astyages was overthrown by a son of younger daughter by her Persian husband. This victory — won by Cyrus the Great in 550 — secured the passage of imperial power from the Medes to the Persians.<sup>7</sup> Descent in “the lineage of Cyaxares” would have been through an otherwise unknown son, yielding legitimacy arguably greater than that of Cyrus, Darius, or any other Achaemenian (Figure 23.3).

<sup>7</sup> Herodotus recounts the story of Cyrus’s birth, survival, and ultimate victory over his grandfather in 1.107-130. His specification that Astyages had no sons (1.109), that Cyrus viewed Cambyzes, the Persian to whom he gave his daughter Mandane as a man of low status by virtue of his nationality (1.107), and that the Medes dreaded the possibility of kingship passing to Cyrus and thus to the Persians (1.120) are of particular importance.

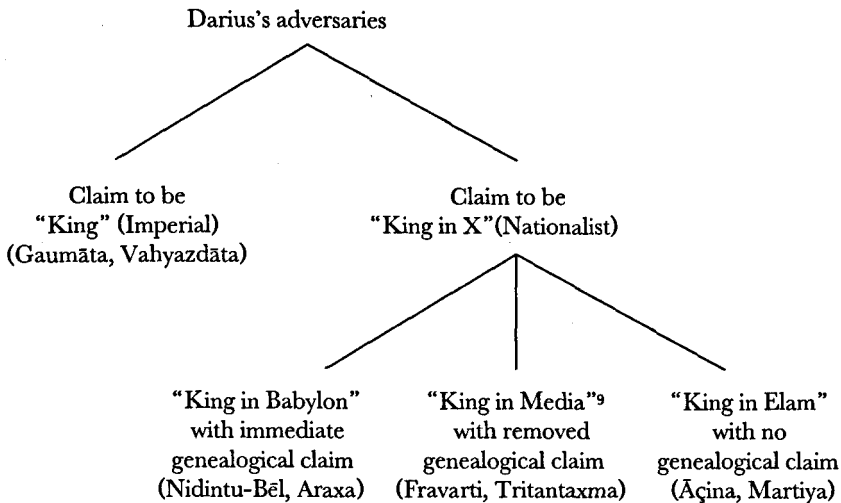


Fig. 23.4 Structural logic that governs how eight of the nine rebellions of 522-521 B.C.E. are described in the Minor Inscriptions of Bisitun (DBb-DBj).

3c) Those who proclaimed themselves “King in Elam” (Ācina and Martiya) made no mention of their genealogy, since Elamite independence was lost so far in the past that no political capital could be gained by attaching one’s self to the last king, Humban-Haltash III (r. 648-644).<sup>8</sup>

The distribution of these data produces a system that accounts for eight of the nine cases and can be represented in schematic fashion (Figure 23.4).

## V

One case stands outside this system: the insurrection of Frāda, which DBj describes in the briefest possible terms.

*This is Frāda. He lied. He proclaimed thus: “I am King in Margiana.”*<sup>10</sup>

<sup>8</sup> The Elamite version of DBf and DB §22 has *Um-man-nu-iš* in place of Imaniš. Igor M. Diakonoff, *Istoriia Mideii ot drevnejšikh vremen do kontsa IV v. do n.e.* (Moscow: Akademii Nauk, 1956), pp. 276 and 456 compared this to that of the great Elamite King Humban-nikaš (r. 743-717), who defeated Sargon II at the Battle of Der (721 B.C.E.). The suggestion has been accepted by Dandamaev, *Political History of the Achaemenid Empire*, p. 119n6, but the phonology strikes me as distant.

<sup>9</sup> According to DBg, Tritantaxma claimed to be “King in Sagartia,” not Media. The Babylonian version of this inscription, however, simply states “This is Shitirantakhmu who lied, “I am a descendant of Cyaxares,” leaving the impression that his claim was to the Elamite throne. Similar wording appears in DBBab §26.

<sup>10</sup> DBj: iyam Frada adurujiya, avaθā aθanha: adam xšāyaθiya ami Margau.

No throne-name, no genealogy, no connection to preexisting royal lines, core provinces of the empire (Babylon, Media, Elam), or historic events. The text gives no indication of the basis on which Frāda staked his claim to be King. But then again, the longer discussion of him in the body of the Bisitun text suggests that he made no such claim at all.

*Proclaims Darius the King: A land/people named Margiana — that became rebellious from me. One man named Frāda, a Margian, him they made chief. Then I sent forth (a man) named Dādṛši, a Persian, my vassal, the satrap of Bactria. To him I proclaimed thus: "Go forth. Defeat that people/army that does not call itself mine." Then Dādṛši set forth, together with the people/army. He made battle with the Margians. The Wise Lord bore me aid. By the Wise Lord's will, the people/army that is mine utterly defeated that rebel people/army. Twenty-three days in the month of Aciyādiya (Nov.-Dec.) had passed when the battle was made by them. Proclaims Darius the King: Then the land/people became mine. This is what was done by me in Bactria.*<sup>11</sup>

Beyond its locus in the east (Bactria and Margiana), several factors make clear this was a rebellion unlike any other. Nowhere is it said that Frāda lied, nor — in fact — that he made any claims at all. Apparently, he was elected by his countrymen, perhaps without ever having sought power or office. And the office to which he was elected was not that of "King" (*xšāyaθiya*) but one that bore a distinctly lesser title. "Him they made chief," the text announces, using a term (Old Persian *maθišta*) that might also be translated "prince," or "commander."<sup>12</sup> DBj thus gets carried away by the formulaic structure of the Minor Inscriptions and attributes a speech act to Frāda that the body of the Bisitun text denies he ever made: "I am King in Margiana."<sup>13</sup>

<sup>11</sup> DB §§38-39: θāti Dārayavauš xšāyaθiya: Marguš nāmā dahyāuš, haūmaī hamičiya abava, aīva martiya Frāda nāma Mārgava, avam maθištam akunavantā, pasāva adam fraīšayam, Dādṛšiš nāma Pārša, manā bandaka, Bāxtriya xšačapāvā, abi avam, avaθāšai aθanham: paraīdi, avam karam jadi, haya manā nai gaubatai. pasāva Dādṛšiš hadā kārā ašiyava, hamaranam akunauš hadā Mārgavaībiš, Auramazdāmaī upastām abara, vašnā Auramazdāha kārā haya manā avam karam tayam hamičiyam aja vasai, Aciyādiyahya māhyā cīcā viθaticā raucabiš θakatā āha, avaθāšām hamaranam krtam. θāti Dārayavauš xšāyaθiya: pasāva dahyāuš manā abava, ima, taya manā krtam Bāxtriya.

<sup>12</sup> Literally, *maθišta* is the superlative form of the adjective "large, big, great" (*\*maθ-*), hence "the greatest." It is used of generals (DB §§25, 33, 41, 45, 50, 71), tribal rulers (DB §74), and on one occasion it is used to designate the crown prince and heir apparent (XPf §4). In contrast to Old Persian care on this delicate issue, the Elamite and Aramaic versions of DB §38 give Frāda the title "King" (*sunkuk* and *mlk*, respectively). The Babylonian version of this paragraph is so severely damaged as to be illegible.

<sup>13</sup> DBj: adam xšāyaθiya ami Margau. DB §38 differs on every detail: "One man named Frāda, a Margian, him they made chief" (aīva martiya Frāda nāma Mārgava, avam maθištam akunavantā).



The time-honored principle of *lectio difficilior* makes clear that the version of DB §38 is preferable and that DBj, under the influence of formulaic diction and the other eight examples, refashions an anomalous case to make it more comprehensible. The extent of that anomaly cannot be underestimated, however. As Table 24.2 makes clear, none of the standard marks of the rebel are applied to Frāda in DB §38. Contrary to the passages in which Darius describes his eight other adversaries, the standard accusations are lacking: “he rose up” (*haṃ udapatata*), “he became rebellious to me” (*haṃmaṃ hamičiya abava*), “he lied” (*adurujiya*), “he proclaimed: ‘I am King in X’” (*aθanha adam xšāyaθiya ami X*), “he seized the kingdom/kingship” (*xšaçam haṃ agrbāyata*), or “he became King” (*haṃ xšāyaθiya abava*). Most striking of all, DB §39 gives no indication that Frāda was put to death, once more in the sharp-possible contrast with the fate of the eight other “rebels.”

	<i>He rose up</i>	<i>He became rebellious</i>	<i>He lied</i>	<i>He proclaimed: ‘I am King in X’</i>	<i>He seized the kingdom/ kingship</i>	<i>He became King</i>
Gaumāta DB §11	X		X		X	X
Ācina DB §16	X			X		X
Nidintu-Bēl DB §16	X		X		X	
Martiya DB §22	X			X		
Fravarti DB §24	X					X
Tritantaxma DB §33		X		X		
Frāda DB §38						
Vahyazdāta DB §40	X					X
Araxa DB §49	X		X			X

Table 23.2 Accusations of behaviors that constitute “rebellion” in the historic narrative of DB §§10-50. Note that none of these charges are leveled at Frāda, while all others have two or more such markers.

That Darius permitted Frāda to live suggests a logic through which clemency was administered. The eight men who assumed the title “King”

(Old Persian *xšāyaθiya*, Akkadian *LUGAL*, Elamite *sunkuk*) according to the historic narrative of DB §§10-50 were all regarded as rebels and were executed when defeated and captured. And although the data are less than conclusive, there is some evidence to suggest that the more formidable the challenge they posed to Darius the more terrible their punishment was. Thus, Vahyazdāta, who faced Darius's army in battle not once, but twice, was not just executed, but impaled, along with his chief followers. Fravarti, whose troops confronted the Persians in seven battles over the course of seven months, was mutilated, placed on public display, then impaled, while his followers were hung.<sup>14</sup>

Darius spared only one other enemy, and this is Skunxa, whose case is instructive. The passage that describes the campaign against him (DB §§74-75) falls in Column V of the inscription, which Darius added several years after Columns I-IV, so could recount his accomplishments of 521-519 B.C.E. Among these, his victory over one tribe of Scythians (the *Sāka tigraxaūda*, "Scyths who wear pointed hats") was prominent, and the text makes three things clear about this campaign: 1) These people were not previously part of the Persian empire, and thus could not be considered rebels; 2) Skunxa was not their "King," but merely their "Chief" (*maθišta*); 3) He did not "lie" in any fashion, nor was "the Lie" current among his people. At worst, the Scythians were "gullible, vulnerable to deception" (Old Persian *arīka*), and this was the argument Darius used to justify his aggression as a preemptive strike on "the Lie."

Like Skunxa, Frāda seems to have been regarded as an inconvenience to be dealt with, but someone relatively innocuous: no rebel, no liar, no claimant to the status of "King," and — therefore — no one who needed to die. The formulaic discourse of the Minor Inscriptions thus tendentiously overstated things when it said of him, as it did of the eight others: "This is Frāda. He lied. He proclaimed thus: 'I am King in Margiana.'<sup>15</sup> Two or three years after the original relief and inscriptions had been completed, a portrait of Skunxa was added to the series of nine

<sup>14</sup> Vahyazdāta's rebellion and fate are described at DB §§40-43; Fravarti's, at §§24-32 and the continued resistance of his adherents, at §§35-36. Tritantaxma was also treated severely, for reasons that are not clear from the inscription, §§33-34. It is perhaps noteworthy, however, that of him alone it is said "he became rebellious to me" (*haūmaj hamīciya abava*), whereas in all other cases where the term "rebellious" appears, it is attributed to the land/people or the people/army in question and not their leader (thus DB §§11, 16 (2x), 24, 38, 40, 49).

<sup>15</sup> DBj: *iyam Frada adurujiya, avaθā aθanha: adam xšāyaθiya ami Margau.* Cf. DB §52: *aīva Frāda nāma Mārgava, hau adurujiya, avaθā aθanha: adam xšāyaθiya ami Margau.*



Fig. 23.5 Skunxa, the Scythian. Relief sculpture added to Bisitun in 519 B.C.E. or shortly thereafter.

“rebels” (Figure 23.5), together with a caption whose text was a good deal less formulaic, also more modest and less propagandistic than those which had been inscribed in 521. At this later date, when Darius had fully secured his power, he was content to say no more than was necessary: “This is Skunxa, the Scythian.”<sup>16</sup>

<sup>16</sup> DBk: *iyam Skunxa, haya Saka*.

## CHAPTER TWENTY-FOUR

### HAPPINESS, LAW, AND FEAR\*

#### I

Two kinds of fear are mentioned in the Achaemenian inscriptions. One of these, which we considered briefly in Chapter Fourteen, is something akin to existential dread or, more precisely, the battlefield panic of men confronting death in its starkest, most terrifying form. The term denoting this kind of terror — (Old Persian *afuvā*)<sup>1</sup> — occurs only once, where Darius stated “I consider myself above panic when I see a rebel, just as when I see a man who is not [a rebel].”<sup>2</sup> That is all we are told on the topic, but it is all we need to know, for it establishes the Great King as free from the most basic human anxieties and (therefore) uniquely able to fight on God’s behalf against all forces of evil.

The second kind of fear is a less existential and much more political type, denoted by a verb whose primary sense is “to tremble” (Old Persian *tṛs-*).<sup>3</sup> More broadly, this is the kind of fear inspired by a powerful enemy: a fear whose most immediate effect, as Émile Benveniste acutely observed, is to produce obedience and submission.<sup>4</sup> In order to appreciate this second kind of fear and the system that deployed it with a confidence both moral and religious, it is necessary to study the relevant texts in detail and to know something of Achaemenian religion.

As we have repeatedly stressed, one of the most striking features of the Achaemenian cosmogony is that it situates the Wise Lord’s establishment of “Happiness for Mankind” (*šiyāti... martiyahyā*) as the culminating act of creation. And, as we also have regularly noted, such

\* An earlier version of this chapter was presented at a conference on “Fear in the Ancient World,” organized by Andrew Wolpert and held at the University of Florida in November 2009.

<sup>1</sup> As established by Hoffmann, “Altpersisch ‘afuvāyā,’ “ op cit.

<sup>2</sup> DNB §2g: *fratara maniyāi afuvāyā, yadi vaināmi hamičiyam yaθā yadi nai vaināmi.*

<sup>3</sup> For the etymology, with comparison to Vedic *trāsati*, Greek *τρέω*, Latin *terreō* (also, more distantly, to *tremō* and *trepidus*), see Kent, *Old Persian*, p. 186, Mayrhofer, *Kurzgefaßtes etymologisches Wörterbuch des Altindisches* 1: 531-32, Ivanov and Gamkrelidze, *Indo-European and the Indo-Europeans*, p. 207.

<sup>4</sup> Benveniste, “Études iraniennes,” op cit., pp. 56-59.

happiness was finite, for at a later moment in history "the Lie" (*drauga*) entered existence, bringing all other evils in its wake.

Consistent with this narrative, the historic present was theorized as an era of danger and conflict in which the Lie operates by contagion, corrupting people and things that thereby acquire the potential to infect others. In such a world, righteous/truthful humans wage a desperate struggle to overcome the Lie so that perfect happiness can be regained, consistent with the Wise Lord's original intention.

Achaemenian kings claimed leadership in this struggle and among the foremost instruments at their disposal was the Persian *kāra*, a word that denotes the free and noble adult males who constitute "the people" in times of peace and "the army" in times of war (much like Greek *laos*).<sup>5</sup> To capture both senses of the word's semantic alternance, one thus should translate *kāra* by "people-in-arms" or "people/army." Consider, for instance, an inscription of Darius from Persepolis that treats the topic of fear (DPe). Addressing his successors on the throne, the Great King offered the following advice.

*Proclaims Darius the King: If you should think thus — "May I not fear from any other" — (then) protect this Persian people/army. If the Persian people/army should be protected, happiness will be undestroyed for the longest time.*<sup>6</sup>

<sup>5</sup> The martial component of Old Persian *kāra* is clear from its etymological relation to Lithuanian *kāras*, "war," Gothic *harjis* and German *Heer*, "army," Middle Irish *cuire*, "troop," etc. See, inter alia, Widengren, *Feudalismus im alten Iran*, pp. 106-7, Dandamaev, *Political History of the Achaemenid Empire*, pp. 110-11, and Briant, *Histoire de l'empire perse*, pp. 29, 115-16, and 906. On the word's etymology, Sigmund Feist, *Vergleichendes Wörterbuch der Gotischen Sprache* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1939), p. 247, Ernst Fraenkel, "Zu den baltischen Ausdrücken für 'Krieg' und 'Heer' und ihren Entsprechung in anderen indoeuropäischen Sprachen," *Lingua Posnaniensis* 4 (1953); 85 ff., and Benveniste, *Vocabulaire des institutions indo-européennes* 1: 111-15. Philological and methodological flaws mar the discussion of Onorato Bucci, "Ricerche intorno al concetto giuridico di popolo in diritto persiano antico. I. Significato di *Kāra* alla luce del processo storico giuridico di ἔθνος e δῆμος," *Rivista Italiana per le scienze giuridiche* 12 (1968); 333-64, but his general conclusion still holds some interest: "Ecco, quindi il valore del *Kāra* iranico: non già *popolo* nè tanto meno *esercito*, ma una riunione di uomini che durante la pace o durante la Guerra, ratifica la volontà dello *xšāyaθiyā*, il cui potere trascende il *Kāra* stesso e che trova il suo fondamento in una volontà da cui del resto tutti dipendevano, quella del dio *Ahuramazdah*" (p. 364).

<sup>6</sup> DPe §3: θāti Dārayavauš xšāyaθiya: yadi avaθā maniyāhaj: hacā aniyānā mā tr̥sam, imam Pārsam kāram pādi; yadi kāra Pārsa pāta ahati, hayā duvajštam šiyātiš axšatā.

Military strength is here construed as that which a) best neutralizes fear and b) best secures a long-lasting (but still impermanent and thus imperfect) happiness, fear and happiness thus being set in implicit opposition, as in Table 25.1.

<b>+People/army</b>	<b>-People/army</b>
<b>-Fear</b>	<b>+Fear</b>
<b>+Long Happiness</b>	<b>-Happiness</b>

Table 24.1 Relations of fear (*trs-*), happiness (*šiyāti*), and the Persian people/army (*kāra*) according to DPe §3.

This analysis is taken further in an inscription (DPd) that was meant to be read in connection with DPe, for the two texts were placed alongside each other on the same wall as mirror images of a sort, having precisely the same length and format (three paragraphs, twenty-four lines).<sup>7</sup> More importantly, their contents also complement and engage each other, as is shown in Table 25.2.

	<b>DPd<sup>8</sup></b>	<b>DPe<sup>9</sup></b>
<b>§1 Prime actors: Great God and Great King</b>	Great is the Wise Lord, who is greatest of the gods. He created Darius (as) king. He bestowed the kingship/ kingdom on him. By the Wise Lord's will, Darius is king.	I am Darius, Great King, King of Kings, King of lands/peoples, of which there are many, son of Vištāspa, an Achaemenian.
<b>§2 Locales: Fearless Persian center and fearful periphery</b>	Proclaims Darius the King: This land/people Persia, which the Wise Lord bestowed on me, is good, having good horses and having good humans. By the will of the Wise Lord and of me, Darius the King, it feels no fear of any other.	Proclaims Darius the King: By the Wise Lord's will, these are the lands/peoples that I took hold of with this Persian people/army. They feared me. They bore me tribute: Elamites, Medians, Babylonians, Arabians, Assyrians, Egyptians... etc.

<sup>7</sup> Regarding the physical placement of these inscriptions, see Kent, *Old Persian*, p. 109.

	<i>DPd</i> <sup>8</sup>	<i>DPe</i> <sup>9</sup>
<b>§3 Antitheses: Fear and happiness</b>	Proclaims Darius the King: May the Wise Lord bear me aid, together with all the gods, and may the Wise Lord protect this land/ people from the enemy horde, from the bad year, from the Lie. Against this land/people, may the enemy horde not come, nor the bad year, nor the Lie. This boon I ask the Wise Lord, together with all the gods. May the Wise Lord, together with all the gods, grant this boon to me.	Proclaims Darius the King: If you should think thus: “May I not fear from any other,”(then) protect this Persian people/army. If the Persian people/army should be protected, happiness will be undestroyed for the longest time. By the Lord, let this (state of happiness) descend on this (royal) house.

Table 24.2 Interrelations of the two Old Persian inscriptions  
that face each other on the South Persepolis wall.

## II

Although all aspects of this juxtaposition hold interest, our chief concern at present is to observe the ways DPd §3 expands on the analysis of fear and happiness offered by DPe §3 (quoted above) by detailing the three chief evils that produce the one and compromise the other.<sup>10</sup>

<sup>8</sup> DPd: §1 Auramazdā vazrka haya maθišta bagānām, hau Dārayavaum xšāyaθiyam adadā, haušaj xšačam frābara; vašnā Auramazdāhā Dārayavauš xšāyaθiya. §2 θāti Dārayavauš xšāyaθiya: iyam dahyāuš Pārsa, tayām manā Auramazdā frābara, hayā naiḃā uvaspā umartiyā, vašnā Auramazdāhā manacā Dārayavahauš xšāyaθiyahyā hacā aniyānā nai trsati. §3 θāti Dārayavauš xšāyaθiya: manā Auramazdā upastām baratu hadā visaḃbiš bagaḃbiš, utā imām dahyāum Auramazdā pātu mā ājamiyā mā hajnā, mā dušiyāram, mā drauga; aḃta adam yānam jadiyāmi Auramazdām hadā visaḃbiš bagaḃbiš; aḃtamaḃ yānam Auramazdā dadātu hadā visaḃbiš bagaḃbiš.

<sup>9</sup> DPe: §1 adam Dārayavauš, xšāyaθiya vazrka, xšāyaθiya xšāyaθiyānām, xšāyaθiya dahyūnām tayaišām parūnām, Vištāspahyā puça, Haxāmanišiya. §2 θāti Dārayavauš xšāyaθiya: vašnā Auramazdāhā imā dahyāva, tayā adam adarši hadā anā Pārsā kārā, tayā hacāma atrsa, manā bājim abara. Ūja, Māda, Bābiruš, Arbāya, Aθurā, Mudrāya, Armina, Katpatuka, Sparda, Yaunā tayai uškahyā utā tayai drayahyā utā dahyāva tayā para draya, Asagarta, Parθava, Zranka, Haraḃva, Bāxtriš, Suguda, Uvārazmī, Ōtaguš, Harauvatiš, Hinduš, Gandāra, Sakā, Maka. §3 θāti Dārayavauš xšāyaθiya: yadi avaθā maniḃahaj: hacā aniyānā mā trsam, imam Pārsam kāram pādi; yadi kārā Pārsa pāta ahati, hayā duvaištam šiyātiš axšatā, hauḃi aḃrā nirsāti abi imām viθam.

<sup>10</sup> The importance of this juxtaposition was first recognized by Herrenschmidt, “Vieux-perse *šiyāti*,” op cit.

*Proclaims Darius the King: May the Wise Lord bear me aid, together with all the gods, and may the Wise Lord protect this land/people from the enemy horde, from the bad year, from the Lie. Against this land/people, may the enemy horde not come, nor the bad year, nor the Lie. This boon I ask the Wise Lord, together with all the gods. May the Wise Lord, together with all the gods, grant this boon to me.*<sup>11</sup>

Both DPd §3 and its counterpart in DPe speak of protection against menacing evils and do so in complementary ways, as seen in Table 25.3. Close reading of the two passages together helps sharpen our understanding of both and permits some nuances to emerge. First, DPe §3 actually describes a symbiosis of sorts between the King and the people/army, for the King is advised to protect the latter so that in turn, it can protect him from fear. Second, the things that might cause him fear are not named in that passage. Rather, it is DPd §3 that provides a more detailed analysis, listing the three prime sources of fear in what seems to be the reverse order of their severity, importance, and temporal sequence.

	DPe §3	DPe §3	DPd §3
Object to be protected	King (xšāyaθiya)	Persian people/ army (kāra)	This (Persian) land/ people (dahyu)
Agent who provides protection	Persian people/ army (kāra)	King (xšāyaθiya)	The Wise Lord, together with all the gods
Threat(s) against which protection is sought	Fear (trs-)		a) Enemy horde (hainā) b) Bad year (dušiyāra) c) Lie (drauḡa)
State to be gained	Long happiness (duvaḡšta šiyāti)	Absence of fear for the King	

Table 24.3 Protection against menacing evils, as described by DPe and DPd.

<sup>11</sup> DPd §3: θāti Dārayavauš xšāyaθiya: manā Auramazdā upastām baratu hadā visaḡbiš багаḡbiš, utā imām dahyāuḡ Auramazdā pātu mā ājamiyā mā hainā, mā dušiyāram, mā drauḡa; aḡta adam yānam jadiyāmi Auramazdām hadā visaḡbiš багаḡbiš; aḡtamaj yānam Auramazdā dadātu hadā visaḡbiš багаḡbiš. On the interpretation of this passage, Panaino, "hainā-, dušiyāra-, drauḡa-: un confronto antico-persiano avestico," op cit., pp. 95-102, idem, "Ancora sulle tre calamita," *Atti del Sodalizio glottologico Milanese* 32 (1991): 70-83 has identified Avestan parallels that complicate the attempt of Émile Benveniste, "Traditions indo-iraniennes sur les classes sociales," op cit., pp. 542-49 and Georges Dumézil, "Les «trois fonctions» dans le Rg Veda et les dieux indiens de Mitani," *Bulletin de l'Académie Royal de Belgique* 47 (1961): 265-98, esp. pp. 294-98, who associated the Lie, enemy horde, and bad year with the sovereign, warrior, and (re)productive functions of Proto-Indo-European ideology.



First to be named is the threat that is most physically violent and thus, perhaps, most immediately apparent. This is the enemy horde, denoted by a word (Old Persian *hainā*, cognate to Avestan *haēnā*, Vedic *sēnā*) that is never used of one's own military and which always harbors associations, not only of the alien, but also the demonic.<sup>12</sup> This is the threat that is most directly contrasted with and countered by the Persian people/army (*kāra*). Consideration of other sources suggests, however, that appearance of the enemy horde is the result of other, logically — and chrono-logically prior evils, for which other responses, solutions, and antidotes are available.

### III

An important Avestan text thus treats the appearance of an enemy horde as the climax in a series of accumulating ills that together constitute a "bad year" (*duš.yāiriia*).<sup>13</sup> Although the Old Persian cognate *dušiyāra* is often translated as "famine,"<sup>14</sup> "bad year" is the literal meaning of both terms, which combine the pejorative prefix *duš-*, *duž-* (cognate to Sanskrit *duṣ-*, *dur-*, Greek *dys-*, etc.)<sup>15</sup> with the common Iranian word that designates the year as a recurrent cycle of time (Old Persian *\*yār*, cognate to

<sup>12</sup> Old Persian *hainā*, like its Avestan cognate *haēnā*, belongs to Iran's daēvic vocabulary, used only for those hostile to the Persian empire, the Mazdā-worshipping religion, and the Good Lord's pure creation. The Avestan cognate occurs most often modified by the adjective *xruuišyant* "bloodthirsty" (Yašt 10.8, 10.47, 15.49, 19.54). According to Bartholomae, *Altiranisches Wörterbuch*, col. 1729, these words can be translated as "'Heer, Heerschar' usw. Daēvischer Wesen, 'Feindesheer, feindliche Heerschar.'" See also Kellens, "Trois réflexions sur la religion des Achéménides," pp. 115-17.

<sup>13</sup> Yašt 8.49-56. Cf. Yašt 14.48.

<sup>14</sup> Thus, Meillet and Benveniste, *Grammaire du Vieux-Perse*, p. 100 ("mauvaise année, mauvaise récolte"), 150 ("mauvaise moisson"), and 168 ("mauvaise récolte"), Kent, *Old Persian*, pp. 136 ("famine") and 192 ("evil year, bad harvest, famine"), Asmussen, *Historiske tekster fra Achæmenide tiden*, p. 73 ("misvækst"), Brandenstein and Mayrhofer, *Handbuch des Altpersischen*, p. 117 ("Mißernste, Hungersnot"), Lecoq, *Les inscriptions de la Perse achéménide*, p. 228 ("famine"), Schmitt, *Old Persian Inscriptions of Naqsh-e Rostam and Persepolis*, p. 58 ("crop failure"). Noteworthy exceptions are Bartholomae, *Altiranisches Wörterbuch*, col. 759 ("ein schlechtes Jahr, Misswachs bringend") and James Darmesteter, *The Zend Avesta*, 2: 107, who transcribed the term rather than translating it, then provided a note in which he interpreted both the Avestan and the Old Persian as meaning "Bad year, that is to say, sterility, drought." On the declension of Av. *yar* (rather than *yarə*), see Helmut Humbach, "Textkritische und sprachliche Bemerkungen zum Nirangistān," *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung* 77 (1961): 106-11, esp. 110-11.

<sup>15</sup> Also related are Armenian *ɪ-* ("non-"), Latin *\*dis-* (in *difficilis*, "difficult"), Gothic *tuz-*, Anglo-Saxon *tor-*, Old High German *zur-* ("non-"). Gamkrelidze and Ivanov, *Indo-European and Indo-Europeans*, p. 683.

Avestan *yār*, Gothic *jer*, German *Jahr*, and Greek *hōra* “annually recurring season, esp. spring”). Reading the Avestan passage, one gets the sense that a destructive disorder makes its way through the cosmos, following the order of creation, for the text first calls attention to shooting stars (a disruption of the heavens),<sup>16</sup> followed by drought (Avestan *apaoša*, a disruption of the rains, i.e. atmosphere + water, with consequences for the earth),<sup>17</sup> causing famine (Avestan *vōiynā*, a disruption of plants, with consequences for animals and humans)<sup>18</sup> and diseases, especially mange, scabies, and desiccation of the body (*pqman*, perhaps also *kapasti*, disruptions of the moist-warm life force of animals and humans).<sup>19</sup> At the culmination of this, when all the forces of good have been weakened, then appears the enemy horde, complete with chariots and upraised battle standards.<sup>20</sup> Such disasters can be prevented,

<sup>16</sup> Yašt 8.51 and 54-55 identifies *Duž.yāiriia* as the leader of the shooting stars (*pairikā*, here equated with *stār kərəma*) associated with the dry season. The annual return of the dog-star Sirius (Avestan *Tištrya*) to the visible heavens sets off the struggle that ends each year's period of drought, as narrated by Yašt 8, which is devoted to this deity. Most fully, see Antonio Panaino, “*Tištrya*,” op cit., esp. 2: 1, 19-23, and 57-58.

<sup>17</sup> On the demon *Apaoša* as a representation of drought, see Forssman, “*Apaoša*, der Gegner des *Tištria*,” op cit., Panaino, “*Tištrya*,” esp. 2: 95-101, and Éric Pirart, *Guerriers d'Iran. Traductions annotées des textes avestiques du culte zoroastrien rendu aux dieux Tištrya, Miθra, et Vərəθragna* (Paris: Éditions L'Harmattan, 2006), pp. 42-48 and 71-101.

<sup>18</sup> Avestan *vōiynā* is mistranslated as “Überschwemmung” by Bartholomae, *Altiranisches Wörterbuch*, col. 1428, but W.B. Henning, “The Sogdian Texts of Paris,” *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 11 (1946): 717 established its correct interpretation on the basis of comparison to Sogdian *wynh* “famine.” See further Panaino, “*hainā*-, *dušiyāra*-, *drauga*,-” p. 99 and “Ancora sulle tre calamità,” pp. 79-80, where he calls attention to Pahlavi *wōiyn* derived from Avestan *vōiyna* and attested at Dēnkard 7.8.19.

<sup>19</sup> On *pqman*, see Bartholomae, *Altiranische Wörterbuch*, col. 888, Monier-Williams, *Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, p. 819, Mayrhofer, *Kurzgefaßtes etymologisches Wörterbuch des Altindisches* 2: 255-56, with comparison to Sanskrit *pāmān* (“a kind of skin-disease, cutaneous eruption, scab”), *pāmā* (“a kind of skin-disease, herpes, scab; a mild form of leprosy”) and Afghan *pam* (“scabies, scurf, mange”). Panaino, *Tištrya*, 1: 79 and 2: 40-41, interprets *kapasti* as “mange [?],” which is an attractive guess, but an etymological analysis for this obscure term is still lacking. Bartholomae, *Altiranisches Wörterbuch*, col. 436 posited a prefix *ka*- and a second element *pasti*-, with relation of the latter to Latin *pestis* (“plague, pestilence”), but this is unlikely, given recurrence of the element *-asti* in Avestan names of diseases (cf. *sārašti* and *ayōsti*), as noted by F.B.J. Kuiper, *Selected Writings on Indian Linguistics and Philology*, ed. A. Lubotsky, et al. (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 1997), p. 201.

<sup>20</sup> The text actually names the enemy horde twice, for it appears in simple fashion (*haēna*) at the very beginning of the series and in more elaborated, emphatic fashion (*haēniō raθō... uzgarəptō drafšō*) at its very end. The motives for this double enunciation are not explicit, but might include emphatic restatement, dramatic foreshadowing, and a view that this culminating disaster somehow encompasses all the others of which it is both the product and summation.

however, if prayer and sacrifice, grounded in the Best Truth (*Aša vahišta*) are offered to the star *Tištrya* (= *Sirius*), the annual bringer-of-rain.<sup>21</sup>

<sup>21</sup> In *Yašt* 8.50-51, the Wise Lord describes the importance of sacrifice to this god:

*"I created, Spitama Zarathuštra,  
This star Tištrya,  
As worthy of sacrifice, as worthy of prayer,  
As worthy of propitiation,  
As worthy of glory,  
As I myself, who am the Wise Lord,  
To help and to resist,  
Stand firm against, overcome,  
And repel the enmity  
Of that witch 'Bad Year,'  
Whom people of evil speech  
Call by the name 'Good Year.'"*  
azəm dadəm Spitama Zaruštra  
aom stārem yim Tištrīm  
auuāntəm yesniata  
auuāntəm vahmiiata  
auuāntəm xšnaoθBata  
auuāntəm frasastata  
yaθa māncit yim ahurəm mazdām.  
auuaighāi pairikaiiāi  
paiti.štātaiiaēca paiti.scaptaiiaēca  
paiti.tarətaiiaēca paitiaogət.tbaēšahiiāica  
yā duž.yāirīia yām  
mašiiāka auui.duž.vacaghō  
hu.yāirīiam nāma aojaite.

The Wise Lord warns that if 'Bad Year' goes unchecked, "it would completely shatter the life force of all embodied existence" (*vīspahe aṇhōuš astuuatō... aṇhuuam auua.hisi-ḍiiāt*). At *Yašt* 8.56, however, he describes the results accomplished when proper worship is paid to the star-deity *Tištrya* who overcomes this 'Bad Year.'

*If, O Spitama Zarathuštra, the Aryan lands/peoples  
Had remembered to give sacrifice and prayer  
To radiant Tištrya, possessed of charisma —  
As to him sacrifice and prayer  
Are most-to-be-given,  
According to Best Truth —  
Then the enemy horde would not arrive  
Here, to Aryan lands,  
Nor would famine, nor scabies,  
Nor mange (?), nor chariots of the enemy horde,  
Nor the upraised war-banner.  
yeiḍi zī spitama zaruštra airiiā daṇhāuuō  
tištriehe raēuuatō x'arənaḥatō  
aiβi.saciiārəš dāitīm yasnəm vahməmca.  
yaθa.hē asti dāitiiōtəmō  
yasnasca vahmasca  
ašāt haca yat vahištāt  
nōit iθra airiiā daiṇhāuuō  
frašusuiiat haēna  
nōit vōiyāna nōit pāma  
nōit kapastiš nōit haēniio raθō  
nōit uzgərəptō drafšō.*

If the Avestan analysis of the “bad year” treated it as a compound of multiple ills spreading through creation, the Achaemenian understanding had similar complexity, although it focused on political and economic woes, rather than disruptions of the natural order. This follows from DB §§10-14, in which Darius narrated the crisis of 522 B.C.E. Shortly prior to these events, as he tells it, the Lie had made its appearance and the people-in-arms became vulnerable to its power, this being the condition of possibility for all the evils that followed.<sup>22</sup> The bad year proper saw a shrewd and manipulative man — “Gaumāta the Magus” — lie to the *kāra*, misrepresenting himself as “Bardiya, son of Cyrus,” in which guise he claimed the throne. As gullible people rallied to him, rebellion spread and he took control of the imperial heartland (Persia, Media, and others), at which point the rightful King died a sudden and mysterious death.<sup>23</sup> Then, having having seized the throne, Gaumāta consolidated his power through a reign of terror.

*There was not a man — not a Persian, nor a Mede, nor anyone of our lineage — who could have deprived that Gaumāta the Magus of the kingship/kingdom. The people/army feared him mightily. He would kill greatly among the people/army those who knew Bardiya in the past. For that reason, he would kill among the people/army, (thinking): “Lest they might recognize me and know I am not Bardiya, the son of Cyrus.”*<sup>24</sup>

<sup>22</sup> DB §10: “When Cambyses went to Egypt (= 525 B.C.E.), then the people/army became vulnerable to deception and the Lie became great throughout the land/people — in Persia and Media and other lands/peoples.” *yaθā Kambūjiya Mudrāyam ašiyava, pasāva kāra arika abava utā drauga dahyaūvā vasaī abava, utā Pārsaī utā Mādaī utā aniyāuvā dahyušuvā.*

<sup>23</sup> DB §11 “Proclaims Darius the King: Afterwards, there was one man, a Magus named Gaumāta... He lied to the people/army thus: ‘I am Bardiya, the son of Cyrus, the brother of Cambyses.’ Then the people/army all became rebellious from Cambyses. It went over to him — Persia and Media and the other lands/peoples. Nine days had passed in the month Garmapada (1 July 522 BCE), when he seized the kingship/kingdom. Then Cambyses died his own-death.” *θāti Dārayavauš xšāyaθiya: pasāva aiva martiya maguš āha, Gaumāta nāma... hau kārahyā avaθā adurujiya: adam Bṛdiya ami, haya Kurauš puça, Kambujiyahyā brātā, pasāva kāra haruva hamičiya abava hacā Kambujiyā, abi avam ašiyava, utā Pārsa utā Māda utā aniyā dahyāva, xšačam hau agrbāyatā, Garmapadahya māhyā navā raucabiš θakatā āha, avaθā xšačam agrbāyatā, pasāva Kambujiya uvamšiyuš amariyatā.* The phrase that describes Cambyses’s death — *uvamšiyuš amariyatā* — has been much discussed and seems to be an idiomatic phrase carefully chosen to dispel any suspicion of homicide. See further Schulze, “Der Tod des Kambyzes,” Alfred Hübner, “Zum Tod des Kambyzes,” *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung* 68 (1944): 57, Schaefer, “Des eigenen Todes sterben,” Asmussen, “Iranica, A: The Death of Cambyses,” Jaan Puhvel, “The ‘Death of Cambyses’ and Hittite Parallels,” *Studia Classica et Orientalia Antonino Pagliaro Oblata* (Rome, 1969) 3: 169-175, and Herrmann. “Zu altpersisch *uv’mršiyuš ‘mriyt’.*”

<sup>24</sup> DB §13: *θāti Dārayavauš xšāyaθiya: nai āha martiya nai Pārsa nai Māda nai amāxam taumāyā kašci, haya avam Gaumātam tayam magum xšačam dītam caxriyā, kārašim hacā*

This is the first time fear (*trs-*) is mentioned in any Achaemenian text and it plays a role of central importance. In the narrative Darius developed, as we saw, trouble begins with the Lie, from which follow confusion, deception, rebellion, and usurpation. In ways, the usurper is himself an instantiation of the Lie, and once on the throne he compounds falsehood with violence and intimidation, basing the continuation of his evil rule on the deliberate cultivation of fear. Putting an end to this situation of political, cosmic, and moral disorder thus depended on the intervention of some actor who is able to overcome falsehood and transcend fear. Yet, as Darius recounts, there was no one able to do that.<sup>25</sup> It was in this desperate situation that he turned to the Wise Lord.

*No one dared to proclaim anything about Gaumāta the Magus until I arose. Then I prayed to the Wise Lord for assistance. The Wise Lord bore me aid. Ten days of the month Bāgayādi had passed (29 September 522) when I, with a few men, slew that Gaumāta the Magus and the men who were his foremost followers. A fortress named Sikayuvati, a land named Nisāya, in Media — there I slew him. I deprived him of the kingship/kingdom. By the Wise Lord's will I became king. The Wise Lord bestowed the kingship/kingdom on me.*<sup>26</sup>

As in the Avesta, the remedy for a “bad year” thus begins with worship of the appropriate deity. Here, however, that deity is the Wise Lord (*Ahura Mazdā*), rather than the star *Tištrya*, and he intervenes, not by bringing rain that will fructify the cosmos, but by giving assistance and courage to the hero who will overcome the usurper and make himself king. The benefits that come with the new, divinely ordained and righteous/truthful king are not limited to the political sphere, however, and here Darius's narrative acquires something like the cosmic dimension of the Avestan text. Thus, in redressing Gaumāta's crimes, the Great King

*dr̥ṣam at̥sa, k̥āram vasai avājaniyā, haya paranam Bṛdiyam adānā, avahyarādī k̥āram avājaniyā, mātayamām x̥snāsati, taya adam naj Bṛdiya ami, haya Kuraṣ puça.*

<sup>25</sup> The assertion of DB §13 is sweeping and emphatic: “There was not a man — not a Persian, nor a Mede, nor anyone of our lineage — who could have deprived that Gaumāta the Magus of the kingship/kingdom.” *naj āha martiya naj Pārsa naj Māda naj amāxam taumāyā kašci, haya avam Gaumātām tayam magum x̥šačam dītam caxriyā.*

<sup>26</sup> DB §13: *kašci naj adr̥ṣnaṣ cišci ōanstanaj pari Gaumātām tayam magum, yātā adam ārsam, pasāva adam Auramazdām patiyāvanhyaiy, Auramazdāmai upastām abara, Bāgayādaiš māhya daθā raucabiš ōakatā āha, avaθā adam hadā kamnaibiš martiyaibiš avam Gaumātām tayam magum avājanam utā tayaišai fratamā martiyā anušiya āhantā, Sikayuvatiš nāmā didā, nisāya nāmā dahyāuš Mādai, avadašim avājanam, x̥šačamšim adam adinam, vašnā Auramazdāha adam x̥šāyaθiya abavam, Auramazdā x̥šačam manā frābara.* On the verb *wah-* “to supplicate, pray to, worship,” see Szemerényi, “Iranica II. 17. OP *patiyāvahyaiy*,” pp. 208-9.

says he started by restoring damaged temples (thereby reconnecting heaven and earth), after which he attended to earth, vegetation, animals, and humans, following the Zoroastrian order of creation.<sup>27</sup>

#### IV

According to DB §§10-14, the “bad year” is thus preceded by “the Lie” (*drauga*) and both are causes of fear, just as DPd §3 groups these two along with the enemy horde. In the same way that DPd §3 identified the people/army (*kāra*) as the antidote to the fear inspired by the enemy horde (*hañā*), so the Bisitun text identifies a rightful King (*xšāyaθiya*) — i.e., one who enjoys the Wise Lord’s support — as the antidote to a bad year (*dušiyāra*). Presumably, a similar remedy exists for the Lie, the obvious candidate being *ṛta*, a term that some would translate “Truth (as the foundation of all moral and cosmic order),” while others would nuance things differently, speaking of “Right,” “Justice,” or “Cosmic Order” itself.<sup>28</sup> In all likelihood, the semantic range of this word encom-

<sup>27</sup> The sequence in which the Wise Lord established the six original creations of orthodox Zoroastrianism is specified in such texts as Yasna 19.8, Yašt 13.86, Selections of Zādspram 1.25, *Greater Bundahisn* 1.54 (TD<sup>2</sup> MS. 15.2-3) and 3.7 (TD<sup>2</sup> MS. 33. 2-5). This order appears to inform the components of the “Bad Year” described in Yašt 8.49-56 and the year of Gaumāta’s rule, to judge from Darius’s description of how the restorations he made after overthrowing the usurper (DB §14). One might compare the two texts as follows.

Zoroastrian order of creation	Components of “Bad Year” according to Yašt 8.49-56	Darius’s restitutive acts after overthrowing Gaumāta, according to DB §14
1) Sky	Shooting stars ( <i>pairikā</i> = <i>stār karama</i> )	Restoration of temples ( <i>āyadana</i> )
2) Water	Drought ( <i>Apaoša</i> )	
3) Earth	Drought ( <i>Apaoša</i> )	Restoration of pasture-lands ( <i>ābicariš</i> )
4) Plants	Famine ( <i>vōiyna</i> )	Restoration of pastures ( <i>ābicariš</i> )
5) Animals	Famine ( <i>vōiyna</i> ) Scurf, mange, diseases of dryness ( <i>pqman, kapasti</i> )	Restoration of livestock ( <i>gaiθā</i> )
6) Humans	Famine ( <i>vōiyna</i> ) Scabies, leprosy, diseases of dryness ( <i>pqman, kapasti</i> ) Enemy horde, with chariots and war-banners ( <i>haēnā, haēniōd raθō, uzgərəptō drafsō</i> )	Restoration of domestic servants ( <i>māniya</i> ) Restoration of houses ( <i>viθ</i> ) Restoration of people/army ( <i>kāra</i> )

<sup>28</sup> Most recently on the opposition of Truth (*ṛta*) and Lie (*drauga*) in ancient Iranian ethics, politics, and cosmology, see Skjærvø, “Truth and Deception in Ancient Iran,” op cit. Virtually all handbooks to Zoroastrianism dwell on this theme, but the most thorough and thoughtful remains Lommel, *Die Religion Zarathustras*, pp. 40-52. The interpretation

passed these possibilities and more, as is true of its Avestan cognate *aša* (< Indo-Iranian \**ṛta*). The latter, moreover, consistently operates in a structure of binary opposition — sometimes explicit, sometimes tacit — where it is contrasted to *drug*, which, like its Old Persian counterpart *drauga*, denotes falsehood as the antithetical source and foundation of all evil and all disorder.

It is thus surprising that *ṛta* nowhere figures as the adversary or antidote to *drauga* in any Achaemenian text.

## V

To be sure, Darius did represent himself as chosen by the Wise Lord because of his consistent opposition to falsehood.<sup>29</sup> With equal consistency, he depicted his enemies as liars inspired by the Lie.<sup>30</sup> Yet never once does the discourse of *ṛta* ("truth, cosmic order, all that is right") appear in his inscriptions and this can surely be no accident.<sup>31</sup> That the term was available is certain, for it occurs in the names of numerous

of Indo-Iranian \**ṛta* as "truth" was championed by Lüders, *Varuṇa: II. Varuṇa und das Rta* and has been accepted by Mayrhofer, *Etymologisches Wörterbuch des Altindoarischen* 1: 254-55, but others have advanced views with other nuances, such as Geiger, "Rta und Verwandtes," who understood both the Vedic and the Iranian terms as designating "Recht, als eine kosmischer Prinzip," or Onorato Bucci, "Giustizia e legge nel diritto Persiano antico," for whom Old Persian *ṛta* meant "Giustizia."

<sup>29</sup> At DB §63, Darius defines himself as one impervious to falsehood at the level of thought, word, and deed, but stops short of associating himself in positive fashion with truth: "For this reason the Wise Lord bore me aid, he and the other gods that are: Because I was not vulnerable to deception, I was not lying, I was not a deceit-doer." avahyarādīmaī Auramazdā upastām abara utā aniyāha bagāha, tayai hanti, yaθā nai arīka āham, nai draujana āham, nai zūrakara āham, nai adam naimai taumā

<sup>30</sup> Thus, of Gaumāta and all the other rebels described in his Bisitun inscription, Darius says "he lied" (*adurujiya*), while also stating more programmatically at DB §54: "These are the lands/peoples that became rebellious. The Lie made them rebellious, because these men lied to the people/army." dahyāva imā, tayā hamičiyā abava draugadiš hamičiyā akunauš, taya imai kāram adurujiyaša.

<sup>31</sup> I follow Rüdiger Schmitt, "Ein altpersisches ghostword und das sog. 'inverse ca,'" pp. 442-45, idem, *Old Persian Inscriptions of Naqsh-e Rostam and Persepolis*, p. 95 in the interpretation of *ṛtā-cā* in XPh §4d as the singular locative of *ṛtu* (thus: "at the right time"). Others, including W.B. Henning, "Brahman," *Transactions of the Philological Society* 1944: 108-18, Roland G. Kent, "Old Persian artāčā brazmaniya," *Language* 21 (1945): 223-30, Jacques Duchesne-Guillemin, "Old Persian artāca brazmaniy," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 25 (1962): 336-37, Maurice Leroy, "Artā l'exaltée. A propos de l'Inscription des daiva," *Studi e Materiali di Storia delle Religioni* 38 (1967): 293-301, Gikyō Itō, "On Old Persian 'RT'Č' BRZMNIY," *Studia Iranica* 10 (1981): 323-24, and Clarisse Herrenschildt, "Notes de Vieux Perse III," *Indo-Iranian Journal* 36 (1993): 45-50, have sought to relate it to *ṛta* and if they are correct, it would constitute the sole occurrence of the term outside of onomastics.

Persian nobles (Arta-xerxes, Arta-vardiya, Arta-phrenes, etc.).<sup>32</sup> For his part, Xerxes did employ the term *ṛtāvan*, which denotes those humans who are righteous/truthful, in an ideal moral and ritual state, consistent with the Wise Lord's intentions (cf. Av. *ašavan*, Vedic *ṛtāvan*). Strikingly, however, the inscription where that term appears takes pains to define this state of truth and righteousness as one that is unavailable at present.

*You who (come) hereafter, if you should think "May I be happy when living and may I be righteous/truthful when dead," conduct yourself according to that law which the Wise Lord set down. Worship the Wise Lord at the proper time and in the proper ritual style. The man who conducts himself according to the law that the Wise Lord set down and who worships the Wise Lord at the proper time and in the proper ritual style, he becomes happy when living and righteous/truthful when dead.*<sup>33</sup>

Close reading of this passage reveals that the ideal state is deferred, and that in two ways. Truth — that which would overcome the Lie, first and greatest of all ills, ultimate source of all fears — is not available during one's lifetime. Rather, the best any mortal can expect is to acquire a state of righteousness/truthfulness *after death*. In similar fashion, creation as a whole can achieve such perfection only at the end of (historic) time, i.e. when the Lie is fully annihilated.<sup>34</sup> In the meantime, the best one can hope for is not the perfect and universal happiness of the Wise Lord's original creation ("happiness for mankind," *šiyāti... marti-yahyā*), but the much-more-finite state of "long happiness" (*duvaišta šiyāti*) or the state of an individual whose ritual and moral comportment

<sup>32</sup> Mayrhofer, *Onomastica Persepolitana*, pp. 330-31 lists sixty-eight names that include the element *ṛta-*, all of which are discussed in the body of the text.

<sup>33</sup> XPh §4d: *tuvam kā, haya aparam, yadi maniyāhaj; šiyāta ahani jīva utā mṛta ṛtāvā ahani, avanā dātā paridi, taya Auramazdā niyaštāya; Auramazdām yadaišā ṛtācā brazmaniya; martiya, haya avanā dātā pariyaṇti, taya Auramazdā ništāya, utā Auramazdām yadatai ṛtācā brazmaniya, haṇ utā jīva šiyāta bavati utā mṛta ṛtāvā bavati*. This passage has been much discussed.

<sup>34</sup> The Pahlavi sources are most explicit on this point, as for instance *Dādestān ī Dēnīg* 36.101:

*After the Renovation, there are no demons, because there is no deceit. And there is no Lie, because there is no falsehood. There is no Evil Spirit, because there is no destructiveness. There is no hell, because there is no unrighteousness. There is no strife, because there is no wrath. And there is no malice, because there is no injury. There is no pain, because there is no sickness. There is no grief, because there is no fear....*

*pas az frašgird nē bawēd dēw cē nē bawēd \*frēb. ud nē druz cē nēšt drōzišn. nē bawēd Ahreman cē nēšt zadārīh. nē bawēd dušox cē nēšt druwandīh. nē bawēd kōxšīšn cē nē bawēd xešm. ud nē bawēd kēn cē nēšt wizāy. nē bawēd dard cē nēšt wēmārīh. nē bawēd \*cēhag cē nēšt bīm....*



(obedience to God's law and perfect performance of sacrifice) succeeds in making him "happy while living" (*šiyāta... jīva*).<sup>35</sup>

This means that of the three essential sources of fear — the Lie, the bad year, and the enemy horde — effective ripostes exist for two only, there being no perfect antidote to the Lie, given the constraints of historic and mortal existence. Until the end of history, when the Lie will be annihilated, it is always capable of spreading and multiplying, giving rise to bad years and enemy hordes, and there is thus always reason for fear. Achaemenian understandings of fear, its sources, and its admittedly partial and imperfect antidotes can be schematized, as in Table 25.4.

Sources of fear (DPd §3)	Antidotes to the things that arouse fear (DPe §3, DB §§10-14, XPh §4d)
Enemy horde ( <i>haiṇā</i> )	People/army ( <i>kāra</i> ), protected by a proper king
Bad year ( <i>dušiyāra</i> )	Proper king ( <i>xšāyaθiya</i> ), chosen and aided by the Wise Lord
Lie ( <i>drauga</i> )	Law ( <i>dāta</i> ) and sacrificial rites ( <i>yad-</i> ) are provisional solutions, but the perfect antidote — Truth ( <i>ṛta</i> ) — is unavailable in the world at present

Table 24.4 Sources of fear and their antidotes, as elaborated in the Achaemenian inscriptions.

## VI

A perfect solution is thus available only on the eschatological horizon, when the Lie will be definitively overcome. Within historic time the world retains its moral ambiguity and at least some of its danger, for in the absence of perfect Truth, flawed human subjects can never fully protect themselves from the menace of the Lie. The best instruments of defense, as XPh §4d specifies, are law and ritual, which are potent, but insufficient. Law, moreover, has its own ambiguities.

The preceding discussion suggests that the Achaemenians theorized law (*dāta*) as that which most closely approximates truth (*ṛta*) in the current era of strife and imperfection. Formally, the word *dāta* is the neuter

<sup>35</sup> The association of happiness with life and truth with death is even more striking in this passage, since it inverts the way these categories are organized in the Avesta, where happiness (*šyāti*) is the post mortem state and righteousness/truthfulness (*ašavan*), that of the living. See de Menasce, "Observations sur l'inscription de Xerxes à Persepolis" and Kellens, "Sur un parallèle inverse à l'inscription des 'daiva'," *op cit*.

past passive participle of the verb <sup>2</sup>*dā*-“to set down, establish,” and it marks the law as “that which has been laid down and firmly established,” much like German *Gesetz* (from *setzen*) and English *law* (from *lay* [down]).<sup>36</sup> Inevitably, the question must arise “laid down by whom?,” a query that prompted two answers. Thus, XPh §4d speaks of “the law that the Wise Lord set down,”<sup>37</sup> while all other occurrences of Old Persian *dāta* trace it back to the King.<sup>38</sup> This distinction between God’s law and that of the King marks the gap between absolute truth and its imperfect approximation, while subtly suggesting that the more closely attached a King is to the Wise Lord, the more closely will his realm approach the ideal.

Such a conceptualization suggests two practical goals for any Achaemenian ruler: 1) to perfect the King’s law as much as possible, so that the gap separating it from God’s perfect truth would become asymptotic; 2) to spread this law throughout the globe, thereby establishing a reign of truth, peace, harmony, and happiness, while rendering the world’s populations increasingly safe from fear and the Lie.<sup>39</sup>

Diffusion of *dāta* as a loanword provides some index of the Achaemenians’ success in the latter project.<sup>40</sup> One must, however, temper the dynasty’s idealized sense of its law as that which would set the world free from fear with the way they imposed and enforced it. Darius’s first mention of law thus makes clear not only that its goal is to suppress the Lie and all those influenced by it, but also that force will be used toward that end.

<sup>36</sup> The term is translated by loanwords in Elamite (*da-at-tam*<sub>6</sub>), suggesting that the Persian law was accorded some special status. Akkadian has *dīnu* (“decision, verdict, judgment, punishment; law, article of law”) in the plural. On the general tendency to connect law with the act of its having been laid down, see Carl Darling Buck, *A Dictionary of Selected Synonyms in the Principal Indo-European Languages* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1949), pp. 1421-22.

<sup>37</sup> XPh §4d: *dātā... taya Auramazdā niyaštāya*.

<sup>38</sup> At DB §8, Darius thus speaks of “my law... as was proclaimed to them by me” *manā dātā... yaθāšām hacāma aθanhya*. DNa §3, DSe §3, and XPh §3 invert the formula (“that which was proclaimed to them by me... my law,” *tayašām hacāma aθanhya... dātām taya manā*), while XPh §3 speaks only of “my law” (*dātām, taya manā*).

<sup>39</sup> Most thoroughly on the Persian category of law, see Bucci, “Giustizia e legge nel diritto Persiano antico,” idem, “L’Impero achemenide come ordinamento giuridico sovranazionale,” Dandamaev and Lukonin, *Culture and Social Institutions of Ancient Iran*, pp. 116-30.

<sup>40</sup> Cf. Elamite *da-ad-da-um*, *da-at-tam*, *da-tam*<sub>5</sub>, Babylonian *dātu* (“decree, royal command”), Hebrew *dt*-, Biblical Aramaic *d’t*, *dāt*, Inscriptional Aramaic [Xanthos] *dt-h*, Syriac *dt*?, Armenian *dat*, Middle and New Persian *dād*, etc.

*Proclaims Darius the King: Within these lands/peoples, that man who was loyal/trustworthy, I treated him so he was well-treated; he who was vulnerable to deception, I interrogated/punished him so he was well-interrogated/punished. By the Wise Lord's will, these lands/peoples conducted themselves according to my law. Just as was proclaimed to them by me, just so they did.*<sup>41</sup>

The implied threats in this passage did not need amplification. Persian interrogation practices employed whips, goads, and judiciary ordeals involving fire, molten metal and worse.<sup>42</sup> Rebels were subject to execution by decapitation or impaling, such as the 206 nobles Darius dispatched in these fashions according to the Bisitun inscription.<sup>43</sup> Two he treated with particular ferocity, mutilating their eyes, ears, tongue, and nose, then placing them on public display so they could serve as an object lesson.<sup>44</sup> In later reigns, the highways of the empire were filled with more common lawbreakers whose hands, feet, or ears had been severed, or whose eyes had been gouged out.<sup>45</sup> All lawbreakers were thought to be lie-inspired in some fashion and the law was designed to stamp this out, but some offenses showed the Lie in particularly virulent form and were thus treated with special severity. Perjurors, slanderers and those who plotted regicide were decapitated.<sup>46</sup> Corrupt judges had their throats cut and their skin flayed,<sup>47</sup> while poisoners had the heads

<sup>41</sup> DB §8: ōāti Dārayavauš xšāyaθiya: antar imā dahyāva martiya, haya agriya āha, avam ubrtam abaram, haya arika āha, avam ufrastam apšam, vašnā Auramazdāha ima dahyāva tayanā manā dātā apariyāya, yaθāšām hacāma aθanhya, avaθā akunavayantā.

<sup>42</sup> Herodotus 3.130, Ctesias Persika 13.11 (in the edition of Janick Auberger, trans., *Ctesias. Histoires de l'Orient* [Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1991]), Plutarch, Life of Artaxerxes 14.5, Plutarch, Sayings of Kings and Commanders 173d. The particularly gruesome ordeal of "the troughs" is described by Plutarch, Life of Artaxerxes 16.2-4 and mentioned by Ctesias, Persika 14.34. I have discussed its ideology and structure in *Religion, Empire, and Torture*, pp. 83-96 and "An Ancient Case of Interrogation and Torture," *Social Analysis* 53 (2009): 157-72.

<sup>43</sup> The Babylonian version of the inscription (but significantly not the Old Persian) contains a full accounting of battlefield casualties, captives, and those executed by Darius after the rebellions of 522-21. See von Voigtlander, *Bisitun Inscription of Darius the Great: Babylonian Version*, op cit., pp. 56-60. The relevant passages are: DBBab §§19 (49 Babylonian nobles impaled, including Nidintu-Bēl), 25 (Fravarti mutilated and impaled, 47 Median nobles decapitated with him), 26 (Tritantaxma mutilated and impaled), 29 (80 Parthian and Margian rebels executed by unspecified means), 31 (46 Margian rebels executed, including Frāda), 35 (52 Persian nobles impaled, including Vahyazdāta), 39 (an unspecified number of Babylonian nobles impaled, along with Araxa). Ctesias, Persika 14.39 also recounts the impaling of Inaros and the decapitation of fifty Greeks with him.

<sup>44</sup> DB §§32-33. On the significance of these mutilations, see Chapter Twelve.

<sup>45</sup> Xenophon, *Anabasis* 1.9.13, Ammianus Marcellinus 30.8.4.

<sup>46</sup> Herodotus 8.90, Plutarch, Life of Artaxerxes 14.4, 29.5-6, Strabo 15.3.17, Ctesias, Persika 13.12, 13.19, 13.33, Ammianus Marcellinus 30.8.4.

<sup>47</sup> Herodotus 5.25, Diodorus Siculus 15.10.1.

slowly crushed.<sup>48</sup> Disobedience or disrespect to the king could bring capital punishment not only to the offender,<sup>49</sup> but to his entire family.<sup>50</sup> Commoners who seduced noblewomen might be buried alive.<sup>51</sup>

Herodotus recounts that Persians believed themselves to inhabit the world's moral center, with the corollary understanding that the more distant from this center any people might be, the more vulnerable they were to the Lie.<sup>52</sup> A xenophobic element is thus evident in Darius's description of how the law served as an instrument of imperial control and he introduced lists of the empire's lands and peoples with the following formula: "By the Wise Lord's will, these are the lands/peoples that I seized far from Persia. I ruled over them. They bore me tribute. That which was proclaimed to them by me, that they did. My law — that held them."<sup>53</sup> More pointedly, in an inscription from Susa, Darius specified just how the law was able to hold liars, rebels, and violent peoples in check. Significantly, he does not speak of the law's association with the Wise Lord and Truth, nor its ability to settle disputes, establish justice, trust, or well-being, still less its ability to calm people's fears. On the contrary, the efficacy of the King's law rests precisely on its ability to inspire a fear the King finds salutary.

*Proclaims Darius the King: Much that was ill-done, that I made good. The lands/peoples were seething (in rebellion), one smote the other. This I did by the Wise Lord's will, so that one does not smite the other any more. Each one is in place. My law — of that they feel fear...*<sup>54</sup>

<sup>48</sup> Plutarch, Artaxerxes 19.6.

<sup>49</sup> Strabo 15.3.17, Ctesias, Persika 14.43, Diodorus Siculus 17.30.4.

<sup>50</sup> Herodotus 3.119 (the incident of Intaphernes).

<sup>51</sup> Ctesias, Persika 14.44 (the incident of Apollonides).

<sup>52</sup> Herodotus 1.134: "After themselves, [the Persians] give honor above all to those who dwell closest to themselves, and second to those who are second closest. And proceeding thus, they distribute honor proportionately. They treat with least honor those who dwell furthest away from themselves, considering themselves to be in all ways the best of people by far, while the others partake of excellence proportionately, such that those dwelling furthest from themselves are the worst." τιμῶσι δὲ ἐκ πάντων τοὺς ἄγχιστα ἑαυτῶν οἰκέοντας μετὰ γε ἑαυτοὺς, δεύτερα δὲ τοὺς δευτέρους· μετὰ δὲ κατὰ λόγον προβαίνοντες τιμῶσι. ἥκιστα δὲ τοὺς ἑαυτῶν ἐκαστάτω οἰκημένους ἐν τιμῇ ἄγονται, νομίζοντες ἑαυτοὺς εἶναι ἀνθρώπων μακρῷ τὰ πάντα ἀρίστους, τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους κατὰ λόγον τῆς ἀρετῆς ἀντέχεσθαι, τοὺς δὲ ἐκαστάτω οἰκέοντας ἀπὸ ἑαυτῶν κακίστους εἶναι.

<sup>53</sup> DSe §3 (= DNa §3): θᾱτὶ Dārayavauš xšāyaθiya vašnā Auramazdāhā imā dahyāva tayā adam agrbāyam apataram hacā Pārsā; adamšām patiyaxšayai; manā bājim abaraha; tayašām hacāma aθanhya, ava akunava; dātam taya manā avadiš adāraya. XPh §3 has a minor variant on the same formula.

<sup>54</sup> DSe §4: θᾱτὶ Dārayavauš XŠ: vasai taya duškrtam āha, ava naiḅam akunavam. dahyāva ayaūda, aniya aniyam aja. ava adam akunavam vašnā Auramazdāhā yaθā aniya aniyam nai jati cinā, gāθavā kašci asti. dātam taya manā hacā avanā tṛsanti...

In other inscriptions, Darius cast fear as the central instrument of imperial control, describing the empire's operations in terms that are remarkable for their blunt realism and lack of ideological embellishment: "... these are the lands/peoples that I took hold of with this Persian people/army. *They feared me. They bore me tribute.*"<sup>55</sup> On another occasion, he took pleasure in describing the way he suppressed a rebellion led by one Martiya, who had proclaimed himself King of Elam. "At that time I was near to Elam," he reports, "Then the Elamites feared me. They seized that Martiya, who was their chief, and they killed him."<sup>56</sup> The brief description does not permit one to understand all the complexities of the situation, in which the Elamites first rallied to Martiya, then abandoned him in panic upon the approach of Darius and his army. There is enough information, however, to let us perceive a certain irony that reveals underlying contradictions. Here, one must recall that only a few months earlier Darius had made himself king, ostensibly to put an end to the fear inspired by Gaumāta: fear that reflected (and revealed) the latter's connection to the Lie.<sup>57</sup> Facing other liars, however — and Darius characterized Martiya, like all rebels as such<sup>58</sup> — the Great King had no compunction about himself producing, inspiring, and using fear. Did this mark him too as infected by the Lie? Or was it the best one can do in an admittedly imperfect world?

<sup>55</sup> DPe §2: *imā dahyāva, tayā adam adarši hadā anā Pārsā kārā, tayā hacāma atṛsa, manā bājim abara.*

<sup>56</sup> DB §23: *adakai adam ašnai āham abi Ūjam, pasāva hacāma atṛsa Ūjiyā, avam Martiyam agrbāya, hayašām maθišta āha, utāšim avājana.*

<sup>57</sup> Recall that DB §13 is very precise regarding Gaumāta's reign of terror, stating that he executed only those who knew the truth and could reveal him as an imposter. "The people feared him mightily. He would kill a great many people who knew Bardiya in the past. For that reason, he would kill people, (thinking): 'Lest someone might recognize me, who am not Bardiya, the son of Cyrus.'" *kārašim hacā dṛšam atṛsa, kāram vasaṭ avājanīyā, haya paranam Bṛdiyam adānā, avahyarādī kāram avājanīyā, mātayamām xšnā-sāti, taya adam nai Bṛdiya ami, haya Kurauš puça.* The fear he inspired thus reflects the (temporary) ascendancy of the Lie over the Truth.

<sup>58</sup> DBf states: "This Martiya lied. Thus he proclaimed: 'I am Imaniš, King in Elam.'" *iyam Martiya adurujiya. avaθā aθanha: adam Imaniš ami, Ūjai xšāyaθiya.* Curiously, the corresponding passage in the main Bisitun inscription (DB §22) omits the crucial assertion of falsehood, saying only: "One man named Martiya... rose up in Elam. To the (Elamite) people/army he proclaimed thus: 'I am Imaniš, King in Elam.'" *aiva martiya Martiya nāma... hau udapatatā Ūjai; kārahyā avaθa aθanha: adam Imaniš ami, Ūjai xšāyaθiya.* If the highly atypical replacement of the verb "to lie" (*duruj-*) by the solemn verb "to proclaim" (*θanh-*) in this passage constitutes an implicit admission that Martiya spoke the truth when claiming kingship, Darius's use of fear against him represents an even sharper deviation from what his own ideology would define as proper.

## V

Conceivably it is the nature of the world in its present fallen state that requires the King to use fear, not only against enemies and rebels, but also against his subjects, who — he anticipates — will only gradually come to the truth under the influence of Persian law. Alternatively, it may be that the King's reliance on the instruments of fear, armed might, and a law enforced by torturers, bullies, and hangmen is a sign that he too is part of the same fallen world and is afflicted by the Lie in some measure.

According to the dynasty's master narrative, fear entered the world with the Lie, and this put an end to primordial happiness.<sup>59</sup> These mythic events informed and animated the imperial project, insofar as the empire understood itself as seeking to end fear and the Lie, while restoring the state the Wise Lord intended for all mankind: that of happiness and Truth. For the duration of historic time, however, the King and his people/army are obliged to pursue an intermediate — and not an eschatological — agenda that includes expansion by conquest (designed to reunite the world's scattered peoples), imposition and enforcement of an admittedly imperfect law (construed as the closest possible approximation to perfect Truth), and the extraction of tribute (expected to concentrate the material conditions of happiness at the imperial center, from which it will later radiate through the globe). All these endeavors, of course, prompted resistance among subject populations: resistance that suggested they did not accept the same master narrative and questioned the benevolence, piety, and truthfulness of their rulers.

Such resistance, of course, could be broken and kept in check — temporarily, at least — only through the cultivation of fear. Ultimately, one gets the impression that their ideals and ideology notwithstanding, Achaemenian rulers always remained both subjects and objects of fear. Frightened that conquered provinces might rebel, they used force, threats, and exemplary violence to keep the foreigners under control. At a deeper level, Darius and his successors were also frightened that others laughed at their beautiful story, viewing them as tyrants, oppressors, occupying powers, and worst of all, liars, rather than saviors and world-healers. And, at the deepest level of all, perhaps, they were scared that such skeptics were right.

<sup>59</sup> Greater Bundahišn 4.10 (TD<sup>2</sup> MS. 42.4-6) introduces fear at the very first moment of the Evil Spirit's original assault: "On the day Ohrmazd of the month Frawardin, he stormed in at noon, and the sky [first of the Wise Lord's original creations and first to be assaulted] feared him like sheep fear a wolf." *māh ī Frawardīn rōz ī Ohrmazd andar dwārist nēmrōz. u-š asmān ēdōn u-š be tarsēd ciyōn gōspand az gurg.* Cf. Selections of Zādspram 2.1-2.

## CHAPTER TWENTY-FIVE

### BIG AND LITTLE IN OLD PERSIAN

#### I

The adjective *kamna* (translated by *ha-ri-ik-ki* in Elamite, *īṣu* in Akkadian) occurs six times in the Old Persian corpus, all in Darius's inscription at Bisitun. Four of these are in the formulaic phrase *hadā kamnaibiš asabāraibiš amuθa* (3×) ~ *amuθa kamnaibiš asabāraibiš* (1×), "he fled, along with a few horsemen."<sup>1</sup> Each of these describes the last, desperate flight of a rebel who has been decisively defeated in battle by Darius's troops. And although there is some variation in the details that follow, the outcome of these episodes remains much the same. Thus, the Babylonian rebel Nidintu-Bēl and the general who commanded Vahyazdāta's Arachosian army were both captured and slain, while Vahyazdāta himself was impaled, along with his foremost followers. Things went hardest for the Median rebel Fravarti, however, who suffered the loss of his nose, ears, tongue, and one of his eyes, before he was put on public display and at long last, impaled.<sup>2</sup>

Previously, all these men commanded whole armies and nations. The moment in which they were reduced to just a few followers thus marked an abrupt reversal of fortune, reducing them from the status of kings to that of failed rebels. Quite different is the significance *kamna* carries the first time it appears in the Bisitun text.

*Proclaims Darius the King: There was not a man — not a Persian, nor a Mede, nor anyone of our lineage — who could have deprived that Gaumāta the Magus of the kingship/kingdom. The people/army feared him mightily. He would kill greatly among the people/army those who knew Bardiya in the past. For that reason, he would kill among the people/army, (thinking): "Lest they might recognize me and know I am not Bardiya, the son of Cyrus." No one dared to proclaim anything about Gaumāta the Magus until I arose. Then I prayed to the Wise Lord for assistance. The Wise Lord bore me aid. Ten days of the month Bāgayādi had passed (29 September 522)*

<sup>1</sup> The verb final variant is found at DB §§20, 32, 42; the verb initial alternative occurs at DB §47.

<sup>2</sup> Nidintu-Bēl's fate is recounted at DB §20; that of Vahyazdāta's Arachosian commander, at §47; that of Vahyazdāta, at DB §§42-43; and that of Fravarti, at §32.

when I, with a few men (hadā kamnaiḃiš martiyaḃiš), slew that Gaumāta the Magus and the men who were his foremost followers. A fortress named Sikayuvati, a land/people named Nisāya, in Media — there I slew him. I deprived him of the kingship/kingdom. By the Wise Lord’s will I became king. The Wise Lord bestowed the kingship/kingdom on me.<sup>3</sup>

This is perhaps the most important passage in the entire inscription, for it describes how its author — who was previously one young, energetic Persian noble among many — raised himself up to become king. Much has been written concerning the way Darius overcame his predecessor and we need not enter into the vexed question of whether he was a usurper and regicide or not. For our present purposes, it suffices to contrast the way *kamna* is used in this passage as opposed to the others we have considered. That comparison yields the results listed in Table 26.1.

	DB §13	DB §§20, 32, 42, 47
Subject	Darius	Nidintu-Bēl, Fravartī, Vahyazdāta, Vahyazdāta’s general
Verb	First person: <i>avājanam</i> , “I slew”	Third person: <i>amuθa</i> , “he fled”
Status of subject prior to action described	Noble	Self-proclaimed kings of Babylon, Media, Persia; accepted as such by local populations
Imminent change in subject’s status	Soon to become king	Soon to be killed as unsuccessful rebels
Significance of fact that followers were few	Marks success as extraordinary	Marks doom as inevitable

Table 25.1 Contrasting uses of Old Persian *kamna*, “few.”

<sup>3</sup> DB §13: θāti Dārayavauš xšāyaθiya: naj āha martiya naj Pārša naj Māda naj amāxam taumāyā kašci, haya avam Gaumātam tayam magum xšačam dītam caxriyā, kār-ašim hacā dršam atrša, kāram vasaj avājaniyā, haya paranam Bṛdiyam adānā, avahyarādi kāram avājaniyā, mātayamām xšnāsāti, taya adam naj Bṛdiya ami, haya Kurauš puça, kašci naj adršnauš cišci θanstanaj pari Gaumātam tayam magum, yātā adam ārsam, pasāva adam Auramazdām patiyāvanhyaḃ, Auramazdāmaj upastām abara, Bāgayādaiš māhya daθā raucabiš θakatā āha, avaθā adam hadā kamnaiḃiš martiyaḃiš avam Gaumātam tayam magum avājanam utā tayaḃšaj fratamā martiyā anušiya āhantā, Sikayuvatiš nāmā didā, Nisāya nāmā dahyāuš Mādaḃ, avadašim avājanam, xšačamšim adam adinam, vašnā Auramazdāha adam xšāyaθiya abavam, Auramazdā xšačam manā frābara.



DB §13 reflects more fully on what it means that a man with only a few followers could overthrow a fearsome tyrant and make himself king. While Darius implicitly constituted the success of his cause as evidence for its justice and for his own extraordinary qualities — courage, daring, resolution, and the like — he more explicitly converted the numerical paucity of his support into proof that he enjoyed favor of an entirely different order. “No man could have deprived Gaumāta of the kingship,” he observed, speaking in terms that applied to himself just as much as to others.<sup>4</sup> Agency thus rested neither with him, nor with the few men who helped him (i.e. the six “noble Persians” he named later in the inscription).<sup>5</sup> Rather, Darius succeeded, as he never tires of stating, because “The Wise Lord bore me aid.... The Wise Lord bestowed the kingship/kingdom on me.”<sup>6</sup> By contrast, he suggests that Gaumāta, Nidintu-Bēl, and the others failed because they lacked God’s favor. Their claims to kingship originated not with the Wise Lord, but with his demonic antithesis, which Darius names “the Lie.”<sup>7</sup> The final passage in which this terminology appears is similar in its implications. This is DB §25, where Darius states: “The people/army, Persian and Median, that was mine, this was small.... The Wise Lord bore me aid. By the Wise Lord’s will, the people/army that is mine utterly defeated that people/army that was rebellious.”<sup>8</sup>

The same pattern of usage, which reflects a religious dualism, is evident in Avestan, where the cognates of Old Persian *kamna* appears three times only: once in the superlative, used as an absolute, and twice in compounds. The first of these occurs in a passage describing the treatment of an individual who is most polluted by contact with corpses. To protect others from him — also, to effect his purification — this unfortunate person is isolated for the duration of his life in “the place on this earth that is most waterless, most plantless, whose soil is most purified,

<sup>4</sup> DB §13: *naī āha martiya naī Pārsa naī Māda naī amāxam taumāyā kašci, haya avam Gaumātām tayam magum xšačam dītam caxriyā.*

<sup>5</sup> DB §68. Cf. Herodotus 3.68-70 and on Darius’s associates in the assassination, see Gschnitzer, *Die sieben Perser und das Königtum des Dareios*, op cit.

<sup>6</sup> DB §13: *Auramazdāmaī upastām abara.... Auramazdā xšačam manā frābara.* These phrases recur at DB §§5, 9, 18, 19, 25, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 33, 35, 36, 38, 42, 45, 46, 50, 62, 63. Darius also uses the formula treated in Chapter Twenty-one to legitimate his ascent: “by the Wise Lord’s will, I became king” *vašnā Auramazdāha adam xšāyaθiya abavam.*

<sup>7</sup> DB §§10, 11, 16, 49, 50, 52, 55, 63, 64.

<sup>8</sup> DB §25: *kāra Pārsa utā Māda, haya upā mām āha, haū kamnam āha.... Auramazdāmaī upastām abara. vašnā Auramazdāha kāra haya manā avam kāram tayam hamičiyam aja vasaj.*

driest, and where animals, small and large, traverse its paths in fewest numbers (*kambištəm*)..."<sup>9</sup>

Here, we see a situation like that which DB describes for Nidintu-Bēl, Fravartī, and the rest. A man who once enjoyed a better state sees his holdings — indeed, his very life — radically diminished, by virtue of his religiously degraded status. The other two Avestan occurrences of *kamna* both appear in the most celebrated of all Gāthic verses, where they conjure up the inverse situation: that of a man whose apparent bases of support are few, but whose success is constituted *ex post facto* as the result and the sign of God's favor. The speaker is traditionally understood to be Zarathuštra himself.

*I know that I am powerless, O Wise One:*

*Few animals (kamna-fšvā) are mine, and also I am one whose men are few (kamnā-nā).*<sup>10</sup>

*I lament to you: see it, O Lord,*

*Furnishing support as a friend must give to a friend.*

*Teach the power of the Good Mind, along with Truth.*<sup>11</sup>

<sup>9</sup> Vidēvdād 3.15: yat aṇhat aṇhā zēmō vī.āpō.təməmca vī.uruarō.təməmca yaoždātō. zēmōtəməmca huškō.təməmca kambīštəmca aēte paθā fraiiaṇ pasuuasca staorāca atəmca ahurahe mazdā barəsmaca ašauua frastarətəm narəmca yim ašauuanəm.

<sup>10</sup> The expression *kamna-fšvā... kamnā-nā* is clearly built upon the inherited Avestan formula *pasū vīrā* "men and animals," on which see Jakob Wackernagel "Indoiranica: Zum Dualdvandva," *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung* 43 (1910): 295-298, Émile Benveniste, "Sur quelques dvandvas avestiques," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 8 (1935-37): 405-409, and Rüdiger Schmitt, *Dichtung und Dichtersprache in indogermanischer Zeit* (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1967), pp. 213-216. The dual dvandva compound appears at Yasna 9.4, 31.15, Yašt 10.112, 13.12, 19.32; and Vidēvdād 10.18. Semantic renewal is evident in the recombination of *vīra* with *gav* in Yašt 10.28 and 13.52, and that of *pasu* with *nar* in the present verse (with *kamna-* prefixed). The relation of the present verse to these others was recognized by Benveniste, *Vocabulaire des institutions indo-européennes* 1: 49. It seems possible that this departure from the traditional formula is intentional, being motivated by Zarathuštra's desire to specify precisely what kind of man he lacks, for here, as in Yasna 28.8 and 48.10, Avestan *nar* seems to denote warriors, a usage I discussed in *Death, War, and Sacrifice*, pp. 150-53.

<sup>11</sup> Yasna 46.2: vaēdā tat yā, ahmī mazdā anaēšō  
mā kamna-fšuuā, hīiatcā kamnānā ahmī  
gərəzōi tōi, ā it auuaēnā ahurā  
rafədrəm caguuā, hīiat friiō friiāi daidit  
āxsō vaṇhōuš, ašā īštīm manajho.

## II

That Old Persian at one time possessed an adjective \**maθ* "large, big, great" is suggested by survival of the superlative form *maθišta* and the existence of cognate series in Avestan (*mas*, *masya*, *masišta*), Pahlavi (*meh*, *mehist*), and Greek (μῆκος, μήκιστος, Doric μᾶκος, μάκιστος).<sup>12</sup> *maθišta* itself appears twenty four times in the Achaemenian inscriptions, nine times with reference to a deity and the others for a human subject. In the former context, the term is used by Arsames, Darius, Xerxes, and Artaxerxes II and always denotes Ahura Mazdā, the Wise Lord as "greatest of the gods" (*maθišta bagānām*). The earlier inscriptions — those of Darius and the one attributed to Arsames (which was probably forged under Darius) — use this phrase as part of formulae describing how Ahura Mazdā bestowed kingship on the inscription's author.<sup>13</sup> The later ones include it in passages that detail the acts of creation, which culminate in the king's enthronement.<sup>14</sup>

When applied to humans, *maθišta* always denotes an office that may be military or political, appointive or elective, legitimate or not. Twelve individuals are said to have held this title, but the circumstances and details vary widely, as listed in Table 26.2. One clear point that emerges from these data is that those men appointed *maθišta* by Darius are always treated as legitimate, while the others consistently are not. The former category includes six of Darius's generals<sup>15</sup> and one of his sons: Xerxes, who tells how his father elevated him above an elder half-brother to become crown prince and heir apparent.<sup>16</sup> Finally, there is the man whom Darius placed over the Scythians after defeating Skunxa, their indigenous ruler.<sup>17</sup>

<sup>12</sup> Bartholomae, *Altiranisches Wörterbuch*, cols. 1154-55, Frisk, *Griechisches etymologisches Wörterbuch* 2: 224-25. Note also the related set *maz*, *mazyah*, *mazišta*, cognate to Sanskrit *māha* et al.

<sup>13</sup> DSf §3a may serve as an example: "The Wise Lord, who is greatest of the gods, he created me. He made me king." Auramazdā haya maθišta bagānām, haū mān adā, haū mān Xšyam akunauš. Cf. AsH §2, DPd §1, DPh §2, DSp §1, and DH §2.

<sup>14</sup> Consider XE §1, for example: "A great god is the Wise Lord, who is greatest of gods, who created this earth, who created that sky, who created mankind, who created happiness for mankind, who made Xerxes king." бага vazrka Auramazdā haya maθišta bagānām, haya imām būmim adā, haya avam asmānam adā, haya martiyam adā, haya šiyātīm adā martiyahyā, haya Xšayāršam xšāyaθiyam akunauš. Cf. XV §1, and A<sup>2</sup>Hc §1.

<sup>15</sup> The generals are Vidarna (DB §25), Taxmaspada (§33), Artavardiya (§41), Vivāna (§45), Vindafarnā (§50), and Gaubaruva (§71). All save Taxmaspada are identified as Persians, while he was a Mede. Such office was thus apparently restricted to those from the Iranian core of the empire.

<sup>16</sup> XPf §4. Cf. the account of Herodotus 7.2-3.

<sup>17</sup> DB §74. On Darius's Scythian campaign of 519 B.C.E., see Dandamaev, *Political History of the Achaemenid Empire*, pp. 136-40 and Jean Kellens, "DB V: un témoignage

	<i>Status</i>	<i>Appointed by Darius</i>	<i>Elected</i>	<i>Ethnicity</i>	<i>Royal pretensions</i>	<i>Royal expectations</i>	<i>Legitimacy</i>	<i>Deposed</i>	<i>Executed</i>
Martiya (DB §23)	Rebel	-	?	Elamite	+	-	-	+	+
Vidarna (DB §25)	General	+	-	Persian	-	-	+	-	-
Taxmaspada (DB §33)	General	+	-	Median	-	-	+	-	-
Frāda (DB §38)	Rebel	-	+	Margian	+	-	-	+	-
Artavardiya (DB §41)	General	+	-	Persian	-	-	+	-	-
Vivāna (DB §45)	General	+	-	Persian	-	-	+	-	-
Vahyazdāta's general (DB §47)	Rebel general	-	-	?	-	-	-	+	?
Vindafarnā (DB §50)	General	+	-	Persian	-	-	+	-	-
Atamaita (DB §71)	Rebel	-	+	Elamite	+	-	-	+	+
Gaubaruva (DB §71)	General	+	-	Persian	-	-	+	-	-
Skunxa (DB §74)	Foreign ruler	-	?	Scythian	+	-	-	+	-
'Another man' (DB §74)	Colonial governor	+	-	?	-	-	+	-	-
Xerxes (XPr §4)	Crown prince	+	-	Persian	-	+	+	-	-

Table 25.2 Identity of persons who bear the title *maθišta*.

In contrast, Darius treated five individuals as illegitimate *maθištas*, although his usage in these cases was surely tendentious. Each one has its intricacies and merits fuller treatment than is possible in the present context. Still, one can observe that in his great inscription at Bisitun, Darius describes the Margian Frāda and the Elamite Atamaita as having been elected by their people. In contrast to his own royal authority, which he attributes to his Achaemenian descent plus the Wise Lord's favor, Darius thus implies that whatever office these "rebels" may have

held, they lacked legitimacy, for they could claim neither dynastic succession, nor divine charisma.<sup>18</sup>

In two other cases, Darius's enemies seem to have claimed full legitimacy when taking the title of king, only to have their claims negated in Darius's discourse. Thus, we are told that Martiya represented himself as the rightful king (*xšāyaθiya*) of Elam.<sup>19</sup> When Darius's army approached, however, the Elamites had second thoughts and before Darius could attack, they slew the hapless Martiya. What is more, the Bisitun text emphatically states that they slew him in his capacity of chief or prince (*maθišta*), thereby implicitly rejecting his claim to be king.<sup>20</sup>

Things are less clear regarding Skunxa, whom Darius called a *maθišta*, while describing how he replaced the Scythian with another *maθišta* more to his liking. To judge from Herodotus, however, the proper title for a Scythian ruler was *xšaya*, a title drawn from the same root as the Old Persian word for "king" (*xšāyaθiya*, from *xšay-*, "to rule").<sup>21</sup> It thus seems likely that Darius labeled Skunxa *maθišta*, rather than king, as part of propaganda designed to justify his deposition.

Only in one case — that of the general whom the rebel Vahyazdāta named to command one of his armies — is it reasonably certain that the man recognized himself as holding the title *maθišta*.<sup>22</sup> For his part, Vahyazdāta represented himself to be Bardiya, Cyrus's son and Darius's predecessor on the throne.<sup>23</sup> Had Vahyazdāta been victorious, he surely would have denounced Darius as a rebel and usurper, delegitimizing him and all those he appointed to high office. In the event, however, victory belonged to Darius, who visited the same judgment on Vahyazdāta and those he appointed as *maθišta*.

Consideration of these complexities yields the following sketch of the semantic domains encompassed by Old Persian *maθišta* (Figure 25.1).

<sup>18</sup> Frāda's story is given at DB §38 (on which, see Chapter Twenty-three) and Atamaita's at §71. In both cases, the key phrase is *avam maθištam akunavantā* "that (man) they made chief (*maθišta*)." Darius's own claims to legitimacy resonate throughout the DB text, most emphatically at §§1-9.

<sup>19</sup> DB §22: "(Martiya) proclaimed to the people/army thus: 'I am Imani, king in Elam.'" *kārahyā avaθā aθanha*: adam Imaniš ami, Ūjaj xšāyaθiya.

<sup>20</sup> DB §23: "(The Elamites) seized that Martiya, who was their chief, and they killed him." *avam Martiyam agrbāya, hayašām maθišta āha, utāšim avājana*.

<sup>21</sup> Throughout the *Histories*, Herodotus consistently refers to Scythian rulers as βασιλεύς. The Scythian term *xšaya* has been recognized in the names of the three brothers who compete for the kingship in the Scythian myth of origins, as preserved in Herodotus 4.5-6: Kolo-xais, Lipo-xais, and Arpo-xais. See, inter alia, the discussion of Christensen, *Le premier homme et le premier roi dans l'histoire légendaire des Iraniens*, 1: 138.

<sup>22</sup> DB §47.

<sup>23</sup> DB §40.

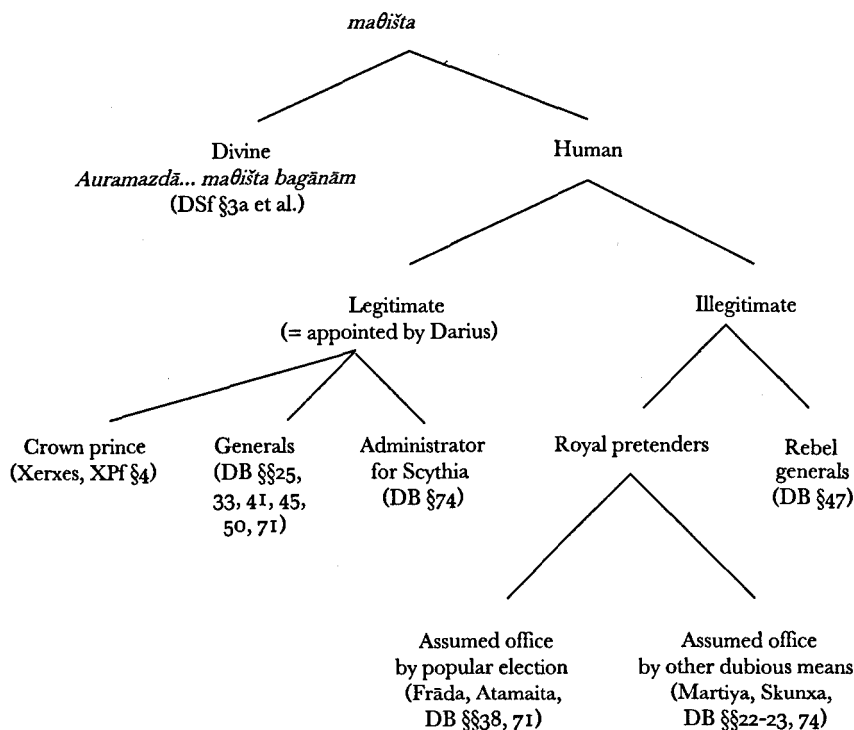


Fig. 25.1 Semantic fields of Old Persian *maθišta*.

### III

A striking fact emerges from the prior discussion. At the human level, those given the title “greatest” (*maθišta*) were either the subordinates of the king or persons whose claim to power was judged illegitimate. The positive adjective thus consistently outranked its superlative complement, for the king’s most common title designated him only as “great” (Old Persian *vazrka*, which seems to have displaced *\*maθ*).<sup>24</sup>

Phonologically, the -z- in *vazrka* suggests Median origin, since one would expect Old Persian -d- in this position.<sup>25</sup> Apparently, the term entered Achaemenian discourse via two older formulae: “great god”

<sup>24</sup> The title “great king” occurs in all of the Achaemenian inscriptions save CMA and XPk (59/61). No other title enjoys such frequency, the closest rivals being “King of Kings” (*xšāyaθiya xšāyaθiyānām* 53/61), “an Achaemenian” (55/61), and “King of lands/peoples” (*xšāyaθiya dahyūnām* 32/61).

<sup>25</sup> For discussion of the phonology, see Meillet and Benveniste, *Grammaire du vieux-perse*, pp. 12-13 and 68.

(*baga vazrka*) and “great king” (*xšāyaθiya vazrka*), the latter of which goes back to Akkadian origins.<sup>26</sup> That Akkadian *rābu* and Elamite *ir-ša-ir-ra* render Old Persian *vazrka* in the trilingual Achaemenian texts secures translation of the latter term as “great.”<sup>27</sup> An etymological analysis that supports this translation is, however, more difficult to establish.

Part of the problem lies in the fact that what is written as *v-z-r-k* can be interpreted in several ways. The most popular reading, perhaps, takes this to represent an underlying *vazrka*, which in turn is understood as an adjectival extension in *-ka-* of the name of a weapon wielded by powerful deities, which shows up in Avestan *vazra* and Sanskrit *vájra*.<sup>28</sup> A large bronze mace, swung with two hands and fitted with numerous knobs or blades, the Avestan *vazra* is described in one passage as the weapon with greatest power for offense and defense alike.<sup>29</sup> And were

<sup>26</sup> The formula *baga vazrka* is used only of Ahura Mazdā and appears at AmH §2, AsH §2, DNā §1, DNb §1, DSe §1, DSf §1, DSs, DSt §1, DSab §1, DZc §1, DE §1, XPa §1, XPb §1, XPe §1, XPd §1, XPf §1, XPh §1, XPl §1, XE §1, XV §1, A<sup>1</sup>Pa §1, A<sup>3</sup>Pa §1, D<sup>2</sup>Ha §1, and A<sup>2</sup>Hc §1. *xšāyaθiya vazrka* is even more common, occurring at AmH §1, AsH §1, CB §1, CMb, CMc, DB §1, DBa §1, DPa, DPb, DPe §1, DPh §1, DNā§2, DSA §1, DSb, DSc, DSd §1, DSe §2, DSf §2, DSg §1, DSi §1, DSj §1, DSk §1, DSm §1, DSY, DZb, DZc §5, DE §2, DH §1, DWa, DWb, DWc, DWd, DVs, XPa §2, XPb §§2, 3, XPe §§2, 3, XPd §§2, 3, XPe §1, XPf §2, XPg, XPh §2, XPj, XSc §1, XE §2, XV §2, A<sup>1</sup>Pa§§2, 3, A<sup>1</sup>I, D<sup>2</sup>Sa, D<sup>2</sup>Sb §1, A<sup>2</sup>Sa, A<sup>2</sup>Sb, A<sup>2</sup>Sc §1, A<sup>2</sup>Sd §1, A<sup>2</sup>Ha §1, A<sup>2</sup>Hb, A<sup>2</sup>Hc §2, A<sup>3</sup>Pa §2, Wa, Wb, Wc, Wd, SXa, XVs, and AVsa. On the Akkadian title *šarru rabû* “great king,” which occurs as a core item of the royal titulary from the 14<sup>th</sup> century B.C.E. onward, see the *Assyrian Dictionary of the Oriental Institute* 14; 35.

<sup>27</sup> *Assyrian Dictionary of the Oriental Institute* 14: 26-37 gives the following definitions for *rabû*: “1. large; 2. main, principal, chief, of first rank, elder, senior; 3. adult, full-grown; 4. important, massive, extensive, imposing, fortified, huge, powerful; 5. great, weighty, grievous, significant; 6. majestic, grand (said of gods, kings, and divine and royal attributes to stress their dignity or as honorific; 7. important, noble person.” Hinz and Koch, *Elamisches Wörterbuch*, p. 780 is briefer regarding *ir-ša-ir-ra*: “der große, der größte, übertragen Vorgesetzter, Anführer, Chef.”

<sup>28</sup> Thus W. B. Henning, “Ein manichäischer kosmogonischer Hymnus,” *Nachrichten von der Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen, Philologisch-Historische Klasse* (1932): 224 n. 8, Kent, *Old Persian*, 2d ed., p. 207, and Gösta Liebert, “Indoiranica, 1. Ap. *vazraka*-, aw. *vazra*-, ai. *vájra*-,” *Orientalia Suecana* 11 (1962): 126-54. Mayrhofer, *Kurzgefasstes etymologisches Wörterbuch des Altindischen* 3: 126-27 observes that this connection is often advanced, but judges it “nicht sicher.” Other etymologies have been entertained by Bartholomae, *Altiranisches Wörterbuch*, pp. 1389-90, Meillet and Benveniste, *Grammaire du vieux-perse*, p. 68, W. B. Henning, *Handbuch der Orientalistik, Band 4: Iranistik — Linguistik* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1958), p. 67, Brandenstein and Mayrhofer, *Handbuch des Altpersischen*, p. 153, O. Szemerényi, “Iranica V, 61-64. OP *vašnā* — *vazrakā* — *vazra* — *vasaiy*,” *Acta Iranica* 5 (1975): 325-43, and Skalmowski, “Old Persian *vazraka*-,” op cit.

<sup>29</sup> Yašt 10.132: *vazrəm... amauuastəməm zaijanəm / vərəθrauuastəməm zaijanəm*. For the fullest discussion of this weapon’s physical properties, see Malandra, “Glossary of Terms for Weapons and Armor in Old Iranian,” op cit., pp. 281-83.

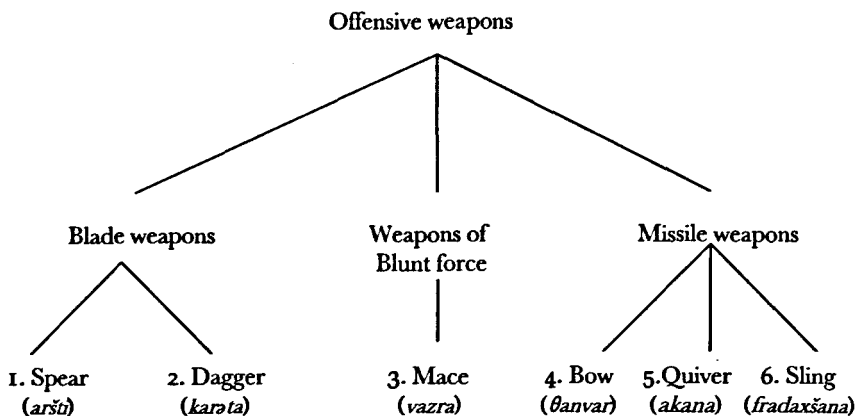


Fig. 25.2 Taxonomy of offensive weapons, according to Vidēvdād 14.9.

the *vazra* preeminent among weapons, this would help explain its connection to a phonologically similar adjective that is used exclusively for the paramount members of various sets. For among the deities, *vazrka* is used only of Ahura Mazdā, just as the sole human so designated was the Achaemenian; among political formations, only the Persian kingdom and empire.<sup>30</sup>

Close consideration of all the Avestan evidence, however, serves to undercut this impression. Thus, a passage from the Vidēvdād provides a list of twelve “tools of the warrior” (*zaiia raθōišti*) that amounts to a taxonomy and hierarchic ranking of all weaponry.<sup>31</sup> Six offensive weapons

<sup>30</sup> Thus, Ahura Mazdā is the only deity called “great god” (*baga vazrka*), usually in passages that treat his creation of the cosmos. Cyrus, Darius, and later Achaemenians called themselves “great king” sixty nine times, never using this term for anyone outside their dynasty. Similarly, the only kingship/kingdom (*xšaça*) or empire (*būmi*) designated “great” is that over which they rule. The former term is so named at DSf §3a, DSm §2, DZc §1; the latter, at DNa §2, DSe §2, DSab §3, DZb, DZc §2, DE §2, XPa §2, XPb §2, XPc §2, XPd §2, XPf §2, XPh §2, XE §2, A<sup>1</sup>Pa §2, A<sup>2</sup>Hc §3.

<sup>31</sup> Vidēvdād 14.9:

*He allots to righteous/truthful men all the tools for a warrior, with excellent piety, as propitiation for the soul, which tools for a warrior are: first, a spear; second, a dagger; third, a club; fourth, a bow; fifth, a weapon-belt holding a quiver with thirty arrows; sixth a sling made of sinew, with thirty stones; seventh, a breastplate; eighth, a neckpiece; ninth, a plastron; tenth, a helmet; eleventh, a girdle; twelfth, greaves.*

*vīspe zaiia raθōišti nərəbyō ašauabyō ašaiia vanhuiia urune ciθim nisirinuiāt yaēšam zaiianam raθōišti paoiriō arštiš bitiiō karətō θritiiō vazrō tūirria θanvarə puxδa zaēnāušmat akana mat θrisaš ayō.agrāiš xštuui fradaxšana snāvarə.bāzura mat θrisaš fradaxšaniiāiš haptaθō zrāδō aštəmō kūiris nāumō paiti.dānō dasəmō sārāuūārō aēuuandāsō kamara duuadasō rānapō.*



are listed, followed by six pieces of defensive armor, and among the implements of aggression, cutting weapons appear first (big, then little), followed by weapons of blunt force, and then projectile missiles. Far from being most important, the *vazra* occupies third position (Figure 25.2).<sup>32</sup>

Similarly, when one considers the agents who employ the *vazra*, these are not, for the most part, figures of paramount status. Logically, they fall into four categories, two of which — deities and (moral) humans — match domains where *vazrka* is used, but in neither case are the figures of equal stature. Pursuing the comparison yields results that only accentuate the asymmetric usage of the two terms (Table 26.3).

	Old Persian <i>vazrka</i>	Avestan <i>vazra</i>
<b>Deities</b>	Supreme: Ahura Mazdā DNa §1, DNb §1, DSe §1, et al.	Subordinate: Miθra and and Sraoša (Yašt 6.5, 10.96, 10.132 and Vidēvdād 18.30, 33, 36, 39, 45, 53, 56, respectively)
<b>Demonic Beings</b>	None	Supreme: Anra Mainiiu and the Lie ( <i>Drug</i> ) Yašt 13.71-72
<b>Moral Humans</b>	Supreme: The Achaeme- nian King AmH §1 AsH §1, CB §1, CMb, CMc, DB §1, et al.	Subordinate: The Righteous/truthful ( <i>ašauuan</i> ) Vidēvdād 14.9
<b>Immoral Humans</b>	None	Subordinate: Liars ( <i>dragvant</i> ) Yašt 1.18, 10.40
<b>Political Formation</b>	Supreme: Kingdom ( <i>xšaça</i> ) DSf §3a, DSm §2, DZc §1 Empire ( <i>būmi</i> ) DNa §2, DSe §2, DSab §3, et al.	None

Table 25.3 Contrasting hierarchic positions associated with Old Persian *vazrka* and Avestan *vazra*.

<sup>32</sup> Old Persian evidence shows the same primacy of the spear. See DNa §4, DNb §8h, and DNC. On the importance of the title “spear-bearer” (Old Persian *īštibara*, Greek δоруφόρος), see the discussion of Briant, *Histoire de l’empire perse*, pp. 271-73.

Where Old Persian *vazrka* consistently marks figures of paramount status and absolute goodness, Avestan *vazra* denotes a weapon used by subordinate figures and all moral types. Only in one category is it employed by figures of the highest rank and this apparent anomaly only serves to accentuate the difference between the two terms, because it is the supreme powers of evil that are shown wielding the *vazra* in Yašt 13.71-72: the Lie (*Drug*) and the Evil Spirit (*Anra Mainiiu*). In light of these data, any attempt to connect *vazrka* and *vazra* seems questionable. Accordingly, the search for an etymology ought continue elsewhere.

## CHAPTER TWENTY-SIX

### ANCESTORS, CORPSES, KINGS, AND THE LAND\*

Those looking for a symbolic and ideological connection between *la terre* and *les morts* (oder: *Blut und Boden*) of the sort espoused by Romantics and nationalists like Herder, Barrès, or even the Lincoln of the Gettysburg Address will find relatively little evidence of such a construct in the most ancient texts of India and Iran. The hymns of the Ṛg Veda, for instance, the oldest and most obvious place to begin, posit a number of possible loci for the departed. Most often, the happy ancestors (*pitaraḥ*, literally the “fathers”) are placed in the heavens<sup>1</sup> and/or a realm of pure light.<sup>2</sup> Often, they eat and drink under a tree with King Yama,<sup>3</sup> the first mortal, who established the path to this happy domain.<sup>4</sup> Under less felicitous circumstances, they find themselves in a dark and troubled state of non-being, sometimes described as subterranean, and personified as the goddess Nirṛti (“Dissolution”).<sup>5</sup>

Two texts envision a post mortem dispersal of the deceased to multiple realms: sun, wind, waters, heaven and earth, but no special privilege attaches the dead to the soil.<sup>6</sup> In truth, only one hymn accords a role of any importance to the earth, which receives the bones of the deceased after cremation, and is called on to treat them like a good mother, who will house and protect them thereafter.<sup>7</sup> The passage is quite isolated,

\* First presented at a conference on “La terre et les morts,” organized by the Johns Hopkins University Dept. of Classics (Spring 2002).

<sup>1</sup> RV 10.14.7-8, 10.15.14, 10.107.2.

<sup>2</sup> RV 9.113.7-9, 7.76.4, 10.14.9, 10.15.3, 10.58.6, 10.154.2.

<sup>3</sup> RV 10.15.8, 10.135.1; Cf. RV 10.14.8 and 10.

<sup>4</sup> RV 10.14.1-2 and 7. Further on the path, cf. RV 1.38.5, 1.46.11-12, 4.35.3, 10.17.4 and 6, 10.18.1, 10.88.15. On Yama’s death, RV 10.13.4.

<sup>5</sup> RV 1.38.6, 1.164.32, 1.117, 5, 10.36.2, 10.59.1-4, 10.96.14. Nirṛti is called *devī* at RV 7.37.7. For a subterranean realm of darkness without mention of Nirṛti, cf. 7.104.3, 11, and 17.

<sup>6</sup> RV 10.16.3 and 10.58.1-12.

<sup>7</sup> RV 10.18.10-13:

*Crawl to mother earth, she who is broad, wide, and sweet;*

*A maiden soft as wool to those who pay for sacrifices, let her protect you from the womb of Dissolution (Nirṛti).*

*Open up, Earth, do not press down: be easy for him to enter.*

*Cover him, Earth, like a mother covers her son with the hem of her garment.*

however, and nothing in it or elsewhere in the Rg Veda suggests that the living established a sentimental or proprietary relation to land or territory that was mediated through their ties to the dead.<sup>8</sup>

The situation represented in Avestan texts is even more extreme.<sup>9</sup> There, the idea of establishing a physical and symbolic conjunction of the dead and the earth was emphatically rejected on religious grounds. Thus, within Zoroastrian doctrine, the earth was understood as one of the six original creations of the Wise Lord (Av. Ahura Mazdā, Pahlavi Ohrmazd). As such, it was perfect and pure, until the Evil Spirit (Av. Anra Mainyu, Pahl. Ahriman) attacked the creations, which he was able to corrupt, but not destroy. Fire thus became smoky, water became salt, and living creatures acquired mortality as a result and a mark of Ahriman's intervention.<sup>10</sup> Death, then, is understood as a process that divides the deceased into a spirit, which is gradually restored to its primordial Ohrmazdian state of perfection, and a corpse (*nasu*, cognate to Greek νέκυς), which is theorized as the entity most suffused with Ahriman's destructive nature and the most polluting of matter. As a result, Zoroastrians are enjoined never to place corpses in contact with any of Ohrmazd's original creations (which include earth, water, and fire), lest they pollute these and thereby advance the cause of the Evil Spirit.

Should a person fall dead on the ground by accident, that earth is contaminated and no agricultural work can be done on it for a year, lest

*Having opened up, let the earth stand well: let a thousand columns stand upon it.  
Let there be ghee-dripping houses, may they ever be refuges for him here.  
I fasten the earth around you; depositing this soil, may I not harm you.  
Let the fathers fasten this column; Let Yama build a house for you here.*

ūpa sarpa matāram bhūmim etām uruvyācasam pṛthivīm suśēvam /  
ūrnamrada yuvatīr dākṣiṇavata eṣā tva patu nīrṣter upāsthat // 10  
ūc chvaṇcasva pṛthivi mā nī badhathaḥ sūpayanāsmāi bhava sūpavaṇcanā /  
matā putrām yātha sicābhy ēnam bhūma ūrnuhi // 11  
ucchvāncamana pṛthivi sū tiṣṭhatu sahasram mīta ūpa hī śrāyantam /  
tē ghāso ghṛtaścūto bhavantu viśvāhasmai śaraṇāḥ santv ātra // 12  
ūt te stabhnamī pṛthivīm tvāt pārīmāṇ logām nidādhan mō ahām ṛṣam /  
etām sthūnam pitāro dharayantu tē 'tra yamāḥ sādana te minotu // 13

<sup>8</sup> Good discussions of Vedic ideas regarding death and the otherworld can be found in Jan Gonda, *Die Religionen Indiens. I: Veda und älterer Hinduismus* (Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer, 1960), pp. 130-38 and Charles Malamoud, "Les morts sans visage. Remarques sur l'idéologie funéraire dans le Brāhmanisme," in Gherardo Gnoli and Jean-Pierre Vernant, eds., *La mort, les morts dans les sociétés anciennes* (Cambridge and Paris: Cambridge University Press and Editions de la Maison des Sciences de l'Homme, 1982), pp. 441-54.

<sup>9</sup> On Zoroastrian attitudes and practices, see Widengren, *Die Religionen Irans*, pp. 35-40 and Boyce, *History of Zoroastrianism*, 1:109-29.

<sup>10</sup> This cosmogonic narrative is spelled out more fully in Pahlavi, rather than Avestan literature. See, for example, Greater Bundahišn 3, 4, and 6, Selections of Zādspram 2.

the pollution spread to plants and waters.<sup>11</sup> As for burial, it is said to be an invention of Ahriman and treated as an inexpressible sin.<sup>12</sup> Indeed, the action most beneficial to the earth is to exhume any corpses buried in it.<sup>13</sup> Obviously, such a set of beliefs poses some eminently practical problems, which Zoroastrians resolve by placing their corpses on stone towers (*daxmas*), where birds and animals consume the flesh, a practice that prompted another set of distinctions.<sup>14</sup> Thus, being the portion of the corpse most subject to decay, flesh is regarded as the most dangerous and Ahrimanic substance. Bones, in contrast, do not decay, and are less polluting.<sup>15</sup> Accordingly, after the animals have picked them clean, they can be collected and placed in insulating containers that protect the earth against them.<sup>16</sup>

The evidence of the Avesta and R̥g Veda is important, but not in itself sufficient to conclude there was no politically charged connection of the dead and the land among ancient Indo-Iranian peoples. Conceivably, certain considerations of genre kept these texts, which are exclusively priestly and primarily liturgical, from thematizing such a construct, which might have circulated in other milieux: royal, martial, or peasant, for instance. Indeed, there is one piece of evidence from the outer edges

<sup>11</sup> Vidēvdād 6.1-3.

<sup>12</sup> Vidēvdād 1.13: "The Evil Spirit, he of many corruptions, produced an inexpressible evil deed, i.e. the burial of corpses" (*frakərəntat anrō mainiiuš pouru.mahrkō aga anapərəθa šiiəoθna ya nasuspaia*).

<sup>13</sup> Vidēvdād 3.12:

*"Righteous creator of bodily beings! What satisfies this earth with the greatest satisfaction?" Then said the Wise Lord: "Where they unbury most of the bodies they have buried: dead dogs and dead men."*

*datarə gaēθanəm astuaitinəm ašaum. kō paoirīm iməm zəm mazišta xšnaoma xšnauuaieiti. aat mraot ahurō mazdā. yat ba paiti fraēštəm uskənti yahmiiā sairi nikante spanasca irista naraēca irista.*

<sup>14</sup> Vidēvdād 6.44-48.

<sup>15</sup> The contrast of flesh and bones is attested, but not explicitly theorized, at Vidēvdād 5.9, 8.81, and 19.7.

<sup>16</sup> Vidēvdād 6.49-51. When the bodies are first exposed, there is fear that birds and dogs may drop pieces of them on the ground. As a result, they must be firmly fixed to the towers with pieces of metal, stone, or horn: i.e., materials that are not themselves earthen (Vidēvdād 6.46). In contrast, once the flesh has been removed from the bones, they should be put in containers that are made of stone, chalk, or clay (Vidēvdād 6.50-51). Although they should not enter into the earth itself, being freed from their most polluting substances, they can have contact with earthy matter. Cf. Vidēvdād 6.10-25, where expiatory penalties are adduced for those who permit bones to fall on the earth, the size of the penalty corresponding to the size of the bones. In all instances, however, it is specified that the bones in question have "some fat or fatty substance" (*astəm... ūθəm va ūθō.tas va*) clinging to it. Presumably, it is this rather than the bones themselves that are most polluting.

of the Indo-Iranian culture area that holds real interest for this question, although one that must be handled with caution. This is a scene described by Herodotus concerning Darius's ill-advised invasion of Scythia in 513 B.C.E. Frustrated by the Scythians' mobility and their persistent avoidance of battle, the Persian king sent a message to his Scythian counterpart, Idanthysus, demanding that he either stand and fight or, failing that, acknowledge the Persian as his master by sending him gifts of earth and water (*despotêi tôi sôî dôra pherôn gên te kai hudôr*).<sup>17</sup> Idanthysus' response reads as follows.

*"Thus it is with me, O Persian. I never yet fled, fearing any man — neither before, nor do I flee you now. And what I have done is nothing novel, but that which I am accustomed to do in peace. And this is why I do not give battle to you straightaway: I will explain it. We have neither towns nor planted land, and fearing neither that you will capture the one nor raze the other, we need not join you in battle any sooner. But if you wish to accomplish this goal speedily at any cost, the tombs of our fathers will suit your purpose. Come: Discover these and just try to destroy them! Then you will know if we will give battle for these graves or if we will not give battle. Before that, it makes no sense to engage you. As for battle, I will say these things. I acknowledge only Zeus, my ancestor, and Hestia, Queen of the Scythians, as my masters. In place of gifts of earth and water, I will send you such gifts as it is fitting for you to receive. In place of your having claimed to be my master, I tell you: you will suffer."*<sup>18</sup>

This passage is extremely dense, and many problems attend its interpretation. In his splendid *Miroir d'Hérodote*, François Hartog has made us sensitive to the possibility that the Herodotean *Skythikos logos* is best read as a reflexive discourse, in which the extraordinary mobility of the Scythians served as a negative foil to the situation of the polis-dwelling Greeks.<sup>19</sup>

<sup>17</sup> Herodotus 4.126.

<sup>18</sup> Herodotus 4.127: οὕτω τὸ ἐμὸν ἔχει, ὦ Πέρσα· ἐγὼ οὐδένα κω ἀνθρώπων δείσας ἔφυγον οὔτε πρότερον οὔτε νῦν σὲ φεύγω· οὐδὲ τι νεώτερόν εἰμι ποιήσας νῦν ἢ καὶ ἐν εἰρηγῇ ἑώθεα ποιεῖν. ὃ τι δὲ οὐκ αὐτίκα μάχομαι τοι, ἐγὼ καὶ τοῦτο σημανέω· ἡμῖν οὔτε ἄστεα οὔτε γῆ πεφυτευμένη ἐστὶ, τῶν πέρι δέισαντες μὴ ἀλώῃ ἢ καρῇ ταχύτερον ἂν ὑμῖν συμμίσομεν ἐς μάχην· εἰ δὲ δέοι πάντως ἐς τοῦτο κατὰ τάχος ἀπικνέεσθαι, τυγχάνουσι ἡμῖν ἔδοντες τάφοι πατρώϊσι. φέρετε, τοὺτους ἀνευρόντες συγγέιν πειράσθε αὐτοὺς, καὶ γνώσεσθε τότε εἴτε ὑμῖν μαχησόμεθα περὶ τῶν τάφων εἴτε καὶ οὐ μαχησόμεθα. πρότερον δὲ, ἢν μὴ ἡμέας λόγος αἰρή, οὐ συμμίσομέν τοι. ἀμφὶ μὲν μάχῃ τοσαῦτα εἰρήσθω· δεσπότης δὲ ἐμοὺς ἐγὼ Δία τε νομίζω τὸν ἐμὸν πρόγονον καὶ Ἰστίην τὴν Σκυθέων βασιλείαν μούνοους εἶναι. σοὶ δὲ ἀντὶ μὲν δώρων γῆς τε καὶ ὕδατος δῶρα πέμψω τοιαῦτα, οἷα σοὶ πρέπει ἔλθεῖν, ἀντὶ δὲ τοῦ, ὅτι δεσπότης ἐφησας εἶναι ἐμὸς, κλαίειν λέγω.

<sup>19</sup> François Hartog, *Le miroir d'Hérodote* (Paris: Gallimard, 1980), translated into English as *The mirror of Herodotus: the Representation of the Other in the Writing of History* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988). See especially chapters 2 and 4.

As I have written elsewhere, I am generally well-disposed to Hartog's argument, but want to preserve the dialectic situation of the Herodotean text, which makes use of Scythian data and distorts them for strategic purpose, but does not invent them out of whole cloth. Situated at the unstable interface between two peoples, it reflects — in partial, tendentious, and imperfect fashion — both Greek interests and Scythian realia.<sup>20</sup> Where the text can be confirmed by independent evidence, one can make use of it to probe the nature of Scythian thought and practice.

Such evidence is, in fact, available for the present passage, particularly when we understand that the burials Idanthysus calls "the tombs of our fathers" (*taphoi patrôioi*) are those Herodotus refers to elsewhere as "tombs of the kings" (*taphai de tôn basileôn*, 4.71). Thus, the king refers to *his* ancestors and not those of just any Scythian, for it is kings who received privileged burial rites (4.71-72), and it is the royal line that stretches back to Zeus, whom Idanthysus calls "my ancestor" (*ton emon progonon*, 4.127; cf. the origin myth recounted at 4.5 and the designation of Zeus as Papaïos ["Daddy"] at 4.59).

Herodotus places the tombs of "royal Scyths" (*basilêioi Skythai*) at the southern terminus of the Borysthenes, i.e. the Dniepr (4.71). Linguistic data confirm the existence of a group referred to indigenously as "royal Scyths" (Cf. Chinese *Sək-wang* and Latin *Sakaurakoi* [Lucian, *Macrobius* 15], which is derived from Scythian \**Saka-ura-ka*, in which the *-ura-* element corresponds to Khotan Saka *rre* "king"). Archeological finds also offer confirmation, for burial mounds with extremely rich goods, sacrificial victims, and signs of elevated status are densely clustered exactly where the Herodotean testimony locates them: on the lower stretches of the Dniepr.<sup>21</sup>

Given this, I think we can find something of Scythian ideology proper in the speech attributed to Idanthysus, and not just the workings of a Greek *camera inversa*. Here, land and dead are powerfully connected, but not any land, nor all the dead. Rather, the significant pieces of this system are all mediated through the king, following these precepts: 1) Scythians construct their collective identity — their sense of themselves as Scyths — through

<sup>20</sup> Bruce Lincoln, "On the Scythian Royal Burials," in Susan Skomal and Edgar Polomé, eds., *Proto-Indo-European: The Archaeology of a Linguistic Problem* (Washington: Institute for the Study of Man, 1987), pp. 267-285; reprinted in slightly abbreviated form in *Death, War, and Sacrifice*, pp. 188-97.

<sup>21</sup> Note, for instance the impressive kurgans at Certomlyk, Ordzonikidze, Alexandropol' and Ogyz. A convenient summary of the archeological evidence is found in Renate Rolle, *Totenkult der Skythen*, 2 vols. (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1979).

their relation to the king. 2) Kings construct their royal identity — their sense of themselves as kings — through their relation to a set of ancestors said to descend from the deity Herodotus equated with Zeus and a daughter of the river Borysthenes (Hdt. 4.5). 3) The burial place of kings is defined by their mythic ancestry. Thus, they are interred at the terminus of the Borysthenes, presumably the same spot where the first king (Targiteus) was born of Zeus and “his wife,” the daughter of this same river, whom the Scythians named Api (“Water” or “Daughter of the Waters”).<sup>22</sup>

Funerary practice and origin myth thus define the royal tombs as the sole meaningful site in the otherwise unmarked space over which Scythians traveled: the only site for which they would give their lives. It was not just the geographic, but also the sentimental center of the Scythian *ethnos*, for whom it provided spatial, temporal, social, and political orientation, attaching the people to their king and, through him, to their origins and the gods (See Figure 26.1).

This is the clearest example of a ‘proto-nationalist’ construction of *la terre et les morts* among the ancient peoples of India and Iran. One finds some of the same elements in the Achaemenian royal tombs at Naqš-e Rostam, but also some significant differences.<sup>23</sup> Time does not permit me to treat this site in the detail it deserves, but let me call attention to a few features of the relief found there, and the inscription beside it, conventionally referred to as DNa.

The inscription begins with a cosmogonic account, crediting the Wise Lord (OPers. Auramazdā) with creation of earth, sky, mankind, and Darius the King. Darius then speaks in his own voice, proclaiming himself as king of kings, lands, and peoples, after which he gives his royal genealogy.<sup>24</sup> That established, he offers a list of the twenty-nine “lands

<sup>22</sup> Herodotus 4.59: θεοὺς μὲν μόνους τοῦσδε ἰλάσκονται, Ἰστίην μὲν μάλιστα, ἐπὶ δὲ Δία τε καὶ Γῆν, νομίζοντες τὴν Γῆν τοῦ Διὸς εἶναι γυναῖκα.... οὐνομάζεται δὲ Σκυθιστὶ Ἰστίη μὲν Ταβίτι, Ζεὺς δὲ ὀρθότατα κατὰ γνώμην γε τὴν ἐμὴν καλεόμενος Παπαῖος, Γῆ δὲ Ἀπία. *Api* reflects the standard Indo-Iranian terminology for “water,” and is cognate with Avestan *āp-*, Sanskrit *āpáh*, Pahlavi *āb*, and Ossetic *ab* (or *aw*).

<sup>23</sup> On these tombs, see the discussion of Briant, *Histoire de l'empire perse*, pp. 182-83 and the literature cited at p. 934.

<sup>24</sup> DNa §§1-2:

*A great god is the Wise Lord, who created this earth, who created that sky, who created mankind, who created happiness for mankind, who made Darius king: one king over many, one commander over many. I am Darius Great King, King of kings, King of lands/peoples of all races, King in this great, far-reaching earth/empire, son of Vištaspa, an Achaemenian, a Persian son of a Persian, an Aryan of Aryan stock.*

baga vazrka Auramazdā, haya imām būmīm adā, haya avam asmānam adā, haya martiyam adā, haya šiyātim adā martiyahyā, haya Dārayavaum xšāyaθiyam akunauš, aivam parūnām



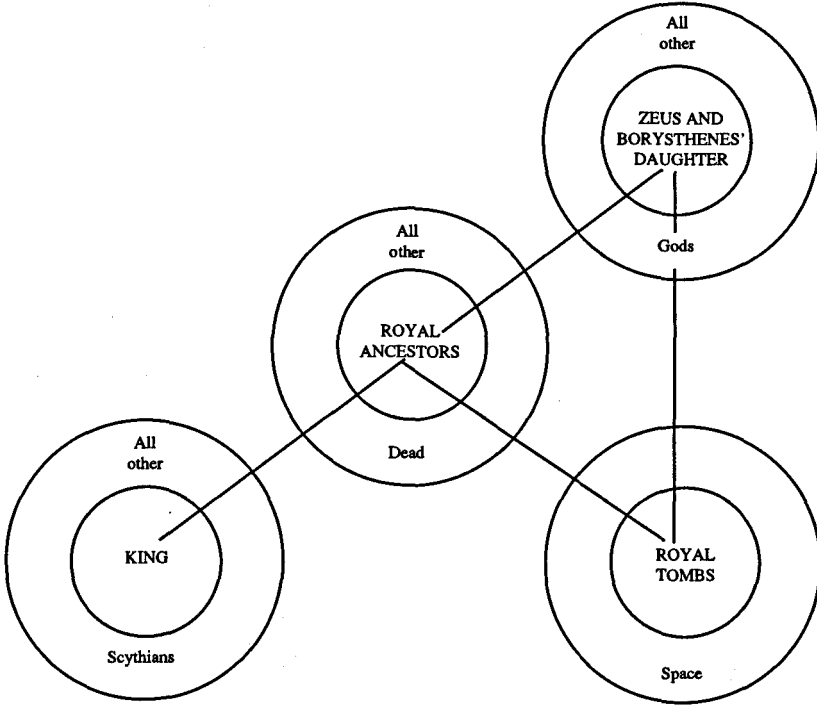


Fig. 26.1 Relations of the dead and the land, as mediated by king, royal ancestors, and gods (Herodotus 4.127).

that I seized far from Persia.”<sup>25</sup> The fourth paragraph of the text then connects this list of provinces to the relief, which shows Darius seated on his throne, facing a fire-altar, his hand outstretched toward the Wise Lord, who hovers in the air above him. “If you wonder how many are the lands that King Darius held,” the text says, “look at the pictures of those who bear the throne.”<sup>26</sup> And indeed, beneath the enthroned ruler are thirty figures, each one less than half his size, who collectively bear his weight (Figure 26.2). Twenty-nine of these figures represent the provinces of his empire; the thirtieth, his Persian homeland.

xšāyaθiyam, aīvam parūnām framātāram. adam Dārayavauš, xšāyaθiya vazrka, xšāyaθiya xšāyaθiyānām, xšāyaθiya dahyūnām vispazanānām, xšāyaθiya ahyāyā būmiyā vazrkāyā dūraj api, Vištāspahyā puça, Haxāmanišiya, Pārsa, Pārsahyā puça, Ariya Ariyaciça.

<sup>25</sup> DNa §3: imā dahyāva tayā adam agrbāyam apataram hacā Pārsā.

<sup>26</sup> DNa §4: yadipati maniyāhaj; ciyākaram avā dahyāva, tayā Dārayavauš xšāyaθiya adāraya, patikarā dīdi, tayaj gābum baranti.

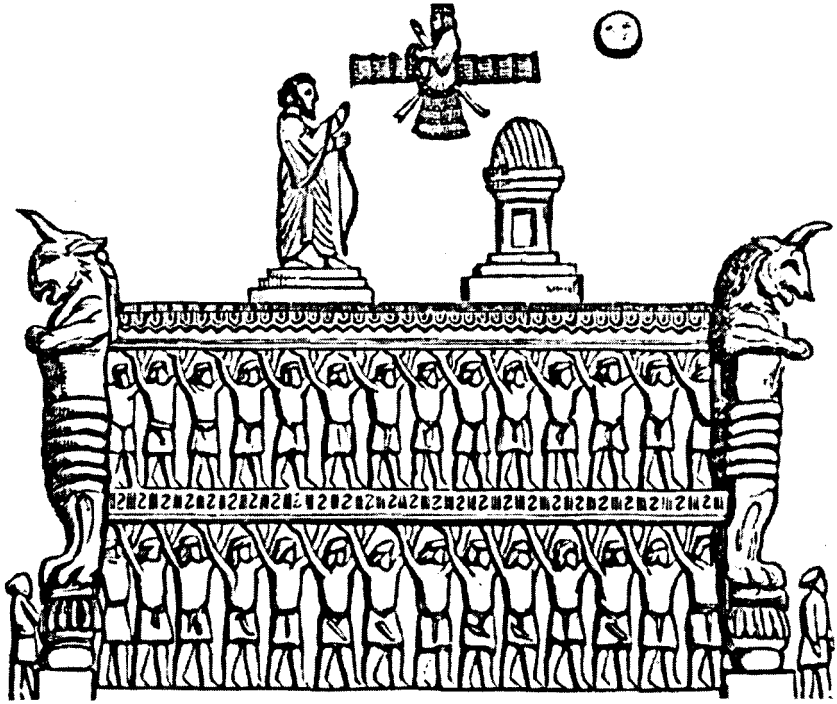


Fig. 26.2 Relief sculpture at Darius's tomb, Naqš-e Rostam.  
Line drawing by H.C. Rawlinson.

This distinction is important, for Darius's genealogy entitled him to rule only in Persia. All other lands came to him by virtue of a conquest he defined as god-guided. The full paragraph reads as follows.

*Proclaims Darius the King: When the Wise Lord saw this earth/empire seething (in rebellion), then he bestowed it on me. He made me king. I am king. By the Wise Lord's will, I set it in place. What I proclaimed to them, they did according to my desire. If you should wonder, "How many are the lands that King Darius held?" look at the pictures of those who bear the throne. Then you will learn, then it becomes known: "The spear of a Persian man went far." Then it becomes known: "The Persian man has pushed back the enemy far from Persia."<sup>27</sup>*

<sup>27</sup> DNa §4: θāti Dārayavauš xšayaθiya: Auramazdā yaθā avaiṇa imām būmīm yaūdantīm pasāvadim manā frābara; mām xšayaθiyam akunauš; adam xšayaθiya ami; vašnā Auramazdāhā adamšim gāθavā niyašādayam; tayašām adam aθanham, ava akunava, yaθā mām kāma āha; yadipati maniyāhaj; ciyākaram avā dahyāva, tayā Dārayavauš xšayaθiya adāraya, patikarā dīdi, tayaj gāθum baranti; adā xšnāsāhi, adataj azdā bavāti; Pārsahyā martiyahyā dūraj řtiš parāgmatā; adataj azdā bavāti; Pārsa martiya dūraj hacā Pārsā parataram patiyajatā.

This helps clarify what Darius was doing — and what he thought he was doing — when he took his army in pursuit of Idanthyrus. It also helps us appreciate a difference in Scythian and Persian outlooks. For if we have characterized the former as 'proto-nationalist,' the latter is decidedly imperial, and an expansionist imperialism at that. Such imperialisms, moreover, have their own characteristic means of drawing the land and the dead into relation.

Nationalisms — ancient and modern — posit an enduring bond of affinity that connects a land, people, and ruler. Imperialisms, in the starkest possible contrast, admit such bonds of affinity only for the dominant people of the empire. For all others, the ruler is not organically connected to people or land. Rather, he comes to exercise power over them by force and the threat of force: as Darius puts it, the extension of his spear into faraway regions. Here, the relation between *les morts* and *la terre* takes the form of a brutal exchange, in which the aggressor effectively tells his adversary: So long as you keep your land, we will give you corpses; only when you cede it to us will we give you back your living. Rather than an affectionate tie to the dead of the past, the ancestors buried in the soil, he stakes his claim to territory that was never his, but which he desires, on a lack of concern for the living of the present and his willingness to turn them into the dead of the future.

## CHAPTER TWENTY-SEVEN

### THE BIFURCATED COSMOS OF MAZDAEAN RELIGION\*

(with Clarisse Herrenschmidt)

#### I

The account of creation that figures in twenty-three Achaemenian inscriptions from the reign of Darius the Great (522-486 B.C.E.) to that of Artaxerxes III (359-338) has been subjected to exhaustive study concerning the subtle differences from one variant to another.<sup>1</sup> For our purposes, however, we may take a text like DNa §1 as representative.

*A great god is the Wise Lord, who created this earth, who created that sky, who created mankind, who created happiness for mankind, who made Darius king: one king over many, one commander over many.*<sup>2</sup>

Among the intricacies of this text is a contrast between two kinds of creation. One is marked by the Old Persian verb <sup>2</sup>*dā-*“to establish, set in place for the first time,” which is used for the originary acts through which the Wise Lord founded the cosmos, and this applies to the first four items listed: earth (*būmī*), sky (*asmān*), mankind (*martiya*), and “happiness for mankind” (*šiyāti...martiyahyā*). In contrast, a second kind of creative activity is marked by the verb *kar-*“to make, to do.” In all but two exceptions this is applied only to the fifth act of creation, which took place at a much later moment of cosmic history and enjoyed a decidedly different status than the others. This was the action through which the deity “made king” (*xšāyaθiyam kar-*) the man responsible for the inscription: Darius, Xerxes, or whomever.<sup>3</sup>

Inclusion of this fifth act of creation played an important role in Achaemenian ideology, legitimating royal power and constituting each

\* An earlier version of this chapter was published under the title “Healing and Salt Waters: The Bifurcated Cosmos of Mazdaean Religion,” *History of Religions* 43 (2004): 269-83.

<sup>1</sup> Above all, see Herrenschmidt, “Les créations d’Ahuramazda,” *op cit*.

<sup>2</sup> DNa §1: *baga vazrka Auramazdā, haya imām būmīm adā, haya avam asmānam-adā, haya martiyam adā, haya šiyātīm adā martiyahyā, haya Dārayavaum xšāyaθiyam akunauš, aivam parūnām xšāyaθiyam, aivam parūnām framātāram.*

<sup>3</sup> The exceptions are DSs §1 and XPl §1.

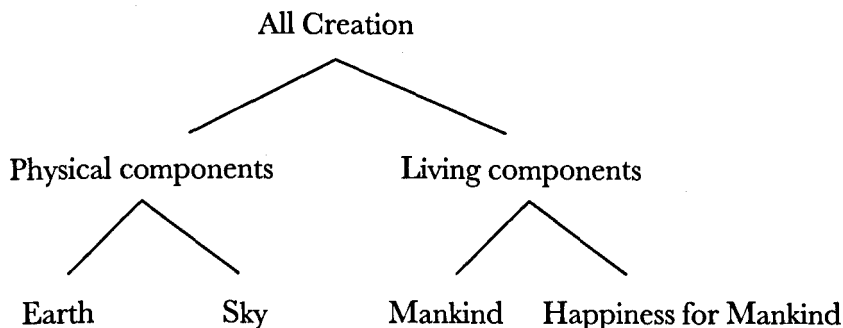


Fig. 27.1 Taxonomy expressed through the sequence of creation as narrated in DNa §1 and variants.

king's accession as the result of divine election. The text's skillful use of verbs also helps specify the ways in which king and deity resembled, but also differed from each other. While the Great God (*baga vazrka*) and the Great King (*xšāyaθiya vazrka*) both appear as subjects of the verb *kar-*, which marks productive action of whatever sort, no one save the former is ever the subject of <sup>2</sup>*dā-*, a verb reserved for foundational action of divine nature.<sup>4</sup>

It is thus the first four acts — those denoted by the verb <sup>2</sup>*dā-* — that are properly cosmogonic, and their sequence in the text suggests a taxonomic order, in which two of the creations define the physical expanse of the cosmos, while the other two do similar service for the living creatures who inhabit that expanse (Figure 27.1).<sup>5</sup>

That Achaemenian usage commonly subjected at least one of these creations to further subcategorization is strongly suggested by the Persian kings' custom of demanding "earth and water" (γῆν τε καὶ ὕδωρ, in Herodotus's phrasing) from their adversaries as token of submission. The "earth" here (= earth<sub>2</sub>) designates the physical soil, which in combination with the water of lakes, rivers, and seas, constitutes the full surface of earth<sub>1</sub> ("world"),<sup>6</sup> so that taken together, these gifts signified

<sup>4</sup> On the semantics of the latter verb, see Kellens, "Ahura Mazda n'est pas un dieu créateur," *op cit.*, pp. 217-28.

<sup>5</sup> From an etic perspective, one might infer a distinction between the Animate and Inanimate components of creation, but there is no clear Iranian vocabulary that might express that categoric opposition.

<sup>6</sup> Indo-Iranian languages distinguish these two, earth<sub>1</sub> being denoted by Old Persian *būmi*, Sanskrit *bhūmī*, Persian *būm*, and earth<sub>2</sub> by Avestan *zam*, Sanskrit *kṣām*, Pahlavi *zamiḡ*, Persian *zamin*.

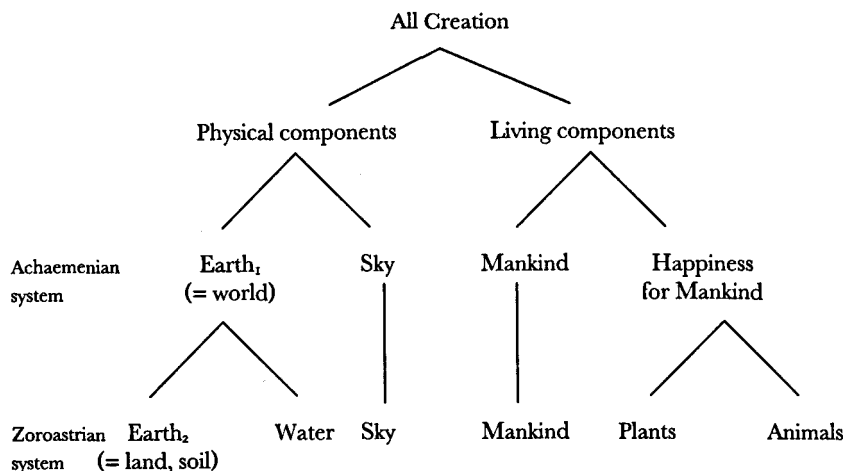


Fig. 27.2 Mazdaean cosmogony. The Achaemenian system, attested in DNa §1 et al., renders four entities explicit, treating as implicit subcategories several entities that are spelled out in the Zoroastrian system attested in Selections of Zādspram 1.25, et al.

all of a given territory, just as a formula like “day and night” signified all of time.<sup>7</sup> A second subcategorization may also be perceived in the cosmogonic account if it is true, as was suggested in Chapter One, that the phrase “happiness for mankind” (*šiyāti...martiyahyā*) refers most concretely to plants and animals, i.e. the living beings that constitute the basis of wealth and serve as the foods on which human life, sustenance, and bodily pleasure depend.

Modifying Figure 27.1 to take account of these details permits one to reconcile the Old Persian account of cosmogony with that found in Zoroastrian texts like Selections of Zādspram 1.25, which states “Ohrmazd created creation in bodily and material fashion. First sky, second water, third earth, fourth vegetation, fifth livestock, sixth mankind.”<sup>8</sup>

<sup>7</sup> Amélie Kuhrt, “Earth and Water,” op cit. The formula “day and night” appears at DB §7: “What was proclaimed to them by me, by night or by day, that was done.” tayašām hacāma aθanhya xšapanvā raucapativā, ava akunavayantā. See further regarding this expression Clarisse Herrenschildt, “*viθā(m) patiy, aggareion*,” DATA: Achaemenid History Newsletter (1993): 4 and Testen, “Old Persian <χ-š-p-v<sup>(a)</sup> r<sup>(a-i)</sup>-u-c-p-t<sup>(a-i)</sup>-v<sup>(a)</sup>-a> ‘by night or by day’,” op cit.

<sup>8</sup> Selections of Zādspram 1.25: Ohrmazd dām tanōmandihā bē ō gēfihā dād. fradom asmān dudīgar āb sidīgar zamīg 4-om urwar ud 5-om gōspand 6-om mardōm. With regard to the fourth and fifth creation (“vegetation,” “livestock”), we have translated with a term that finesses the issue of singular and plural. The texts make clear, however, that only one plant and one head of cattle were originally created. The differentiation of species, like

Apparently, both the Zoroastrian and the Achaemenian variants participate in a pan-Iranian — one might also say “Mazdaean” — tradition that traced the physical cosmos to a discrete set of primordial entities, each created by the Wise Lord, Ahura Mazdā (Figure 27.2).

## II

Since the Mazdaean tradition regarded its deity as entirely good, it also constituted the things he established as good *ab origine*, reflecting the nature of their creator. The imperfections of the world as we know it were thus traced to a second principle, separate from the Wise Lord, lesser than him, and utterly different in nature. Zoroastrian doctrine knows this entity as the “Evil Spirit” (Avestan *Anra Mainiiu*, Pahlavi *Ahremen*), whose primordial “assault” (Avestan *aibi.gatī*, Pahlavi *ēbgat*) marked the transition from a perfect to an imperfect creation characterized by mixture and conflict. Within Achaemenian discourse, “the Lie” (Old Persian *drauga*) is responsible for a similar rupture in the nature of being, although there this *topos* is thematized less fully.<sup>9</sup>

Above all, it is the Pahlavi texts that delight in narrating the “Assault” and working out its implications and details. Focusing on each of the original creations in sequence, texts like Selections of Zādspram and the Bundahišn show how the original pristine nature of the cosmos was affected by the onslaught of the Evil Spirit, whose power was great, but whose intelligence was decidedly lacking. Accordingly, he never succeeded in destroying the Wise Lord’s creations. Rather, he fragmented each in turn, producing a bifurcated creation in which one part remained entirely good, while another — its literal counter-part — became corrupt and contaminated.<sup>10</sup>

death and sexual reproduction, are products of Ahremen’s assault. Cf. Greater Bundahišn 3.7 (TD<sup>2</sup> MS. p. 33, lines 2-5), Škend Gumānīg Wizār 1.5, Yašt 13.86 and Yasna 19.8; among Old Avestan texts, see Yasna 44.3-6 and 51.7.

<sup>9</sup> The inscriptions tend to historicize this theme, above all in DB §10, where the assault of “the Lie” is made responsible for the intrigue, disorder, crime, and rebellion that commenced when Cambyses left Persia for his Egyptian campaign (525 B.C.E.), thereby ending the golden age of the empire and setting the stage for Darius to represent himself as God’s chosen instrument of restoration.

<sup>10</sup> We have chosen to employ a discourse of “bifurcation” in place of the more familiar “dualism,” since the latter term has assumed so many different connotations and has been so continuously debated as to lose most of its acuity and precision. Briefly, we use “bifurcation” to signal a cosmology in which material existence is theorized as unitary and good in its origin, but marked by division, mixture, and conflict at later stages of history, following the influx of an evil power independent of (and antithetical to) the good creator. For a somewhat similar attempt, see Hans-Peter Hasenfratz, “Iran: Antagonismus als Universalprinzip,” *Saeculum* 34 (1983): 235-47.

Thus, to cite one example, Ohrmazd initially made the earth flat and soft, while Ahreman's assault produced mountains that interfere with herding and agriculture and introduce a model of hierarchic stratification.<sup>11</sup> In similar fashion, Ahreman caused the waters to be divided into sweet and salt, plants into beneficent and poisonous, animals into productive and vermin, humans into righteous/truthful and liars (Figure 27.3).<sup>12</sup> It is unclear, however, whether this bifurcated cosmos is part of the general Mazdaean tradition and thus pan-Iranian, or more specifically limited to Zoroastrianism.

### III

Although there is no Old Persian text that systematically narrates these later stages in the Zoroastrian cosmogony and the dualistic view of creation they advance, several data are consistent with that system. Three merit our attention and these deal with animals, mountains, and seas.

The first is a well-known description of the Magi, Median priests who later served the Achaemenians and then diffused throughout Asia. According to a much-discussed passage in Herodotus, they maintained a sharp distinction between good and noxious animals.<sup>13</sup>

*The Magi differ from many other men and from the priests of Egypt, for the latter sanctify the principle not to kill any animate being, save those they sacrifice. The Magi, in contrast, kill all with their own hands, except dogs and humans. And they wage this great struggle, killing in equal measure ants and serpents and other reptiles and insects.*<sup>14</sup>

<sup>11</sup> Greater Bundahišn 6C.1 (TD<sup>2</sup> MS. 65.12-14): "When the Foul One rushed in, the earth trembled and the substance of mountains was created in the earth." *ciyōn gannāg andar dwārist zamīg bē <wi>zandēd. ān göhr ī kōf ī andar zamīg dād ēštād.* Cf. Selections of Zādspram 3.26-36 and Dādestān i Dēnīg 70.2.

<sup>12</sup> The most concise discussion of these themes is Selections of Zādspram 3. The Greater Bundahišn treats them repeatedly in chapters throughout the body of the text.

<sup>13</sup> This text has been discussed, *inter alia*, by Benveniste, *Persian Religion according to the Chief Greek Texts*, pp. 33-34, Zaehner, *Dawn and Twilight of Zoroastrianism*, p. 162, Widengren, *Die Religionen Irans*, p. 113, Mary Boyce, *History of Zoroastrianism* 1: 182-83, eadem, *Zoroastrians: Their Religious Beliefs and Practices* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1979), p. 76, and de Jong, *Traditions of the Magi*, pp. 338-42.

<sup>14</sup> Herodotus 1.140: Μάγοι δὲ κεχωρίδεται πολλὸν τῶν τε ἄλλων ἀνθρώπων καὶ τῶν ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ ἱερέων. οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἀγνεύουσι ἐμψυχον μηδὲν κτείνειν, εἰ μὴ ὅσα θύουσι· οἱ δὲ δὴ Μάγοι αὐτοχειρίῃ πάντα πλὴν κυνὸς καὶ ἀνθρώπου κτείνουσι, καὶ ἀγώνισμα μέγα τοῦτο ποιεῦνται, κτείνοντες ὁμοίως μύρμηκας τε καὶ ὄφεις καὶ τὰλλα ἐρπετὰ καὶ πετεινά.



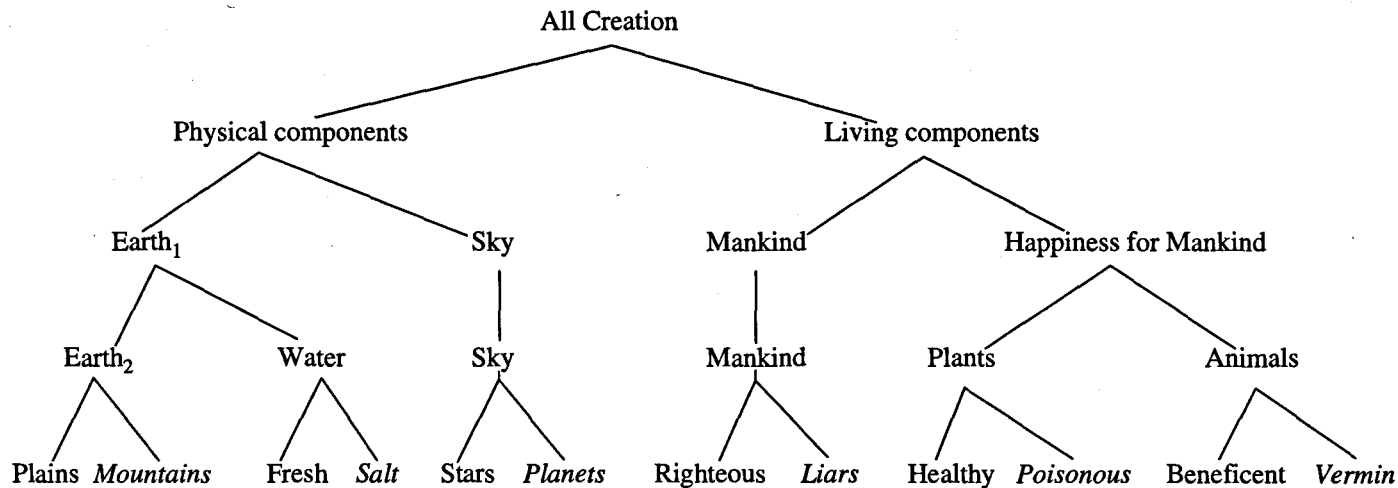


Fig. 27.3 Consequences of Ahriman's assault (somewhat simplified, following Selections of Zādspram 3 and Greater Bundahišn 6A-6F, 7, 13, 14, 16, et passim). Zoroastrian texts describe how the Wise Lord's originally good creation was corrupted by evil, such that each entity split into two classes, one still wholly good and the other, debased and destructive.

Although repetition of the verb *kteinō* confuses things somewhat, this passage distinguishes three classes of animate beings, using two variables to do so. Logically, the first category consists of species that cannot be killed, either in sacrifice or outside it (-/-), except by order of the king, a point this passage ignores, but which has its importance and to which we will return. In any event, this most sacrosanct category includes humans and dogs, the latter of which apparently was considered so close to their masters as to be quasi-human.<sup>15</sup> Second are those that could be killed in sacrifice, but not in other contexts (+/-). Herodotus does not name the species fit to be ritual victims, but presumably these included horses, cattle, sheep, goats, and other domestic species. That these were regarded as pure, moreover, may be inferred from the fact that the Magi — who presided at all sacrifices<sup>16</sup> — killed these animals with their own hands (*autokheiriēi*) and feared no pollution from the contact.<sup>17</sup> Third are the beasts who were unfit for sacrifice, but whom one was obliged to destroy in other ways (-/+). These vermin — "ants and serpents and other reptiles and insects" — were despised on several grounds, for these are the creatures who crawl and swarm, sting and bite, and who disrupt cosmologic distinctions of fundamental importance (land/water, heaven/earth, above/below). The Magi waged a "great struggle" (*agōnisma mega*) against them, as did Zoroastrian priests, who had special weapons that let them kill without touching the beasts or suffering any pollution.<sup>18</sup>

<sup>15</sup> Dogs enjoy high status in Zoroastrianism, but not so high as this. See Boyce, *History of Zoroastrianism* 1: 302-3, Lommel, *Die Religion Zarathustras*, p. 115.

<sup>16</sup> Herodotus 1.132: "... a Magus, standing beside [the sacrificer], chants a theogony of the sort they say is the proper accompaniment, for it is not their custom to perform sacrifices without a Magus" (δὲ αὐτοῦ Μάγος ἀνὴρ παρεστῶς ἐπαεῖδει θεογονίην, οἷν δὲ ἐκείνοι λέγουσι εἶναι τὴν ἐπαιδίην· ἄνευ γὰρ δὲ Μάγου οὐ σφι νόμος ἔστι θυσίας ποιέεσθαι). The fact that a hymn of creation was part of the ritual may suggest that principles embedded in the cosmogonic account informed sacrificial practice.

<sup>17</sup> Regarding the question of pollution, see Mary Boyce, *Zoroastrians: Their Religious Beliefs and Practices*, p. 44.

<sup>18</sup> Noxious creatures of this sort are called *xrafstras* in Avestan and the weapon used against them is a *xrafstra-gan*, literally a "xrafstra-killer." These are discussed at Vidēvdād 14.8 and 18.2 and injunctions to kill are found at Vidēvdād 14.5-6, 16.12, 17.3, 18.65, and 18.73. Although these lists vary somewhat, they regularly include reptiles, insects, and dangerous species like serpents and wolves. See further, Lommel, *Die Religion Zarathustras*, pp. 97-98, 113-116, Widengren, *Religionen Irans*, pp. 113-114, Boyce, *History of Zoroastrianism* 2: 90-91, 298-301, Hanns-Peter Schmidt, "Ancient Iranian Animal Classification," *Studien zur Indologie und Iranistik* 5/6 (1980): 212-13 and 228-29, and de Jong, *Traditions of the Magi*, pp. 338-42.

## IV

Just as Herodotus's account of the Magi suggests a binary distinction among animal species corresponding to categories established in Zoroastrian myths of creation, so the role played by mountains in the Achaemenian inscriptions recalls relevant sections of those same myths. Thus, *kaufah*, the term for "mountain," appears three times in the Old Persian corpus. One of these (DSf §3g) is unexceptionable. The other two occur at crucial points in Darius's account of rebellions during the first year of his reign (522-521 B.C.E.). In all, he faced nine uprisings, each of which — as he tells it — was inspired by "the Lie" and represented a disorder simultaneously political, moral, and cosmic. Not all of the nine insurrections were equally serious, however, and two stand out as particularly dangerous. These were the two that took place not in the provinces, but in Persia itself, led by rebels who represented themselves as Bardiya, son of Cyrus the Great, and thus rightful heir to the Achaemenian throne.<sup>19</sup> The first of these men was probably Bardiya himself, whom Darius depicted as "Gaumāta the Magus." Whether an imposter or not, this man seized power from Cambyses in March 522 and ruled until September of that same year, when he was murdered by Darius in a palace coup.<sup>20</sup> The second man who called himself "Bardiya" was one Vahyazdāta, who rebelled against Darius late in 522 and succeeded in swaying the Persian army and palace to his cause. His rebellion spread through multiple provinces (Carmania, Drangiana, Gedrosia, Arachosia, also parts of Media and Sattagydia) and lasted until July 521, making it one of the largest, longest, and most serious challenges Darius faced. Indeed, five battles and more than twenty thousand casualties were required for its suppression.<sup>21</sup>

Of particular interest to us, however, is a topographic detail that marks the beginning and end of these two rebellions. Thus, according to Darius's narrative, all insurrectionary activity began at a very precise spot:

<sup>19</sup> In DB §11, Gaumāta is quoted as saying "I am Bardiya, the son of Cyrus, brother of Cambyses" (adam Bṛdiya ami, haya Kuraṣ puça, Kambujiyahyā brātā). Similar wording occurs at DB §§40, 45 and the minor inscriptions DBb and DBh, although these all omit mention of Cambyses. At best, Darius could trace his descent to a cadet line of the Achaemenian family, which gave him a vastly inferior claim to Bardiya (or anyone who could pass himself off as same).

<sup>20</sup> The events are described in DB §§10-14 and Herodotus 3.30, 61-79.

<sup>21</sup> Tabulation of the casualties is included in the Babylonian, but not the Old Persian variant of the Bisitun inscription. See DB §§40-48 and the corresponding DBBab §§33-38. A good historic analysis is found in Dandamaev, *Political History of the Achaemenid Empire*, pp. 116-19.

"[Gaumāta] rose up from Paišiyāuvāda: a mountain named Arakadri, from there."<sup>22</sup> Conversely, the place where the revolt of Vahyazdāta ended is also specified.

*Then Vahyazdāta, along with a few horsemen, fled. He went to Paišiyāuvāda. From there, he collected an army. After this, he went against Artavardiya to make battle. A mountain named Parga, there he made battle. The Wise Lord bore me aid. By the Wise Lord's will, my army utterly defeated the army of Vahyazdāta. Five days of the month Garmapada (15 July 521) had passed when the battle was fought by them. That Vahyazdāta they seized, and the men who were his foremost followers, they seized also.*<sup>23</sup>

Darius thus narrated the rebellion of Vahyazdāta in a way that made it repeat and complete events that began with Gaumāta. Thus, after suffering a series of defeats, he retreated to Paišiyāuvāda, where Gaumāta first rose up against Cambyses. And just as Gaumāta made his start from a mountain, so Vahyazdāta fell back on a mountain to make his last desperate stand. Neither of these mountains has been identified with certainty, but for our present purposes it is less important to specify their location than to understand their place in the mythic *imaginaire*. While far from conclusive, the evidence suggests that the inscriptions represent mountains as a site of turbulence, disorder, rebellion, and violence associated with "the Lie." Further, the vertical code introduced by a discourse of mountains suggests a view of rebels as men who sought to raise themselves higher than others — or higher than a just, i.e. level, cosmos would permit — and who were brought low by a king who reestablished such a just order.

## V

A similar case might be made concerning Old Persian *drayah*, which denotes a large body of salt water that marks borders having ethical and cosmological, as well as political aspects. Thus, *drayah* is almost always used with reference to one of two peoples — Scythians and Greeks — who were themselves divided into sub-groupings. On the near side of the

<sup>22</sup> DB §11: haṇ udatapataṭā hacā Paišiyāuvādā, Arakadriš nāma kauṭa, hacā avadaš.

<sup>23</sup> DB §42: θāti Dārayavauš xšāyaθiya: pasāva haṇ Vahyazdāta hadā kamnaibiš asabāraibiš amuθa, ašiyava Paišiyāuvādam, hacā avadaš karam āyasatā, hayāparam āiṣ patiṣ Rtavardiyam hamaranam cartanai, Prga nāma kauṭa, avadā hamaranam akunava, Auramazdāmaṇ upastām abara, vašnā Auramazdāha kāra haya manā avam karam tayam Vahyazdātahya aja vasai, Garmapadahya māhyā pancā raucabiš θakatā āha, avaθāšām hamaranam krtam, utā avam Vahyazdātam agrbāya utā martiyā, tayaiṣaiṣai fratamā anušiya āhanta, agrbāya.

water lay those Greeks and Scythians who had been conquered by the Persians and absorbed within their empire. On the far side, lay those who remained beyond the Persian grasp and who inflicted painful defeats on Persian power.<sup>24</sup>

That the sea provoked considerable anxiety among Persians is clear from Herodotus's account of their navy (whose ships were predominantly Phoenician, Egyptian, and Ionian, but almost never Persian or Mede),<sup>25</sup> the many storms, shipwrecks, and disasters it suffered,<sup>26</sup> and the fear such possibilities occasioned.<sup>27</sup> Further, a recurrent symbolic construct appears throughout the Herodotean text, building on a contrast of land and sea.<sup>28</sup>

Land	: Sea::
Persia	: Greece::
Strength	: Weakness::
Confidence	: Fear::
Good	: Evil

The system one finds in Zoroastrianism is quite different, for there the organizing binary contrasts two kinds of water, whose difference is narrated in myths of creation. Thus, the good, fresh water created by the

<sup>24</sup> Scythians are at issue in DB §74, DNa §3, and A<sup>7</sup>P 24; Greeks, at DPe §2, DSe §3, and XPh §3. In two cases, *drayah* is used in somewhat different fashion, with reference to unspecified peoples who dwell by the sea in DB §6 (*tayaj drayahyā*) and to the Persian Gulf in an inscription celebrating Darius's construction of the Suez canal (DZc §3). That seas constituted the borders and limits of the Persian empire is also made explicit by Herodotus 4.37-40.

<sup>25</sup> On the national composition of the Persian fleet, see H.T. Wallinga, "The Ancient Persian Navy and its Predecessors," *Achaemenid History* 1 (1987): 47-77 and Herodotus 3.19, 4.89, 6.6, 6.14, 6.25, 6.33, 7.89-96, 8.17. Persian strength on land compared to their weakness at sea is thematized by Herodotus 5.108-9, 5.115-16, 6.7, 6.28, 8.68, 8.100-101.

<sup>26</sup> Storms and shipwrecks: Herodotus 3.138, 6.44-45, 7.188-92, 8.12-14, 8.118; defeats, 7.139, 7.194, 8.83-96; other difficulties and hardships, 7.34-35, 7.54, 8.89, 8.109, 8.117.

<sup>27</sup> Expressions of fear, loneliness, anxiety with regard to the sea: Herodotus 4.43, 6.9, 6.95, 7.22, 7.49-50, 8.68, 8.118, 8.130; confusion and disorder, 7.194, 8.86, 8.88.

<sup>28</sup> Pascal Payen, *Les îles nomades: conquérir et résister dans l'Enquête d'Hérodote* (Paris: Editions de l'Ecole des hautes études en sciences, 1997), pp. 204-11 has shown how important this construct is in Greek, and especially in Herodotean thought. We do not have direct testimony as to whether Persians theorized in precisely the same fashion, but a strong inference that this was the case has been studied by Steven Hirsch, "Cyrus' Parable of the Fish: Sea Power in the Early Relations of Greece and Persia," *Classical Journal* 81 (1986): 222-29.

Wise Lord at the dawn of time was later corrupted by poison flowing from the corpses of noxious animals, themselves created by the Evil Spirit. As the Greater Bundahišn puts it: "The poison of the vermin was all within the earth and it mixed into the water and made most of this water salty."<sup>29</sup> Elsewhere, we are told the salt produced a stench that made these waters inhospitable,<sup>30</sup> and that "thirst came to water."<sup>31</sup> This last detail reflects the knowledge that salt makes sea-water undrinkable, inducing a thirst the water cannot quench. Myth treats this as the result of Ahreman's assault, such that the addition of salt to Ohrmazdian water turns it into a demonic, contradictory substance where moisture and its antithesis commingle. The Zoroastrian construct follows accordingly.

Fresh Water	:	Salt Water::
Drink	:	Thirst::
Moist	:	Dry::
Wise Lord	:	Evil Spirit::
Original Creation	:	Mingled Reality subsequent to Demonic Assault::
Good	:	Evil

## VI

Something approximating the Zoroastrian construct may be perceived in Herodotus's report of two inscriptions Darius erected early in his Scythian expedition.<sup>32</sup> The first of these listed the nations and peoples he led over the Bosphorus, i.e. the channel connecting the Pontus (i.e. the Black Sea)

<sup>29</sup> Greater Bundahišn 6B.15 (TD<sup>2</sup> MS. 64.8-10): ān wiš [ī] xrafstarān ī andar zamīg bawēd. hamāg andar ān <be> āb be gumēxt. ān āb mahistar sōr bē kard. Cf. Selections of Zādspram 3.17-25.

<sup>30</sup> Greater Bundahišn 10.18 (TD<sup>2</sup> MS. 84.6-8): "One is not able to go as near as a league to the salt seas because of the stench nearby." ēn-iz zrēhihā <D> sōr pad nazdik gandagih rāy tā hāsar ō nazd nē šāyēd šudan.

<sup>31</sup> Ibid. 5.3 (TD<sup>2</sup> MS. 49.2): tišn ō ī āb.

<sup>32</sup> According to Herodotus 4.87, the stelae bearing the first of these inscriptions were carried off by the Byzantines, who used the stone to build certain temples. The second, however, seems to have been still extant when Herodotus wrote and a nineteenth century traveler — whose testimony was accepted by How and Wells, *Commentary on Herodotus* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1928) 1: 334 — claimed that reliable witnesses knew of its survival as late as 1830. Lieutenant-General A. Jochmus, "Notes on a Journey into the Balkan, or Mount Hæmus, in 1847," *Journal of the Royal Geographic Society* 24 (1854): 43-44.

and Propontis that divides Europe from Asia.<sup>33</sup> Although Herodotus does not preserve the wording of this bilingual (Greek and cuneiform) text, one senses a certain anxiety and *hybris* in Darius's attitude that foreshadows not only his difficulties in Europe, but also those Xerxes experienced as a consequence of his similarly hybristic traversal of the Hellespont.<sup>34</sup>

Passage further south facilitated Xerxes' march on Greece; crossing at the Bosphorus, in contrast, let Darius pursue the Scythians west of the Black Sea, which constituted the border between Persians and Scyths.<sup>35</sup> Persians called this sea a *drayah*, as we have seen, while Greeks used a variety of terms: *thalassa*, *pelagos*, *pontos*, all of which mark it as big and salty.<sup>36</sup> Strabo and Polybius both discuss the salinity of its waters and those of the Bosphorus, while also treating the dangerous winds and currents of the latter.<sup>37</sup> For his part, Herodotus notes that the water of the Black Sea produced the world's most ignorant peoples.<sup>38</sup>

Several days after making this passage, Darius reached the river Tearus in Thrace and raised a second inscription, regarding which Herodotus provides this account.

*The Tearus is said to be the best among neighboring rivers for cures of other kinds, but especially for healing psōrē in men and in horses. It has thirty-eight springs, all flowing from the same rock. Some of them are cold and some hot.... Arriving at this river, Darius camped there and being delighted with the river, he erected a stēlē, on which he engraved these letters: "The headwaters of the river Tearus produce the best and the fairest water of all rivers. Leading his army against the Scythians, to these there arrived the best and the fairest man of all men: Darius, son of Hystaspes, King of the Persians and all the mainland." 39*

<sup>33</sup> Herodotus 4.87. A detailed description of these waters is given at 4.85.

<sup>34</sup> On the difficult passage at the Hellespont and Xerxes' consequent impious conduct, see Herodotus 7.34-35 and 7.54-56. These events provoke divine *nemesis* and are cited as a cause of the Persian defeat at 8.109. Aeschylus, however, sets Xerxes' hybristic crossing at the Bosphorus, *Persians* 723-28 and 745-51.

<sup>35</sup> Herodotus 4.38 and 4.99.

<sup>36</sup> The Greeks regularly called the Black Sea simply *Pontos* ("The Sea"), although they sometimes extended (and euphemized) its name: *Pontos Euxeinos* ("The Sea Auspicious to Strangers"). Herodotus refers to it as *thalassa* ("sea, ocean") at 4.38, 4.89, and 4.99; as *pelagos* ("high sea, open sea"), at 4.85.

<sup>37</sup> Strabo 1.3.4-6, Polybius 4.39-44.

<sup>38</sup> Herodotus 4.46: "The Black Sea, to which Darius led his army, of all places produces the nations most lacking in knowledge, with the exception of the Scythians." Ὁ δὲ Πόντος ὁ Εὐξεινος, ἐπ' ὃν ἐστρατεύετο ὁ Δαρεῖος, χωρέων πασῶν παρέχεται ἐξω τοῦ Σκυθικοῦ ἔθνεα ἀμαθέστατα.

<sup>39</sup> Herodotus 4.90-91: Ὁ δὲ Τέαρος λέγεται ὑπὸ τῶν περιοίκων εἶναι ποταμῶν ἄριστος τὰ τε ἄλλα τὰ ἐξ ἅκριν φέροντα καὶ δὴ καὶ ἀνδράσι καὶ ἵπποισι ψώρην ἀκέσασθαι. εἰσι δὲ αὐτοῦ αἱ πηγαὶ δυῶν δέουσαι τεσσαράκοντα, ἐκ πέτρης τῆς

Why did Darius judge the water of this rather obscure river<sup>40</sup> the "best and fairest" (*ariston te kai kalliston*) of all? Apparently due to its healing properties and above all, its ability to cure *psōrē*.<sup>41</sup> Understanding the nature of this ailment, which took a variety of forms, is thus of considerable interest. In the vegetal kingdom, it manifested itself as *Cladosporium herbarum*, a scab appearing on fig trees overgrown with moss.<sup>42</sup> Among animals, it showed up as scabby hooves or a mangy pelt and was treated with old wine or cucumber root.<sup>43</sup> Among humans, its most common symptoms were scabs and a fierce itch,<sup>44</sup> but these reflect and derive from an underlying state of profound dryness, as is seen from the fact that *psōrē* was usually connected to organs whose normal, healthy state of pronounced moisture was disrupted by the illness: the eyes, the womb, and the bladder.<sup>45</sup>

Regrettably, no medical text describes the treatment recommended for *psōrē* in its common form. The closest we have is what Galen said regarding "*psōrē* of the eyes" (*psōrophthalmia*). This, however, is highly instructive.

αὐτῆς ῥέουσai, καὶ αἱ μὲν αὐτέων εἰσὶ ψυχραὶ αἱ δὲ θερμαί.... Ἐπὶ τοῦτον ὦν τὸν ποταμὸν ἀπικόμενος ὁ Δαρεῖος ὡς ἐστρατοπεδεύσατο, ἦσθεις τῷ ποταμῷ στήλην ἔστησε καὶ ἐνθαῦτα, γράμματα ἐγγράψας λέγοντα τάδε. "Τεάρου ποταμοῦ κεφαλῇ ὕδωρ ἄριστόν τε καὶ κάλλιστον παρέχονται πάντων ποταμῶν καὶ ἐπ' αὐτὰς ἀπύκροτο ἐλαύνων ἐπὶ Σκύθας στρατὸν ἀνὴρ ἄριστός τε καὶ κάλλιστος πάντων ἀνθρώπων, Δαρεῖος δ' Ὑστάσπεος, Περσέων τε καὶ πάσης τῆς ἡπείρου βασιλεὺς."

<sup>40</sup> Ancient sources make very little mention of the Taurus. It appears only in the present passage, an epigram attributed to Simonides (*Anthologia Palatina* 7.514), and Pliny's *Natural History* 4.45. Older, more positivistic scholarship was eager to identify this river and its multiple sources with an extensive series of springs around Pinarhisar in European Turkey (Kirkklareli province, near the Bulgarian border). See Jochmus, pp. 43-44 and Eckhard Unger, "Die Dariusstele am Tearos," *Archäologische Anzeiger* (1915): 3-16 (with a Nachschrift by F.H. Weissbach, pp. 16-17). Later scholarship has focused more on discourse than on realia, observing that the Herodotean text differs from standard Old Persian formulae, particularly as regards the royal title employed ("King of the Persians and all the mainland," Περσέων τε καὶ πάσης τῆς ἡπείρου βασιλεὺς). Thus, Hinz, *Darius und die Perser*, op cit., pp. 201 and 205, Rüdiger Schmitt, "Achaimenideninschriften in griechischer literarischer Überlieferung," *Acta Iranica* 28 (1998): 34-36.

<sup>41</sup> *psōrē* (*psōra* in Attic) is derived from the verb \**psēō*, "to scratch, rub oneself;" the term denotes a terrible itch, also the scabs and dry skin that produce it (cf. English *psoriasis*). As a gloss, the Suda provides κνέσμονή, from the verb κναεῶ "to scratch." For a fuller etymological discussion, see Chantraine, *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue grecque* 4: 1290 or Frisk, *Griechisches etymologisches Wörterbuch* 2: 1134-36.

<sup>42</sup> Theophrastus, *Peri Phytōn Historias* 4.14.3.

<sup>43</sup> Discussions of *psōrē* in the context of veterinary medicine include Xenophon, *Cyropaedia* 1.4.11, Herodas 7.117, and Plutarch, *Moralia* 671a. Treatment with old wine is attested by Polybius 3.88.1 and wild cucumber root by Theophrastus *Peri Phytōn Historias* 9.9.4.

<sup>44</sup> Thus Plato, *Gorgias* 494c, *Philebus* 46a; Septuagint Leviticus 21: 20 and 22: 22

<sup>45</sup> Thus Hippocrates *De Natura Mulierum* 79 (womb), *Aphorism* 4.77 and *Peri Physios Anthrōpou* 14 (bladder). Galen 12.717, 12.798-99, 14.766 (eyes),



*For those whose eyes, irritated by sun and dust have developed psōrē of the eye and dryness of the eye, they should be washed with much water, cold in summer and warm in winter. A vapor bath from a sponge with hot water or lentil decoction is applied. One also places at the corners of their eyes the juice of bramble, squill, myrtle, and roses, together with water. And above all, they often sleep with (a dressing of) dry roses crushed into wine, or their blossom, or wine uncontaminated by sea-water, and old olive oil.<sup>46</sup>*

Three details in this passage are extremely significant and lead to the same conclusion. First, *psōrophthalmia* is grouped with *xērophthalmia*, "dryness of the eyes." Second, both disorders have the same cause: overexposure to sun and dust or, to put it in terms of the elementary qualities theorized by Hippocratic medicine, an excess of the hot and the dry. Third, therapy aims to supply necessary moisture through eye-wash, vapor baths, botanical fluids and decoctions, old olive oil, or wine uncontaminated by sea-water (*oinon athalasson*). The reason for this last specification is most revealing of all and is reminiscent of the analysis of salt, the sea, moisture, and thirst we found in Zoroastrian myth. In Galen's treatment of *psōrophthalmia* and Darius's inscriptions at the Bosphorus and Tearus, we can thus identify the following symbolic construct.<sup>47</sup>

Health	: <i>Psōrē</i> ::
Moisture	: Dryness::
Fresh water	: Salt water::
Rivers	: Seas (and channels with salt water)::
Tearus	: Bosphorus::
Good	: Evil

<sup>46</sup> Galen, *Peri Syntheseseos Pharmakōn*, ed. Kühn 12: 798: Πρὸς δὲ τὰς περὶ τοῦς ὀφθαλμοὺς διὰ τὸν ἥλιον καὶ κονιορτὸν, ὡς ἐπίπαν ψωροφθαλμίας καὶ ξηροφθαλμίας, ὕδωρ πλεῖον προσκλυζόμενον, θέρους μὲν ψυχρὸν, χειμῶνος δὲ θερμὸν, ἀρμόζει καὶ πυρία σπόγγου ἐκ θερμοῦ ὕδατος ἢ φακοῦ ἀφεψήματος, αὐτοῖς δὲ πρόσαγε τοῖς κανθοῖς, βάτου, σχίνου, μυρσίνης, ῥόδων χυλὸν κατ' ἰδίαν ἕκαστον σὺν ὕδατι. ἢ ῥόδα ξηρὰ τριβόμενα σὺν οἴνῳ ἢ τὸ ἄνθος αὐτῶν, ἢ οἶνον ἀθάλασσον καὶ παλαιὸν ἔλαιον, καὶ μάλιστα ὅταν κοιμᾶσθαι θέλωσι.

<sup>47</sup> That the Tearus actually was fed by thirty-eight springs, hot and cold in equal measure, seems extremely unlikely. Rather, this piece of Herodotus's description is governed by the same theoretical orientation that led Galen to prescribe cold water for *psōrophthalmia* in summer and hot water in winter. Moisture corrects dryness as its opposite, and the elementary opposition hot/cold is irrelevant, unless other variables — the time of year, for instance — make this a contributing factor.

## VI

As we said earlier, these data are not conclusive. They are, however, suggestive. Anyone who carefully considers the primary data of Achaemenian religion and Zoroastrianism will observe both similarities and differences, and the materials we have discussed show the two were even more similar than many scholars have recognized. Two possible explanations can be offered for this state of affairs, and we differ somewhat in how we view things. One of us takes the Achaemenians to have been Zoroastrians, but after their own particular fashion and according to their own method (Herrenschmidt). The other does not rule out this possibility, but regards Achaemenian religion and Zoroastrianism as two variant forms of a broader tradition, which may be named Mazdaean, or simply Iranian (Lincoln). Whatever the historic relation between the two systems may have been, we hope to have established that according to both, Ahura Mazdā, the "Wise Lord," originally created a finite, but eminently coherent set of entities, each of which reflected its creator's absolute goodness. Heaven, earth, and mankind were explicitly named in both variants, while three other creations — plants, animals, and water — were specified in the Zoroastrian version and implied in the Achaemenian. Second, we have noted that the Zoroastrian cosmogony describes how the Evil Spirit attacked the Wise Lord's good creation, producing a bifurcation within each of its constituent parts. Several pieces of evidence have led us to think that the Achaemenians regarded animals, earth, and waters as bifurcated such that two forms of each were recognized as differing in their physical properties, originary agents, and their ethical status.

A similar view of humanity was part of Achaemenian religion, as a close reading of Darius's funerary inscription (DNb) has recently revealed. There, one finds a theory of the person in which certain qualities like anger and panic are regarded as demonic forces that can — and must — be brought under control by other qualities of divine origin (wisdom, understanding, self-control, e.g.) and those persons who have these in abundance, the king, above all.<sup>48</sup> Also relevant is the sharp distinction the Old Persian inscriptions draw between rebels and loyal subjects. Although all people were initially part of the same good "mankind" (*martiya*), the activity of the Lie (*drauga*) changed this primordial unity, as some became "evil" (or, more precisely, "vulnerable

<sup>48</sup> Herrenschmidt, "Le moi mazdéen et les âmes," op cit.

to deception," *arīka*), after which they turned disorderly and rebellious.<sup>49</sup> Like monarchs everywhere, Achaemenian kings made it their business to execute rebel leaders, and this seems to have been constituted as a legal, rather than a sacrificial action since, as we have seen, humans could not serve as sacrificial victims.<sup>50</sup> Even so, these executions served a religious purpose much like that which the Magi advanced by "killing... ants and serpents and other reptiles and insects."<sup>51</sup> In both instances, the respective actors cleared away the corrupt part of the human and animal creation, thereby reversing the evil introduced by the Lie and restoring perfection, as per the Wise Lord's original intentions.<sup>52</sup> Reading against the grain, as always, yields another story, whereby kings who defined their enemies as instruments of "the Lie" thus empowered themselves to treat the latter like vermin and call it a sacred business.

<sup>49</sup> Rebels and their activity are marked by a number of lexemes, most notably the adjective *hamiçiya* ("rebellious, conspiratorial"), the verbs *ud-pat-* ("to rise up") and *yau-* ("to boil, seethe, be stirred up, become disorderly"). Typically, insurrections are described as having been provoked by an act of false speech (*duru-*), in which the rebel misrepresented himself as having a legitimate claim to the throne. This prompted other actions, as the people/army defected to him (*abi avam ašiyava*) and he seized the kingship/kingdom (*xšaçaṃ haṇ agrbāyata*). On the formulaic descriptions of rebellion, see Chapter Twenty-three.

<sup>50</sup> Herodotus 1.140. If this is so, the bodily mutilation of Fravarti and Tritataxma (described at DB §§32 and 33) should be understood as torture, humiliation, a theatre of cruelty, perhaps also a judiciary ordeal, rather than a form of quasi-sacrificial dismemberment.

<sup>51</sup> Herodotus 1.140.

<sup>52</sup> Darius reports his execution of rebels at DB §§13, 17, 20, 32, 33, 43, 47, and 50. Note the complementarity of priests and kings, whose defining activities and spheres of competence were kept strictly separate. Where priests were responsible for maintenance of the cosmic order through performance of sacrifices in which animals, plants, and waters might be offered, kings preserved the legal, social, and political order, executing human malefactors — those subject to the Lie — toward this end.

## CHAPTER TWENTY-EIGHT

### COSMOLOGY AND HYDRAULICS\*

#### I

A recurrent goal of Mazdaean cosmology is to establish homologies between different aspects and levels of existence, for each item encompassed within the general schema is implicitly understood to reinforce and revalidate the system as a whole. As an example, one might compare the way Pahlavi cosmological texts (above all, the Greater Bundahišn and the Selections of Zādspram) organize time and space into three sequential components, the first and third of which stretch infinitely in opposite directions, while the middle part is finite (Table 28.1).<sup>1</sup>

	<i>Time</i>	<i>Space</i>
<b>1. Initial infinitude</b>	Primordial eternity, which lasts until the Wise Lord creates the material world and the Evil Spirit assaults it.	"Endless Light," where the Wise Lord resides, stretching boundlessly upward from the Void, which marks its lower limit.
<b>2. Finite middle</b>	The historic era of mixture and conflict, which lasts from creation of the material world until the Evil Spirit's conclusive defeat: a period of 9,000 or 12,000 years.	The primordial Void, bounded by Endless Light on the top and Endless Darkness on the bottom. The material world emerges in this space and becomes the battleground between the Wise Lord and the Evil Spirit.
<b>3. Final infinitude</b>	Eschatological eternity, the enduring state of perfection that begins with the Evil Spirit's defeat and the cosmic Renovation.	"Endless Darkness," where the Evil Spirit resides, stretching boundlessly downward from the Void, which marks its upper limit.

Table 28.1 Homologies of time and space in Mazdaean cosmology.

\* An earlier version of this chapter is scheduled to be published under the title "Myth, History, Cosmology and Hydrology in Achaemenian Iran," in Wouter Henkelman, ed., *Festschrift for Matthew Stolper*.

<sup>1</sup> As regards categories of time, see Greater Bundahišn 1.42 (TD<sup>2</sup> MS. 10.1-8), Dēnkard 3.329, 5.24.6-9, Dādestān ī Dēnīg 36.4-13; for those of space, Greater Bundahišn 1.1-8 (TD<sup>2</sup> MS. 2.11-3.12), Selections of Zādspram 1.1, Dādestān ī Dēnīg 36.6, et al.

Pressing the homology further, the same pattern served to connect macro- and microcosm, as the individual life-cycle was theorized along the same tripartite pattern. Thus, an infinite period of perfect peace precedes birth, during which time the person has spiritual (*mēnōg*), but not yet material (*gētīg*) existence. An equally infinite spiritual existence follows death, and between these two markers lie the travails and conflicts of embodied existence, when the person assumes material (as well as spiritual) being.<sup>2</sup>

Returning to the macrocosmic plane, the tripartite pattern was also applied to the category of number. Thus, the first and last instances — whether of time (primordial and eschatological infinities) or space (endless light above, endless darkness below) — were all characterized by unity, while the tense middle ground (the material world during the finite period of historic time) was theorized as multiple in nature. Further, unity was associated with perfection, stability, peace, and calm, while multiplicity and difference (themselves the product of violent fragmentation) were understood as the precondition of all confusion, competition, disorder, and conflict. Such conflict was expected to end with the definitive triumph of good, however, at which point time, space, and cosmos will return to the situation of perfection and peace in unity. The set of homologies may thus be expanded, as in Table 28.2.

	<i>Time</i>	<i>Space</i>	<i>Individual life</i>	<i>Number</i>	<i>Quality</i>
<b>1. Initial infinitude</b>	Primordial eternity	Endless light above	Spiritual existence before birth	Primordial unity	Peace, perfection
<b>2. Finite middle</b>	History	Primordial void, later the material world	Material existence between birth and death	Fragmentation, multiplicity	Conflict, mixture, turbulence
<b>3. Final infinitude</b>	Eschatological eternity	Endless darkness below	Post mortem spiritual existence	Eschatological unity	Peace, perfection

Table 28.2 Mazdaean homologies of space, time, number, quality, microcosm and macrocosm.

<sup>2</sup> On the relations of *mēnōg* and *gētīg* as regards both creation and the human life-span, see Shaked, "The notions *mēnōg* and *gētīg* in the Pahlavi texts," op cit., esp. pp. 65-71, and such texts as Greater Bundahišn 1.53 (TD<sup>2</sup> MS. 13.7-13), 3.23-24 (TD<sup>2</sup> MS. 39.6-11), Dādestān ī Dēnīg 1.3, 2.13, 36.25-27, Dēnkard 3.123, 3.416.

## II

This same pattern, in which a troubled but finite middle disrupts and contrasts with an ideal, open-ended beginning and end provided the organizing structure for the series of mythic narratives through which later Zoroastrian cosmology theorized each of the Wise Lord's original creations. Thus, for example, plants, animals, and humans (the fourth, fifth, and sixth creations) are said to experience sickness, suffering, death, and reproduction only during historic time. In contrast, before the Evil Spirit's primordial Assault (Pahlavi *ēbgat*) and after the Restoration (*frašgird*), their existence is characterized by immortality and bliss.<sup>3</sup> Similarly, the earth (the third creation) is flat and smooth during primordial and eschatological eternity, but rough and disfigured by mountains during the finite interval of historic time. The inequities of height that come into existence with these mountains were thus theorized as a demonic distortion of natural equality, and became the model for social inequities of rank and status.<sup>4</sup> For its part, the sky (the first creation) is motionless at the beginning and end. Only in the middle period do celestial bodies (stars, planets, sun and moon) rotate. The passage of (finite, historic) time having thus been set in motion by the violence of the Evil Spirit's attack, it is expected to cease when the threat of such violence has ended<sup>5</sup> (Table 28.3).

	<i>Sky</i> (1st Creation)	<i>Earth</i> (3rd Creation)	<i>Plants, Animals, Humans</i> (4th, 5th, 6th Creations)
<b>1. Initial perfection</b>	Motionless	Flat	Immortal, impervious to sickness and harm
<b>2. Imperfect middle</b>	Celestial bodies in motion, mixture of light and darkness	Mountains disrupt the earth's surface, introducing inequalities of height/status.	Mortal, vulnerable, suffering
<b>3. Final perfection</b>	Motionless	Flat	Immortal, impervious to sickness and harm

Table 28.3 The tripartite schema as structuring device for mythic narratives of the Wise Lord's original creations.

<sup>3</sup> Dādestān ī Dēnīg 31.10-11, 36.4, 36.29, Dēnkard 3.209, 3.317, Pahlavi Rivāyat accompanying the Dādestān ī Dēnīg 48.99-101, 62.14

<sup>4</sup> Greater Bundahišn 6c.1 (TD<sup>2</sup> MS. 65.12-15), 34.32-33 (TD<sup>2</sup> MS. 228.1-5), Selections of Zādspram 3.27, 34.52, Dādestān ī Dēnīg 36.1 and 109. On this motif, see Bruce Lincoln, "The Earth Becomes Flat: A Study of Apocalyptic Imagery," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 25 (1983): 136-53.

<sup>5</sup> Yašt 13.57-58, Greater Bundahišn 2.17 (TD<sup>2</sup> MS. 29.12-15).

## III

This leaves water, second of the Wise Lord's creations, which is discussed in numerous passages. Most detailed and systematic, perhaps, is the 11<sup>th</sup> chapter of the Greater Bundahišn, which takes up the topic of rivers.

*Regarding the nature of rivers: It says in the Religion: "The Wise Lord made these two rivers flow from the north, from the Alburz. One went to the west: the Arang; and one to the east: the Weh." Later, eighteen rivers flowed from these, all from the same original source. At the same (place in the) Alburz they descend into the earth. In Xwanirah [the central world-region], they emerge and become visible, as other waters flow forth from them in great numbers. As it says (in the Avesta): "Thus, quickly one after the other they flow, like a man who recites the Ašem-vohu prayer from the very beginning." All the waters mix back into these two rivers, which are the Arang River and the Weh River. At the edge of the earth, both of them turn and pass into the seas, and all the world-regions drink from that source. Then both arrive together at the Frāxkard Sea and they arrive back at the original source from which they flowed. As it says (in the Avesta): "Just as light comes into the Alburz and goes from the Alburz, (so too do the rivers)." This too is said (in the Avesta): "The spirit of the river Arang desired of the Wise Lord: 'First, give all the means for producing happiness that will be the goodness of the River Weh. Then, give it immortality. And the spirit of the River Weh desired the same from the Wise Lord for the River Arang. Because of their love and friendship, they were made to flow one into the other in combined strength. Just as they were non-flowing before the primordial Assault, so they will again become non-flowing after they smite the Lie.'"*<sup>6</sup>

Although the description is slightly baroque, the underlying schema is relatively simple and utterly consistent with the pattern we have described. At the northernmost extremity of the world-encircling Alburz

<sup>6</sup> Greater Bundahišn 11.0-7 (TD<sup>2</sup> MS. 84.10-85.16): abar ciyōnīh ī rōdīhā gōwēd pad dēn kū: ēn 2 rōd az abāxtar nēmag az Alburz Ohrmazd frāz tazēnēd. ēk ō xwarwarān kū Arang ud ēk ō xwarāsān šūd kē Weh xwānēnd. az pas ī awēšān 18 rōd az ham-bun xān frāz tazīd hēnd. pad ham Alburz andar zamīg frōd šūd hēnd. pad Xwanirah ō paydāgīh hēnd ciyōn abārgīg āb az awēšān pad was marag frāz tazīt estēnd. ciyōn gōwēd kū: ēdōn zūd ēk az pas ōy-i dūd be tazīd hēnd. ciyōn mard-ē kē Ašem-vohu-ē az padisār be gōwēd awēšān āb hamāg abāz ō ēn 2 rōd gumēzēnd ī ast Arang rōd ud Weh rōd. awēšān harw 2 pad kanārag ī zamīg gardēnd ud pad zrēhīhā widerēnd ud hamāg kēšwar xwāreṇd az ān zahābīh ud pas harw 2 pad zrēh ī Frāxkard ō ham rasēnd ud abāz ō bun xān rasēnd \*az-aš be tazīd hēnd. ciyōn gōwēd kū owōn ciyōn rōšnīh pad Alburz ud andar āyēd ud pad Alburz be šawēd. ēn-iz gōwēd kū: mēnōg Arang az Ohrmazd xwāst kū fradom harwispen šnayēnītārīh kē Weh-rōd nekīh u-š be dah ud pas pad amargīh be dād. mēnōg-iz ī Weh-rōd az Ohrmazd Arang-rōd ray ēdōn xwāst. dōšāram ayārīh ēk andar ō dud rāy pad ham zōrīh frāz tazēnīd hēnd. ciyōn pēš az madan ī ēbgat ātōzišn būd hēnd ka druz be zanēnd ātōzišn abāz būd. Cf. Selections of Zādspram 3.22-23, Dēnkard 3.409.

mountain chain,<sup>7</sup> where the narrative begins, all rivers — indeed, all waters — are said to be initially united. As soon as the water begins to flow southward, however, it divides in two streams, one of which heads east (the Weh),<sup>8</sup> while the other (the Arang, derived from Avestan *Raṇhā* ["Sap, Essence"]) flows west.<sup>9</sup> Most scholarly treatment of the traditions concerning the Arang and Weh have sought to identify them with major rivers in Asia, and many of the attempts at identification are wonderfully ingenious.<sup>10</sup> For our purposes, however, it seems preferable to follow Herman Lommel, who saw these as exercises in mythic cosmology that may, occasionally, have been projected onto one body of water or another.<sup>11</sup>

If primordial undifferentiated water divides to form the Arang and Weh, these two rivers themselves divide to form eighteen principal (*madagwar*) rivers. In turn, those tributaries submerge before leaving the Alburz and resurface once they have reached the central world-region (*Xwanirah*), where they divide once more to form countless smaller trib-

<sup>7</sup> The mythic structure of the Alburz is described at Yašt 19.1, Greater Bundahišn 5b.1-3 (TD2 MS. 55.3-12) and 9.1-3 (TD2 MS. 76.7-13), Selections of Zādspram 3.27-30, Mēnōg ī Xrad 56.7 and 57.13. See further, Mary Boyce, "Alborz in Myth and Legend," *Encyclopaedia Iranica* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1983-) 1: 811-13.

<sup>8</sup> The Weh (which means "Good" in Pahlavi) is also known as the Dāitī ("Lawful"), and the Weh-dāitī. All of these forms are derived from Avestan *Vaṇuhi Dāitya* ("Good-Lawful"). In the Avesta, this river is among the first landmarks created by the Wise Lord (Vidēvdād 1.2), the place where he meets with other deities (Vidēvdād 2.20), and the place where sacrifice is performed by the Wise Lord (Yašt 5.17, 15.2), Zarathuštra (Vidēvdād 19.2, Yašt 5.104), Vištāspa (Yašt 9.29), and others (Yašt 5.112, 17.61). The Pahlavi texts include much fuller, cosmologically informed descriptions, including such texts as Greater Bundahišn 1a.12-13, 6b.17, 11a.2, 11a.7-8, 17.5, Selections of Zādspram 2.8-9, 3.22-23, 21.1, 21.10, 23.1-7, Dēnkard 3.409. See further Jürgen Hämpel, "Dāityā," in Carsten Colpe, ed., *Altiranische und Zoroastrische Mythologie* (Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta Verlag, 1974-82), pp. 323-24.

<sup>9</sup> In the Avesta, the *Raṇhā* is among the last of the topographical features created by Ahura Mazda (Vidēvdād 1.20; cf. Yašt 15.27), and the later tradition regularly grouped it with the *Vaṇuhi Dāitya*, which the same chapter of the Vidēvdād places at the head of the list (Vidēvdād 1.2). Other Avestan texts place the *Raṇhā* at the edge of the earth (Yašt 10.104), and treat it, like the *Vaṇuhi Dāitya*, as a privileged place for the performance of sacrifice (Yašt 5.63, 5.81, 10.104, 15.27). Its name is cognate with Vedic *Rasā*, also described as a world-encircling river (Rg Veda 5.41.15, 9.41.6). See further, Helmut Humbach, "Die Awestische Länderliste," *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde Süd- und Ostasiens* 4 (1960): 41-44 and Chr. Brunner, "Arang," *Encyclopaedia Iranica* 2: 262-63.

<sup>10</sup> Cf., inter alia, Josef Markwart, *Wehrot und Arang. Untersuchungen zur mythischen und geschichtlichen Landeskunde von Ostiran*, ed. Hans Heinrich Schaeder (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1938), Arthur Christensen, *Le premier chapitre du Vendidad et l'histoire primitive des tribus iraniennes* (Copenhagen: Einar Munksgaard, 1943), pp. 55-59 and 71-76, and Gherardo Gnoli, *Ricerche storiche sul Sistān antico* (Rome: Istituto per il Medio e Estremo Oriente, 1967), pp. 13-14, 38, 76-77, 86-88, and 111.

<sup>11</sup> Herman Lommel, "Rāsa," *Zeitschrift für Indologie und Iranistik* 4 (1926): 194-206; cf. Humbach, "Die Awestische Länderliste," p. 44.



utaries. Then, as the water flows further south, these streams recombine to form the eighteen principal rivers, which themselves reconverge, thereby restoring the Arang and Weh.

Finally, the Arang and Weh flow together as they enter the great Frāxkard Sea, situated on the southernmost edge of the Alburz.<sup>12</sup> Their confluence is said to result from their mutual love and friendship (*dōšāram ayārīh ēk andar ō dud*), which is to say, the rivers' longing for each other. Characterized by goodness (*nēkīh*), immortality (*amargīh*), and the ability to produce happiness (*šnāyēnītārīh*), their waters are near-ideal, duality being their sole imperfection. That state is obviated, moreover, in the quasi-erotic conjunction through which they regain the unity, wholeness, and contentment they enjoyed at the start of their journey in the far north.<sup>13</sup>

	<i>Space</i>	<i>Time</i>	<i>Motion</i>	<i>Number</i>	<i>Quality</i>
<b>1. Initial perfection</b>	Northern side of the Alburz chain. Unified waters start to divide.	Before the Evil Spirit's Assault.	Still water.	Original Unity.	Primordial peace, calm, stability.
<b>2. Intermediate divisiveness, imperfection</b>	Central world-region. Division of rivers reaches its maximum, after which, they start to reconverge.	Historic time of conflict.	Running water.	Multiplicity.	Historic turbulence.
<b>3. Final perfection</b>	Southern side of the Alburz chain, where the Arang and Weh are brought together by mutual love, then flow into the Frāxkard Sea.	After the defeat of the Evil Spirit.	Still water.	Final Unity.	Eschatological peace, calm, stability.

Table 28.4 Homologies of space, time, number, and quality in Zoroastrian mythic hydrology, as treated in Greater Bundahišn 11.

Having worked out this schema on the spatial plane, the text proceeds to rephrase it in terms of time, stating that before the Evil Spirit's Assault, the Arang and Weh constituted a single, unified body of water that possessed such perfect peace, it did not move.<sup>14</sup> Running waters,

<sup>12</sup> Thus Greater Bundahišn 10.1 (TD<sup>2</sup> MS. 81.10-11), Selections of Zādspram 3.19.

<sup>13</sup> Regarding these qualities attributed to the two rivers, see Jean de Menasce, "Exégèse spirituelle d'un mythe géographique mazdéenne," *Journal Asiatique* (1971): 21-24 and Gherardo Gnoli, "Arang e Wehrōd, rāy e xwarrah," in Ph. Gignoux and A. Tafazoli, eds., *Mémoires de Menasce* (Louvain: Imprimerie orientale, 1974), pp. 77-81.

<sup>14</sup> Greater Bundahišn 11.7 (TD<sup>2</sup> MS. 85.14-16), 11c.1 (TD<sup>2</sup> MS. 90.13-91.2). Cf. Yašt 13.53-54 and the discussion of Molé, *Culte, mythe et cosmologie dans l'Iran ancien*, op cit., pp. 390-93.

like rotating celestial bodies, thus make their appearance only as the result of demonic violence, and their motion persists in the finite historic period of mixture, confusion, and conflict. After the Renovation, however, peace and perfection will be restored, at which time the reunited waters will no longer move, thereby obviating the possibility of any subsequent division. Once more, the narrative works to homologize multiple categories, as shown in Table 28.4.

#### IV

Although the Bundahišn text we considered is the most thorough account, other passages in Pahlavi literature supply many of the same details regarding the Arang and Weh, without assembling the full narrative schema.<sup>15</sup> Within the Avesta, however, the situation is somewhat different. There, the Rāhā and Vānuhi Dāitya are never treated together, nor do they form part of any fluvial system that manifests the pattern of One-to-Many-to-One. Accordingly, we might imagine the general template was applied to questions of hydrology only rather late, conceivably as the result of Sassanian cosmological speculation.

Such is certainly possible, but it is risky to draw conclusions *e silentio* from the Avesta, which survives only in fragmentary form: heavy on liturgy, and lacking all the sections that treated mythic cosmology (above all, the Dāmdād Nask, which provided much of the basis for the Bundahišn).<sup>16</sup> In addition, there are certain data from the Achaemenian period that might have relevance for the question. What I have in mind, of course, is the story Herodotus tells of how Cyrus took Babylon, beginning with the incident of the river Gyndes (today known as the Diyala).

*When Cyrus was marching on Babylon, he came to the river Gyndes, whose springs are in the Matienian mountains and which flows through Dardanian territory, discharging into another river, the Tigris, which runs by the city Opis to issue into the Red Sea. Cyrus tried to cross the river Gyndes where it was navigable, and there one of his holy white horses hybristically entered and tried to cross the river, but having been dragged under water, it was borne away. Cyrus was very angry at the river's insolence and he threatened to make it so weak that thereafter women would cross it easily, without wetting their knees. After making this threat, he abandoned the expedition against Babylon and divided his army in two.*

<sup>15</sup> Cf. Greater Bundahišn 6b.17-20 and 11c.1-2, Selections of Zādspram 3.22-23, Dēnkard 3.409.

<sup>16</sup> See, in particular, Dēnkard 8.5.1-5 (Madan ed. 681.11-19), which summarizes the contents of the Dāmdād Nask.

*Having made this division, he laid out a network of 180 canals running every way on either bank of the Gyndes. And having set the army in order, he commanded them to dig. Since there was a great multitude of workers, the task went quickly, but even so, they spent all summer working on it. Thus Cyrus punished the river Gyndes, dividing it into 360 canals and when spring came around again, he marched against Babylon.<sup>17</sup>*

One ought not make too much of the numerical coincidence: Cyrus divided the Gyndes into two sets of 180 canals, for a total of 360 (a total some commentators associate with the number of days in a year or degrees in a circle),<sup>18</sup> while the Arang and Weh each split into 18 principal rivers, for a total of 36 (a total that multiplied many times over, but not necessarily by a factor of ten). More important — and less superficial — are the thematic correspondences. Here, once again, unity is treated as the proper state of being, while division is the product of violent action and a sign of a world in moral and physical disarray. At the beginning of the story, both the river and Cyrus's army are unified and strong. As the result of arrogance, insolence, a violent death, and the desire for vengeance, the river is divided into hundreds of tiny streams: not only weakened, but shamed, punished, diminished, fragmented, rendered unrecognizable and also effeminate (for it is stressed how women now cross the mighty Gyndes, without getting their knees wet). Cyrus and his army fare only a bit better, for having fallen victim to his own wrath, the first thing Cyrus does is to divide his host in two so they can dig on either side of the river. Divided and distracted, they abandon their march on Babylon and lose a year's time, during which they cease to function as an army.

<sup>17</sup> Herodotus 1.189-90: Ἐπεὶ δὲ ὁ Κῦρος πορευόμενος ἐπὶ τὴν Βαβυλῶνα ἐγένετο ἐπὶ Γύνδη ποταμῷ, τοῦ αἰ μὲν πηγαὶ ἐν Ματιηνοῖσι ὄρεσι, ῥεαὶ δὲ διὰ Δαρδανέων, ἐκδιδοῖ δὲ ἐς ἕτερον ποταμὸν Τίγρην, ὃ δὲ παρὰ Ὡπιν πόλιν ῥέων ἐς τὴν Ἐρυθρὴν θάλασσαν ἐκδιδοῖ, τοῦτον δὲ τὸν Γύνδην ποταμὸν ὡς διαβαίνειν ἐπειράτο ὁ Κῦρος ἐόντα νηυσιπέρητον, ἐνθαυτὰ οἱ τῶν τις ἱρῶν ἱππῶν τῶν λευκῶν ὑπὸ ὕβριος ἐσβάς ἐς τὸν ποταμὸν διαβαίνειν ἐπειράτο, ὃ δὲ μιν συμψήσας ὑποβρύχιον οἰχώκεε φέρων. κάρτα τε δὴ ἐχαλέπαινε τῷ ποταμῷ ὁ Κῦρος τοῦτο ὕβρισαντι, καὶ οἱ ἐπηπείλησε οὕτω δὴ μιν ἀσθενέα ποιήσιν ὥστε τοῦ λοιποῦ καὶ γυναικᾶς μιν εὐπετέως τὸ γόνυ οὐ βρεχούσας διαβήσεται. μετὰ δὲ τὴν ἀπειλὴν μετεῖς τὴν ἐπὶ Βαβυλῶνα στρατεύουσιν διαίρειε τὴν στρατιὴν δίχα, διελὼν δὲ κατέτεινε σχοινοτενέας ὑποδέξας διώρυχας ὀγδώκοντα καὶ ἑκατὸν παρ' ἑκάτερον τὸ χεῖλος τοῦ Γύνδεω τετραμμένας πάντα τρόπον, διατάξας δὲ τὸν στρατὸν ὀρύσσειν ἐκέλευε. οἷα δὲ ὁμίλου πολλοῦ ἐργαζομένου ἦντο μὲν τὸ ἔργον, ὅμως μέντοι τὴν θερεῖν πᾶσαν αὐτοῦ ταύτῃ διέτριψαν ἐργαζόμενοι. Ὡς δὲ τὸν Γύνδην ποταμὸν ἐτίσατο Κῦρος ἐς τριηκοσίας καὶ ἐξήκοντα διώρυχάς μιν διαλαβών, καὶ τὸ δευτέρον ἔαρ ὑπέλαμπε, οὕτω δὴ ἤλαυνε ἐπὶ τὴν Βαβυλῶνα.

<sup>18</sup> e.g. How and Wells, *Commentary on Herodotus* 1: 147, Detlev Fehling, *Die Quellenangaben bei Herodot* (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1971), p. 164.

All is not lost, however. After dealing with the Gyndes, the Persian army reassembles and makes for Babylon once more. There, the Babylonian army sallies forth, meets defeat at Persian hands, and withdraws behind the formidable city walls, expecting to hold out against siege. Here, the year gained, thanks to the Gyndes, has proved extremely beneficial, for the Babylonians have laid in such massive provisions they believe their position invincible.<sup>19</sup> There is, however, a chink in their armor, for Babylon itself is situated on the Euphrates, which is normally impassable, except at closely guarded points. The experience of the Gyndes, however, has given Cyrus ideas.

*Leading the river by a canal to the lake, which was previously just a swamp, he made the old stream fordable by reducing the level of the river. And when this happened, the Persians whom he had stationed there entered Babylon by the stream of the river Euphrates, which had fallen approximately to mid-thigh level on a man. Had the Babylonians been forewarned, or had they learned what Cyrus was doing, they would have permitted the Persians to enter the city and destroyed them utterly. For by shutting all the gates that gave onto the river and climbing up on the walls beside the river banks, they could have seized the Persians as if in a fish-weir. But now the Persians fell on them unexpectedly. And because of the city's size — so it is said by those who live there — the people who dwell around the city's outskirts were conquered, while those who dwell in the center did not know they were conquered, for it happened to be their festival, at which time there was dancing and good-feeling, until they learned just what had transpired. And in this way, Babylon was captured for the first time.<sup>20</sup>*

<sup>19</sup> Herodotus 1.190.

<sup>20</sup> Herodotus 1.191-92: τὸν γὰρ ποταμὸν διώρυχι ἐσαγαγὼν ἐς τὴν λίμνην ἐοῦσαν ἑλος, τὸ ἀρχαῖον ῥέεθρον διαβατὸν εἶναι ἐποίησε, ὑπονοστήσαντος τοῦ ποταμοῦ. γενομένου δὲ τούτου τοιοῦτου, οἱ Πέρσαι οἱ περ ἐτετάχато ἐπ' αὐτῷ τούτῳ κατὰ τὸ ῥέεθρον τοῦ Εὐφρητεω ποταμοῦ ὑπονοεωσθηκότος ἀνδρὶ ὥς ἐς μέσον μηρὸν μάλιστα κη, κατὰ τοῦτο ἐσήσαν ἐς τὴν Βαβυλῶνα. εἰ μὲν νυν προεπύθοντο ἢ ἐμαθον οἱ Βαβυλώνιοι τὸ ἐκ τοῦ Κύρου ποιούμενον, οἱ δ' ἂν περιιδόντες τοὺς Πέρσας ἐσελθεῖν ἐς τὴν πόλιν διέφθειραν ἂν κάκιστα· κατακλήσαντες γὰρ ἂν πάσας τὰς ἐς τὸν ποταμὸν πυλίδας ἐχούσας καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐπὶ τὰς αἰμασιὰς ἀναβάντες τὰς παρὰ τὰ χεῖλεα τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἐληλαμένας, ἔλαβον ἂν σφέας ὥς ἐν κύρτῃ. νῦν δὲ ἐξ ἀπροσδοκίτου σφι παρέστησαν οἱ Πέρσαι. ὑπὸ δὲ μεγάλῃ τῆς πόλιος, ὥς λέγεται ὑπὸ τῶν ταύτῃ οἰκημένων, τῶν περὶ τὰ ἐσχατα τῆς πόλιος ἐαλωκότων τοὺς τὸ μέσον οἰκέοντας τῶν Βαβυλωνίων οὐ μανθάνειν ἐαλωκότας, ἀλλὰ τυχεῖν γὰρ σφι ἐοῦσαν ὁρτὴν, χορεύειν τε τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον καὶ ἐν εὐπαθείῃσιν εἶναι, ἐς δὲ καὶ τὸ κάρτα ἐπύθοντο. Καὶ Βαβυλὼν μὲν οὕτω τότε πρῶτον ἀραίρητο.

Others have taken this complex tale as a distorted account of Mesopotamian irrigation practices,<sup>21</sup> or the residue of Indo-European myths of power hidden in — and protected by — mysterious bodies of water.<sup>22</sup> Conceivably, there is something to be said for both views, although neither one accounts terribly well for the full scenario. Much closer, I think, is the parallel to the mythic hydrology of Greater Bundahišn 11. For when we consider the full narrative, three phases can be differentiated: 1) A period when Cyrus's army is united and clear in its purpose, but when no open conflict had yet occurred; 2) A period of division, distraction, fighting, and tension, which corresponds to the period in which the water of two mighty rivers (first the Gyndes, then the Euphrates) is divided and diverted;<sup>23</sup> 3) A period of triumph, when Babylon is taken without bloodshed, in the midst of celebration, and the two rival peoples are peacefully united under Cyrus's rule.<sup>24</sup>

Although it would help round out the story, we are not told whether the Euphrates (or the Gyndes, for that matter) was restored to its original form after Babylon came under Persian rule. Were Zoroastrian priests producing the narrative, one may assume they would have provided a final unity of water to match that of humans and to mirror the original ideal state. One can also assume they would have better integrated the category of space, which figures rather little in the structure of the story. The narrative that comes down to us, however, is that of Herodotus and as always, his sources are frustratingly occluded. Yet given how closely the schema of Table 28.5 corresponds to the others considered above, it is tempting to imagine Persian variants that drew on the same cosmological concerns, conventions, and obsessions as does the Bundahišn's account of the Arang and Weh.

<sup>21</sup> Thus George Rawlinson, Col. Sir Henry Rawlinson, and Sir J.G. Wilkinson, *The History of Herodotus* (New York: Appleton, 1859-70), commentary on 1.189. Cf. George Cameron, "Cyrus the 'Father' and Babylon," *Iranica Antiqua* 1 (1974): 45-48.

<sup>22</sup> Dominique Briquel, "Sur un passage d'Hérodote: prise de Babylone et prise de Véies," *Bulletin de l'Association Guillaume Budé* 3 (1981): 293-306, drawing on Georges Dumézil's reconstruction of an Indo-European prototype from Roman, Irish, Vedic, and Avestan examples, *Mythes et épopée: 3. Histoires romaines* (Paris: Gallimard, 1973), pp. 19-89.

<sup>23</sup> Note that the variant of the story given by Xenophon, *Cyropaedia* 7.5.7-32 has him divide his army into twelve groups, each group associated with one month of the year (thus 7.5.13).

<sup>24</sup> That the city was taken without bloodshed and amid celebration is also attested by the Cyrus Cylinder, the Chronicle of Nabonidus, and Daniel 5, albeit with significant variation among these accounts.

	<i>Time</i>	<i>Number</i>	<i>Quality</i>
<b>1. Original state</b>	Pre-conflict. Unified Persian army on the march.	Initial Unity: Army and rivers undivided.	Confidence, wholeness.
<b>2. Intermediate state</b>	Confusion and conflict. Cyrus decides to punish Gyndes. Army divides, digs canals for a year, then resumes march. Battle with Babylonians, then prospect of an unsuccessful siege.	Multiplicity: Army divided, Gyndes split into 360 canals, Euphrates divided and diverted.	Unexpected turbulence and conflict; Hybris, loss, anger, vindictiveness, temporary loss of focus.
<b>3. Final state</b>	Conclusion of conflict. Diversion of Euphrates permits Persians to enter Babylon unopposed. City taken without bloodshed, amid (ironic) rejoicing.	Triumphant unity: Persians bring Babylon under their rule.	Celebration, rejoicing, even by the vanquished.

Table 28.5 Homologies of time, number, and quality in Herodotus's narrative of how Cyrus took Babylon (1.189-92).

## CHAPTER TWENTY-NINE

### REFLECTIONS AFTER THE FACT

"Hardly any subject has led to as many arguments among scholars as the religious beliefs of the Achaemenian rulers (and their Iranian subjects)."<sup>1</sup> So Josef Wiesehöfer began his chapter on "Religious Conditions in the Achaemenid Empire" and the point would be equally valid today.<sup>2</sup> The current volume will hardly change that unfortunate situation, since it dodges the chief point of contention — the question of whether Cyrus, Darius, & Co. were "Zoroastrians" or not — a problem I take to be intractable, but also relatively unimportant in any grand scheme of things.<sup>3</sup> Weary of the inconclusive and futile debate, some scholars have tried to force a conclusion in recent years,<sup>4</sup> while others have entertained agnosticism, hoping this might let them proceed to other, more productive questions.<sup>5</sup>

It appears that Wiesehöfer may have harbored such hopes, since he followed his remarks on the long controversy by identifying lines of inquiry that hold both interest and promise: "In comparison, much less attention has been paid to the significance attached to religion and worship by the kings, i.e. to the political function of religion."<sup>6</sup> Even so, he

<sup>1</sup> Josef Wiesehöfer, *Ancient Persia from 550 BC to 650 AD*, trans. Azizeh Azodi (London: I.B. Tauris, 2001; German original, 1993), p. 94.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. The chapter runs a scant eight pages, from 94-101.

<sup>3</sup> There is, however, one group that cares deeply about the question and with whom one can well sympathize: the Zoroastrian community, for whom collective dignity and pride are very much at stake.

<sup>4</sup> The most important case is Prods Oktor Skjærvø, "Avestan Quotations in Old Persian?" and "The Achaemenids and the Avesta." Although the commonalities he identifies in the two corpora hold enormous interest, the relation is more likely to be common inheritance from a shared pan-Iranian tradition, rather than direct citation of Avestan texts by Achaemenian rulers.

<sup>5</sup> This was the ground rule for the 1987 meetings held in Liège, whose proceedings were edited by Jean Kellens, *La religion iranienne à l'époque achéménide. Actes du Colloque de Liège, 11 décembre 1987* (Gent: Iranica Antiqua, 1991). Kellens himself explained the organizers' logic and intention in his "Questions préalables," pp. 81-86, while still managing to comment on the forbidden question.

<sup>6</sup> Wiesehöfer, *Ancient Persia*, p. 94. Among the studies that have pursued this question, one might note Gherardo Gnoli, "Politique religieuse et conception de la royauté sous les Achéménides," Clarisse Herrenschildt, "Aspects universalistes de la religion et de l'idéologie de Darius I<sup>er</sup>," eadem, "Manipulations religieuses de Darius I<sup>er</sup>," Margaret

fell victim to the same old trap, spending most of his pages rehearsing the evidence and summarizing prior opinions on the Zoroastrian issue, only to end by voicing frustration where conclusions ought normally appear.<sup>7</sup> In the process, his broader — and infinitely more interesting — question concerning “the political function of religion” was elbowed to the sidelines, receiving much less attention than it rightly deserves. Instead of working through the relevant evidence, Wiesehöfer took a few short paragraphs to summarize the views of others: “The promotion of Zoroastrianism by the kings is usually put down to political and practical, rather than to religious motives.”<sup>8</sup>

Ultimately, Wiesehöfer distanced himself from that view, since a) political opportunism and religious sincerity are not mutually incompatible, and b) the motives of another in such a case are ultimately unknowable.<sup>9</sup> There is, however, a stronger objection to be raised, for construing the political/practical and the religious as discrete, autonomous, and contrasting categories is profoundly misleading in any ancient context. Conceivably, such a state of affairs may begin to take shape in Europe following the Reformation and Enlightenment, although even there the border between religion and politics remains much less clear and much more permeable than theorists of modernism have liked to imagine. In antiquity, the notion of a strict categorical divide of this sort is patently absurd.

The absence of Old Persian lexemes one might be tempted to translate as “politics” or “religion” — not to speak of “art,” “culture,” “science,” et al. — suggests that the operative categories through which the Achae-menians structured their world were not those we take for granted. To take a convenient example, the formulaic assertion “By the Wise Lord’s will I am king”<sup>10</sup> is neither religious, nor political, but simultaneously both and neither. More precisely, the utterance acquires its full force only in a world

Cool Root, *King and Kingship in Achaemenid Art*, Klaus Koch, “Weltordnung und Reichsidee im alten Iran,” in Peter Frei and Klaus Koch, *Reichsidee und Reichsorganisation im Perserreich*, pp. 45-119, Gregor Ahn, *Religiöse Herrscherlegitimation im Achaemenidischen Iran*, and Pierre Briant, *Histoire de l’empire perse*.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid., p. 100: “We have perhaps managed to show on what difficult terrain we stand when asking the question about the religious confession of the Achaemenid kings.”

<sup>8</sup> Ibid., p. 97.

<sup>9</sup> Ibid., p. 100: “What can be confirmed is that in choosing Ahura Mazda, Darius was on the one hand dealing with something familiar, and on the other hand, hoping to gain legitimacy and support (and justification) for his claim to power by declaring his faith in this god. Whether he associated himself with this god (or the Zoroastrian creed in whatever form) ‘merely’ for political and opportunistic reasons, or whether he also felt spiritually close to him is a question that can hardly be answered.”

<sup>10</sup> DB §5 et al.: *vašnā Auramazdāha adam xšāyaθiya ami*.



where the spheres later known as "religion" and "politics" have not yet been constellated or divided. To be sure, that world had a discourse and set of practices that a) connected humans to other levels of being (gods, demons, spirits, souls); b) contrasted the woes of the present to the perfection realized at the beginning and end of creation; and c) provided authoritative models for ideal behavior, with promise of rewards and punishments in this life and beyond. Far from constituting a bounded, quasi-autonomous sub-system of culture, however, these functioned more like "culture" itself (alternatively: "ideology," "cosmology," "tradition," "wisdom," or "common sense"), informing and permeating all aspects of life, including what would only later be constituted as the separate domains of "ethics," "aesthetics," "law," "diplomacy," "economics," "medicine," and others.

The problem with Wiesehöfer's call to explore religion's political function is not just that it went largely unrealized, but that it went not nearly far enough. The broader challenge is to understand how Achaemenian views on the nature of the cosmos (i.e. their operative assumptions about time, space, causality, and creation; divine, demonic, and human agency; matter, spirit, good and evil) shaped Achaemenian experience of every sort, giving the imperial project its form, coherence, and direction.

Standard approaches are singularly inadequate to this task, for they implicitly take "religion" to be a discrete and delimited topic, which thus inevitably receives its own chapter — or section of a chapter — in books on Achaemenian history<sup>11</sup> and those on Iranian religions,<sup>12</sup> while

<sup>11</sup> Wiesehöfer, "'Ahura Mazda and the other gods that are': on religious conditions in the Achaemenid empire," in *Ancient Persia*, pp. 94-101. Comparable are A.T. Olmstead, "Prophet Zoroaster" (pp. 94-106), "Paths of the Gods" (pp. 195-213), and "Religions Dying and Living" (pp. 460-79) in *History of the Persian Empire*, Richard Frye, "Zoroaster and his message" (pp. 26-32) and "Religion under the later Achaemenids" (pp. 111-16) in *The Heritage of Persia*, Walther Hinz, "Der Prophet Zarathustra," in *Darius und die Perser*, pp. 60-79, J.M. Cook, "Old Persian Religion," in *The Persian Empire* (New York: Schocken Books, 1983), pp. 147-57, Martin Schwartz, "The Religion of Achaemenian Iran," in *The Cambridge History of Iran 2:664-97*, Dandamaev and Lukonin, "The religion of the ancient Iranians," "The religious policies of the Achaemenids," and "The temple policies of the Achaemenids," in *The Culture and Social Institutions of Ancient Iran*, pp. 320-66, and Heidamarie Koch, "Religion," in *Es kündigt Dareios der König... Vom Leben im persischen Großreich* (Mainz: Philipp von Zabern, 1992), pp. 276-96. Somewhat better is Pierre Briant, who devoted several sections of his *Histoire de l'empire perse* to questions of religion and treated religious issues with other aspects of culture at many points of the volume. The separate sections are "Le roi et les dieux" (pp. 105-8) "Nouvelles campagnes, nouveaux ajouts: impérialisme et religion" (pp. 139-40), "Entre hommes et dieux" (pp. 252-65).

<sup>12</sup> Émile Benveniste, "Herodotus," in *Persian Religion according to the Chief Greek Texts*, pp. 22-49, R.C. Zaehner, "Achaemenids and Magi," in *Dawn and Twilight of Zoroastrianism*, pp. 154-72 Jacques Duchesne-Guillemin, "Les Achéménides," in *La*

sometimes getting an article<sup>13</sup> or monograph<sup>14</sup> all to itself. This insures that the things modern authors consider most typically and unproblematically "religious" get attention and the set normally includes deities, priests, ritual celebrations, and cult places, i.e. the subjects, objects, and spatiotemporal loci of specifically "religious" activity. Once such things have been inventoried, however, the chapter (or book) rapidly draws to a close, having summarized a "religion" that is self-contained, i.e. isolated and marginal, with few connections or repercussions beyond its own narrow borders.

This book represents the antithesis of such a structure. To judge from the title of the chapters, concerns that might be called "religion" are virtually ubiquitous, although the term itself appears almost nowhere. The chapters themselves spill in multiple directions (inter alia: oaths, geography, horticulture, hydraulics, pedagogy, taxation and tribute), not just because they were written over two decades for a host of occasions,

*religion de l'Iran ancien*, pp. 152-70, Marijan Molé, "L'orientation du système achéménide," in *Culte, mythe, et cosmologie dans l'Iran ancien*, pp. 26-36, Geo Widengren, "Die Religionsverhältnisse im Westen in medischer und achämenidischer Zeit," in *Die Religionen Irans*, pp. 111-55, Gherardo Gnoli, "La religion des Achéménides," in *De Zoroastre à Mani. Quatre leçons au Collège de France* (Paris: Travaux de l'Institut d'études iraniennes de l'Université de la Sorbonne Nouvelle, 1985), pp. 53-72, and Michael Stausberg, "Die Achämeniden" in *Die Religion Zarathustras*, pp. 157-86.

<sup>13</sup> Ernst Herzfeld, "Die Religion der Achämeniden," *Revue de l'histoire des religions* 113 (1936): 21-41, Gherardo Gnoli, "Considerazioni sulla religione degli Achämenidi alla luce di una recente teoria," *Studi e Materiali di Storia delle Religioni* 35 (1964): 239-50, Jacques Duchesne-Guillemin, "La religion des Achéménides," in Gerold Walser, ed., *Beiträge zur Achämenidengeschichte* (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1972), pp. 59-82, Jean Kellens, "Trois réflexions sur la religion des Achéménides," *idem*, "Die Religion der Achämeniden," *Altorientalische Forschungen* 10 (1983): 107-23, *idem*, "L'idéologie religieuse des inscriptions achéménides," Clarisse Herrenschildt, "La religion des Achéménides: État de la question," Heidemarie Koch, "Götter und ihre Verehrung im achämenidischen Persien," *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie* 77 (1987): 239-78, *eadem*, "Zu Religion und Kulte im achämenidischen Kernland," in Jean Kellens, ed., *La religion iranienne à l'époque achéménide*, pp. 87-109, and *eadem*, "Iranische Religion im achämenidischen Zeitalter," in Reinhard G. Kratz, ed., *Religion und Religionskontakte im Zeitalter der Achämeniden* (Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlagshaus, 2002), pp. 11-26.

<sup>14</sup> To date, two very different monographs have been devoted to Achaemenian religion: Heidemarie Koch, *Die religiöse Verhältnisse der Dareioszeit*, which dwells on the evidence of the Persepolis Fortification Tablets to show how many non-Zoroastrian features were present in Achaemenian religion and Mary Boyce, *A History of Zoroastrianism, Vol. 2 Under the Achämenids*, which consistently represents the Achämenians as devoted Zoroastrians. Particularly entertaining is the chapter in which Boyce attempts to minimize the force of Koch's argument ("Finds of religious interest at Persepolis," pp. 132-49) and Koch's sharp response, characterizing Boyce's book as "einen sympathischen, aber naiven Roman" ("Iranische Religion im achämenidischen Zeitalter," p. 17).

but also because their wide-ranging ambition only gradually took shape in the course of this research. Ultimately, my unreachable goal came to be something like recovery of the unified field theory that informed Achaemenian thought, discourse, and practice in its manifold arenas of operation, which I hoped to describe and assess with appropriate respect for its subtlety, elegance, depth, and persuasive power, while still maintaining a critical distance and edge.

I cannot claim to have succeeded as fully as I would have liked. Many issues remain unexplored and the ones I have treated remain somewhat disjointed. To the extent that I have found a master discourse or a core principle of integration, I have done so by following the lead of the royal inscriptions themselves, understanding that what they voiced most often and which they regularly placed in preeminent position was that which they considered most important. This is, in fact, their creation myth, which stands at the head of twenty-three different inscriptions from the reign of every king from Darius on. Although these texts are highly formulaic, they do vary a bit and such variation has its own importance. Thus, the creation of heaven and earth is narrated in twenty variants and that of mankind in twenty-one. Only two events figure in all twenty-three: the Wise Lord's creation of "happiness for mankind" (*šiyāta martiyahyā*) and his elevation of Darius (or a successor) to the position of king. Moreover, the texts establish a relation of complementarity between these two events. Human happiness — whatever that phrase means and whatever material or non-material components it may have included — is described as the last of God's original creations, his culminating gift to the world. Regrettably, this sublime state was compromised, diminished and fragmented when the Lie entered and disrupted existence. Only after this had occurred, did the Wise Lord respond by making Darius king.

Implicit, then, is a distribution that amounts to a telling observation: When happiness is perfect, the world has no need for kingship. Only in an imperfect era do kings become necessary, at which time they hold their office from God himself, who charges them to set right everything that has been corrupted. Their task is to eradicate the Lie and reverse its effects, thereby restoring happiness in its original ideal form. In theory, all projects the Achaemenian rulers undertook — military conquest, imposition of law, punishment of rebels, palace building and decoration, road construction, tax collection, hosting of banquets, landscape gardening, irrigation, and all the rest — were meant to recover the perfect happiness of all mankind that existed at the time of the Wise Lord's pristine

original creation. Should these projects succeed in accomplishing their ultimate goal, there would then once more be no need for kings and the state would wither away.

It is a lovely, inspiring story, and those who believed it (or who managed to act as if convinced of its truth) found themselves motivated, emboldened and energized, sufficiently so that they built one of the world's largest, richest, most powerful, most splendid and most glorious empires, although — it must be confessed — they failed not only to eradicate the lies told by others, but also the animating lie they told to themselves.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

- ACKERMAN, Robert  
 1987. *J. G. Frazer: His Life and Work*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.  
 1991. *The Myth and Ritual School: J.G. Frazer and the Cambridge Ritualists*. New York: Garland.
- ADKINS, Arthur  
 1975. *Merit and Responsibility, a Study in Greek Values*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- AFSHAR, Ahmad  
 1974. "Giraffes at Persepolis," *Archeology* 27: 114-17.
- AHN, Gregor  
 1992. *Religiöse Herrscherlegitimation im Achaemenidischen Iran: Die Voraussetzungen und die Struktur ihrer Argumentation*. Leiden: E.J. Brill.
- ALFÖLDI, Andreas  
 1951. "Königsweihe und Männerbund bei den Achämeniden," *Schweizerisches Archiv für Volkskunde* 47: 11-16.
- ALTHEIM, Franz and Ruth STIEHL  
 1960. *Die aramäische Sprache unter den Achämeniden*. Frankfurt am Main: V. Klostermann.
- ALY, Wolf  
 1921. *Volksmärchen, Sage und Novelle bei Herodot und seinem Zeitgenossen*. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht (reprint ed. 1969).
- AMIGUES, Suzanne  
 2003. "Pour la table du grand roi," *Journal des Savants* (Jan.-June 2003), pp. 3-59.
- APFFEL, Helmut  
 1957. *Die Verfassungsdebatte bei Herodot (3.80-82)*. Dissertation Erlangen.
- ASHERI, David and Silvio M. MEDAGLIA, eds.  
 2000. *Erodoto, Le Storie. Libro III: La Persia*, 3<sup>rd</sup> ed. n.p.: Mondadori.
- ASMUSSEN, Jes  
 1960. *Historiske tekster fra Achæmenide tiden*. Copenhagen: Munksgaard.  
 1968. "Iranica, A: The Death of Cambyses," *Acta Orientalia* 31: 9-14.  
 1974. "Some Remarks on Sasanian Demonology," in *Commémoration Cyrus. Actes du Congrès de Shiraz* (Leiden: E.J. Brill), pp. 236-41.  
 1984. "'Frau Welt,' eine Orientalisch-Europäische Beziehung," in *Orientalia J. Duchesne-Guillemin emerito oblata* (Leiden: E. J. Brill), pp. 35-39.
- ATKINSON, K.M.T.  
 1956. "The Legitimacy of Cambyses and Darius as Kings of Egypt," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 76: 167-77.

AUBERGER, Janick, trans.

1991. *Ctesias. Histoires de l'Orient*. Paris: Les Belles Lettres.

AYO, Nicholas

1984. "Prologue and Epilogue: Mythical History in Herodotus," *Ramus* 13: 31-47.

BACKHAUS, Wilhelm

1976. "Der Hellenen-Barbaren-Gegensatz und die hippokratische Schrift *περι αέρων ὕδάτων τόπων*," *Historia* 25: 170-85.

BADIAN, Ernst

1958. "The Eunuch Bagoas. A Study in Method," *Classical Quarterly* 8: 144-57.

1989. "Darius III," *Encyclopedia Iranica* 7: 51-4.

BAILEY, H. W.

1951. "Review of Roland G. Kent, *Old Persian*," *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* (1951), pp. 193-95.

1953. "Indo-Iranian Studies," *Transactions of the Philological Society*, pp. 21-42.

1956. "Armeno-Indoiranica," *Transactions of the Philological Society*, pp. 88-126.

1971. *Zoroastrian Problems in the Ninth Century Books*, 2d ed. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

BALCER, Jack Martin

1970. "The Date of Herodotus 4.1: Darius' Scythian Expedition," *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* 76: 99-132.

1987. *Herodotus and Bisotun: Problems in Ancient Persian Historiography*. Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner.

1993. *A Prosopographical Study of the Ancient Persians Royal and Noble, C. 550-450 B.C.* Lewiston: Edwin Mellen.

1995. *The Persian Conquest of the Greeks: 545-450 B.C.* Konstanz: Universitätsverlag Konstanz.

BALLABRIGA, Alain

1986. "Les eunuques scythes et leurs femmes. Stérilité des femmes et impuissance des hommes en Scythie selon le traité hippocratique *des airs*," *Métis* 1: 121-39.

BARR, Kaj, trans.

1954. *Avesta*. Copenhagen: Gyldendal.

BARTH, H.

1968. "Zur Bewertung und Auswahl des Stoffes durch Herodotus (Die Begriffe *θαῦμα*, *θαυμάζω*, *ξυμάσιος*, und *ξυμαστός*)," *Klio* 50: 93-110.

BARTHOLOMAE, Christian

1901. "Arica XIV," *Indogermainsche Forschungen* 12: 132-35.

1904. *Altiranisches Wörterbuch*. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter (reprint ed., 1961).

BAUER, Adolf

1882. "Die Kyrossage und Verwandtes," *Sitzungsberichte der philosophisch-historisch Classe der kaiserliche Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien* 100: 495-578.

- BAUER, Walter  
2000. *A Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament*, revised and edited by Frederick Danker. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- BELLONI, Luigi  
1986. "I Persiani di Eschilo tra Oriente e Occidente," *Contributi dell'Istituto di Storia Antica dell'Università del Sacro Cuore* 12: 68-83.  
1988. *Eschilo. I Persiani*. Milano: Pubblicazioni della Università Cattolica del Sacro Cuore.
- BENVENISTE, Emile  
1929. *The Persian Religion according to the Chief Greek Texts*. Paris: Paul Geuthner.  
1931. "Persica II," *Bulletin de la Société de linguistique de Paris* 31: 63-79.  
1933-35. "L'Ērān-vēž et l'origine légendaire des Iraniens," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies* 7: 265-74.  
1934. "Persica IV. Handugā," *Bulletin de la société de linguistique de Paris* 30: 73-74.  
1935-37. "Sur quelques dvandvas avestiques," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 8: 405-409.  
1938a. "Traditions indo-iraniennes sur les classes sociales," *Journal asiatique* 230: 529-49.  
1938b. *Les Mages dans l'ancien Iran*. Paris: G.P. Maisonneuve.  
1945a. "Deux noms divins dans l'Avesta. I. Srauša," *Revue de l'histoire des religions* 130: 13-14.  
1945b. "Études iraniennes," *Transactions of the Philological Society* 44: 39-78.  
1951. "Études sur le vieux-perse," *Bulletin de la Société de Linguistique de Paris* 47: 21-51.  
1957. "La prière Ahuna Vairya," *Indo-Iranian Journal* 1: 77-85.  
1958. "Notes sur les tablettes élamites de Persépolis," *Journal asiatique* 246: 49-65.  
1966. *Titres et noms propres en iranien ancien*. Paris: C. Klincksieck.  
1967. "Hommes et dieux dans l'Avesta," in Gernot Wießner, ed. *Festschrift für Wilhelm Eilers* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz), pp. 144-47.  
1969. *Le vocabulaire des institutions indo-européennes*. Paris: Editions de Minuit.
- BENVENISTE, Émile and Louis RENOU  
1934. *Vrtra et Vrθragna*. Paris: Imprimerie nationale.
- BEQUIGNON, Yves  
1940. "Le breuvage du grand roi," *Révue des études anciennes* 42: 20-24.
- BERTHIAUME, Guy  
1982. *Les rôles du mágeiros: étude sur la boucherie, la cuisine et le sacrifice dans la Grèce ancienne*. Leiden: E.J. Brill.
- BERTIN, G.  
1890. "Herodotus on the Magians," *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, pp. 821-22.

- BIANCHI, Ugo  
1977. "L'Inscription 'des daivas' et le zoroastrisme des Achéménides," *Revue de l'histoire des religions* 192: 3-30.
1988. "Dieu créateur et vision universaliste: Le cas de l'empire achéménide," in Philippe Gignoux, ed., *La commémoration. Colloque du centenaire de la section des sciences religieuses de l'école pratique des hautes études* (Louvain: Peeters), pp. 191-200.
- BICHLER, Reinhold  
1985. "Die 'Reichsträume' bei Herodot. Eine Studie zu Herodots schöpferischer Leistung und ihre quellenkritische Konsequenz," *Chiron* 15: 125-47.
- BICKERMAN, E. J. and H. TADMOR  
1978. "Darius I, Pseudo-Smerdis, and the Magi," *Athenaeum* 56: 239-61.
- BIDEZ, Joseph and Franz CUMONT  
1938. *Les mages hellénisés. Zoroastre, Ostanès et Hystaspe d'après la tradition grecque*. Paris: Les Belles Lettres.
- BINDER, Gerhard  
1964. *Die Aussetzung des Königskindes Kyros und Romulus*. Meisenheim am Glan: Anton Hain.
- BITTNER, Stefan  
1985. *Tracht und Bewaffnung des persischen Heeres zur Zeit der Achaimeniden*, 2d ed. Munich: Klaus Friedrich.
- BLOIS, François DE  
1995. "'Place' and 'Throne' in Persian," *Iran* 33: 61-65.
- BOFFO, Laura  
1978. "La lettera di Dario I a Gadata: I privilegi del tempio di Apollo," *Bulletino dell' Istituto di Diritto Romano* 81: 267-303.
- BORECKY, Borivoi  
1965. *Survivals of Some Tribal Ideas in Classical Greek. The Use and the Meaning of λαγχάνω, δατέομαι, and the origin of ἴσον ἔχειν, ἴσον νέμειν, and related idioms*. Prague: Acta Universitatis Carolinae, Philosophica et historica.
- BORGER, Rykle  
1982. "Die Chronologie des Darius-Denkmal am Behistun Felsen," *Nachrichten der Akademie der Wissenschaften des Göttingen, Philosophisch-historisch Klasse*, pp. 105-31.
- BOUCHARLAT, Rémy  
1990. "Suse et la Susiane a l'époque achéménide: Données archéologiques," *Achaemenid History* 4: 149-175.
- 1997a. "Susa under Achaemenid Rule" in: John Curtis (ed.) *Mesopotamia and Iran in the Persian Period: Conquest and Imperialism 559-331 BC* (London: British Museum Press) 54-67.
- 1997b. "Camp royal et residences achéménides," *Topoi*, Supplement 1: 217-28.
- BOUSQUET, Jean  
1975. "Arbinas, fils de Gergis, dynaste de Xanthos," *Comptes rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions & Belles-Lettres*, pp. 138-48.
1992. "Les inscriptions gréco-lyciennes," *Fouilles de Xanthos* 9: 147-99.



BOWMAN, Raymond

1970. *Aramaic Ritual Texts from Persepolis*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

BOYCE, Mary

1975. *A History of Zoroastrianism. Vol. 1: The Early Period*. Leiden: E.J. Brill.  
 1979. *Zoroastrians: Their Religious Beliefs and Practices*. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul.  
 1982. *A History of Zoroastrianism, Vol. 2 Under the Achaemenids*. Leiden: E.J. Brill.  
 1983. "Alborz in Myth and Legend," in *Encyclopaedia Iranica* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul) 1: 811-13.  
 1984. *Textual Sources for the Study of Zoroastrianism* Manchester: Manchester University Press.

BRANDENSTEIN, Wilhelm and Manfred MAYRHOFER

1964. *Handbuch des Altpersischen*. Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz.

BRANNAN, Patrick

1963. "Herodotus and History: The Constitutional Debate preceding Darius' Accession," *Traditio* 19: 427-38.

BREMMER, J. N.

1999. "Paradise: From Persia, via Greece, into the Septuagint," in Gerard Luttikhuisen, ed., *Paradise Interpreted: Representations of Biblical Paradise in Judaism and Christianity* (Leiden: E.J. Brill), pp. 1-20.  
 2008. *Greek Religion and Culture, the Bible, and the Ancient Near East*. Leiden: E.J. Brill.

BRESCIANI, Edda

1981. "La morte di Cambise ovvero dell' empietà punita: A proposito della 'Cronaca Demotica', Verso, col. C. 7-8," *Egitto e Vicino Oriente* 4: 217-22.  
 1985. "The Persian Occupation of Egypt," in Ilya Gershevitch, ed., *Cambridge History of Iran. Vol. 2: The Median and Achaemenian Periods* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press), pp. 502-28.

BRIANT, Pierre

1982. *Rois, tributs, et paysans: Études sur les formations tributaires du Moyen-Orient ancien*. Paris: Les Belles Lettres.  
 1986. "Guerre, tribut, et forces productives dans l'empire achéménide," *Dialogues d'histoire ancienne* 12: 33-48.  
 1988. "Le nomadisme du grand roi," *Iranica Antiqua* 23: 253-73.  
 1989. "Table du roi, tribut et redistribution chez les Achéménides" in Briant and Herrenschildt, eds. *Le tribut dans l'empire Perse* (Paris: Peeters), pp. 35-44.  
 1992. "La date des révoltes babyloniennes contre Xerxès," *Studia Iranica* 21: 7-20.  
 1994. "L'eau du Grand Roi," in Lucio Milano, ed., *Drinking in Ancient Societies* (Padua: Sargon srl), pp. 45-65.

1996. *Histoire de l'empire perse de Cyrus à Alexandre*, 2 vols. Paris: Librairie Arthème Fayard, and Leiden: Nederlands Instituut voor het Nabije Oosten.
2002. *From Cyrus to Alexander. A History of the Persian Empire*, translation by Peter T. Daniels. Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns.
- 2003a. "Histoire et archéologie d'un texte: La lettre de Darius à Gadatas," in Mauro Giorgieri, et al., eds., *Licia e Lidia prima dell'ellenizzazione* (Rome: Istituto di Studi sulle Civiltà dell'Egeo e del Vicino Oriente), pp. 107-44, also available at <http://www.achemenet.com/pdf/souspresse/briant/gadatas.pdf>.
- 2003b. "A propos du roi-jardinier: remarques sur l'histoire d'un dossier documentaire," *Achaemenid History* 13: 33-49.
- BRIANT, Pierre and Clarisse HERRENSCHMIDT, eds.  
1989. *Le tribut dans l'empire Perse*. Paris: Peeters.
- BRINGMANN, Klaus  
1976. "Die Verfassungsdebatte bei Herodot 3,80-82 und Dareios' Aufstieg zur Königsherrschaft," *Hermes* 104: 266-79.
- BRIQUEL, Dominique  
1981. "Sur un passage d'Hérodote: prise de Babylone et prise de Véies," *Bulletin de l'Association Guillaume Budé* 3: 293-306.
- BROADHEAD, H.D., ed.  
1960. *The Persae of Aeschylus*. Cambridge: University Press.
- BROWN, Francis  
1906. *A Hebrew and English Lexicon of the Old Testament* Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- BROWN, Stuart  
1988. "The Mēdikos logos of Herodotus and the Evolution of the Median State," *Achaemenid History* 3: 71-86.
- BROWN, Truesdell S.  
1982. "Herodotus' Portrait of Cambyses," *Historia* 31: 387-403.
- BROWN, W. Norman  
1968. "The Metaphysics of the Truth Act (\*satyakriyā)," in *Mélanges d'Indianisme à la Mémoire de Louis Renou* (Paris: E. de Boccard), pp. 171-77.
1972. "Duty as Truth in Ancient India," *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 116: 252-68.
- BRUNNER, Chr.  
1983. "Arang," *Encyclopaedia Iranica* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul) 2: 262-63.
- BUCCI, Onorato  
1968. "Ricerche intorno al concetto giuridico di popolo in diritto persiano antico. I. Significato di *Kāra* alla luce del processo storico giuridico di ξθνος e δῆμος," *Rivista Italiana per le scienze giuridiche* 12: 333-64.
1972. "Giustizia e legge nel diritto Persiano antico," *Apollinaris* 45: 157-72.
1978. "Il Matrimonio fra consanguinei," *Apollinaris* 51: 291-319.

1983. "L'Impero achemenide come ordinamento giuridico sovranazionale e *arta* come principio ispiratore di uno 'jus commune Persarum' (*dātā*)," in *Modes de contacts et processus de transformation dans les sociétés ancienne* (Pisa: Scuola Normale Superiore), pp. 89-122.
- BUCK, Carl Darling  
1949. *A Dictionary of Selected Synonyms in the Principal Indo-European Languages*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- BURKERT, Walter  
1990. "Herodot als Historiker fremder Religionen," in *Hérodote et les peuples non-Grecs* (Geneva: Fondation Hardt), pp. 1-39.
- BURN, Andrew Robert  
1962. *Persia and the Greeks: The Defense of the West, c. 546-478 B.C.* London: Edward Arnold.
- BURNETT, R.D.  
1957. "Persepolis," *Iraq* 19: 55-77.
- CAHILL, Nicholas  
1985. "The Treasury at Persepolis: Gift-giving at the City of the Persians," *American Journal of Archaeology* 89: 373-89.
- CALAME, Claude  
1986. "Environnement et nature humaine. Le racisme bien tempéré d'Hippocrate," in *Sciences et racisme* (Lausanne: Payot), pp. 75-99.
- CALMEYER, Peter  
1975. "Zur Genese altiranischer Motive. III; Felsgräber," *Archäologische Mitteilungen aus Iran* 8: 99-113.  
1979. "Fortuna—Tyche—Khvarnah," *Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts* 94: 347-65.  
1980. "Textual Sources for the Interpretation of Achaemenian Palace Decorations," *Iran* 18: 55-63.  
1982. "Zur Genese Altiranischer Motive: VIII. Die 'Statistische Landkarte des Perserreiches,' Part I" *Archäologische Mitteilungen aus Iran* 15: 105-87.  
1983. "Zur Genese Altiranischer Motive: VIII. Die 'Statistische Landkarte des Perserreiches,' Part II," *Archäologische Mitteilungen aus Iran* 16: 109-263.  
1985-86. "Dareios in Bagastana und Xerxes in Persepolis: zur parataktischen Komposition achaimenidischer Herrscherdarstellungen," *Visible Religion* 4-5: 76-95.
- CAMERON, George G.  
1948. *Persepolis Treasury Tablets*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.  
1951. "The Old Persian Text of the Bisitun Inscription," *Journal of Cuneiform Studies* 5: 47-54.  
1960. "The Elamite Version of the Bisitun Inscription," *Journal of Cuneiform Studies* 14: 59-68.  
1973. "The Persian Satrapies and Related Matters," *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 32: 47-56.  
1974. "Cyrus the 'Father' and Babylon," *Iranica Antiqua* 1: 45-48.

CAMPANILE, Enrico

1987. Review of *Myth, Cosmos, and Society* in *Bulletin de la Société de Linguistique de Paris* 82: 211-16.

CARPENTIER, Martha

1998. *Ritual, Myth, and the Modernist Text: The Influence of Jane Ellen Harrison on Joyce, Eliot, and Woolf*. Amsterdam: Gordon and Breach.

CARTLEDGE, Paul

1990. "Herodotus and 'The Other': A Meditation on Empire," *Échos du Monde Classique* 34: 27-40.

CATAUDELLA, Michele R.

1987. "La geografia ionica. Erodoto e il Peri Hebdomadon pseudo-ippocratico, cap. 11," *Sileno* 13: 33-57.

CEAUSESCU, Gh.

1991. "Un topos de la littérature antique: l'éternelle guerre entre l'Europe et l'Asie," *Latomus* 50: 327-41.

CERETI, Carlo

2001. *La Letteratura Pahlavi. Introduzione ai testi con riferimenti alla storia degli studi e alla tradizione manoscritta*. Milan: Mimesis.

CHANTRAINE, Pierre

1968. *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue grecque*. Paris: Éditions Klincksieck.

CHRISTENSEN, Arthur

- 1918-34. *Le premier homme et premier roi dans l'histoire légendaire des iraniens*, 2 vols. Uppsala: Appelbergs.

1941. *Essai sur la démonologie iranienne*. Copenhagen: Einar Munksgaard.

1943. *Le premier chapitre du Vendidad et l'histoire primitive des tribus iraniennes*. Copenhagen: Einar Munksgaard.

COLEMAN, J. E. and C. A. WALZ, eds.

1997. *Greeks and Barbarians: Essays on the Interactions between Greeks and non-Greeks in Antiquity and the Consequences for Eurocentrism*. Bethesda, MD: CDL Press.

COLPE, Carsten, ed.

- 1974-82. *Altiranische und zoroastrische Mythologie*. Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta.  
2003. *Iranier-Aramäer-Hebräer-Hellenen. Iranische Religionen und ihre Westbeziehungen*. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck.

COOK, J.M.

1983. *The Persian Empire*. New York: Schocken Books.

COULET, C.

1994. "Boire et manger dans l'Enquête d'Hérodote," *Bulletin de l'Association Guillaume Budé* 41: 56-70.

CRAHAY, Roland

1956. *La littérature oraculaire chez Hérodote*. Liège: Faculté de Philosophie et Lettres de l'Université de Liège.

CRISTOFOLI, Roberto

1999. "La guerra «inedita» e il sogno di Atossa. Note di lettura ai *Persiani* di Eschilo," *Sileno* 25: 253-59.

- DANDAMAEV, Muhammad A.  
 1976. *Persien unter den ersten Achämeniden*, trans. Heinz-Dieter Pohl. Wiesbaden: Ludwig Reichert.  
 1988. "Bagoas," *Encyclopedia Iranica* 4: 418-19  
 1989. *A Political History of the Achaemenid Empire*, trans. W.J. Vogel-sang. Leiden: E.J. Brill.
- DANDAMAEV, Muhammad A. and Vladimir G. LUKONIN  
 1989. *The Culture and Social Institutions of Ancient Iran*, trans. Philip L. Kohl. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- DANIELS, G.C.J.  
 1946. *Religieus-historische studie over Herodotus*. Antwerp: Standaard-Boekhandel.
- DARBO-PESCHANSKI, Cathérine  
 1985. "Les 'Logoi' des autres dans les 'Histoires' d'Hérodote," *Quaderni di Storia* 22: 105-28,  
 1987. *Le Discours du particulier. Essai sur l'enquête hérodotéenne*. Paris: Éditions du Seuil.
- DARMESTETER, James  
 1875. *Haurvatāt et Ameretāt: essai sur la mythologie de l'Avesta*. Paris: A. Franck.  
 1882-87. *The Zend Avesta*, 3 vols. Oxford: Oxford University Press.  
 1892-93. *Le Zend Avesta*, 3 vols. Paris: Annales du Musée Guimet.
- DARROW, William  
 1987. "Zoroaster Amalgamated: Notes on Iranian Prophetology," *History of Religions* 27: 109-32.
- DEMANDT, Alexander  
 1972. "Die Ohren des falschen Smerdis," *Iranica Antiqua* 9: 90-101.
- DESCAT, Raymond  
 1985. "Mnésimachos, Hérodote et le système tributaire achéménide," *Révue des études anciennes* 87: 97-112.
- DEWALD, Carolyn  
 1981. "Women and Culture in Herodotus' Histories," in Hélène P. Foley, *Reflections of Women in Antiquity* (New York: Gordon & Breach), pp. 91-125.  
 2003. "Form and Content: The Question of Tyranny in Herodotus," in Kathryn A. Morgan, ed., *Popular Tyranny: Sovereignty and its Discontents in Ancient Greece* (Austin: University of Texas Press), pp. 25-58.
- DIAKONOFF, Igor M.  
 1956. *Istorija Mideii ot drevnejšikh vremen do kontsa IV v. do n.e.* Moscow: Akademii Nauk.
- DILLER, Hans  
 1961. "Die Hellenen-Barbaren Antithese im Zeitalter der Perserkriege," in *Grecs et barbares* (Geneva: Fondation Hardt), pp. 37-82.
- DILLERY, John  
 2005. "Cambyases and the Egyptian Chaosbeschreibung Tradition," *Classical Quarterly* 55: 387-406.

DOCTOR, Raiomond

2004. *The Avesta: A Lexico-Statistical Analysis*. Leuven and Paris: Peeters.

DORATI, Marco

2000. *Le Storie di Erodoto: etnografia e racconto*. Pisa: Istituti editoriali e poligrafici internazionali.

DREWS, Robert

1973. *The Greek Accounts of Eastern History*. Washington: Center for Hellenic Studies.

DUCHESNE-GUILLEMIN, Jacques

1936. *Composés de l'Avesta*. Paris: E. Droz.

1962a. *La religion de l'Iran ancien*. Paris: Presses universitaires de France.

1962b. "Old Persian *artāca brazmaniy*," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 25: 336-37.

1967. "Religion et politique, de Cyrus à Xerxès," *Persica* 3: 1-9.

1970a. "Reflections on 'yaožda-', with a Digression on x'aētvadaθa," in Jaan Puhvel, ed. *Myth and Law among the Indo-Europeans* (Berkeley: University of California Press), pp. 203-10.

1970b. "Old Persian *yāumaniš*," in Mary Boyce and Ilya Gershevitch, eds., *W.B. Henning Memorial Volume* (London: Lund Humphries), pp. 140-42.

1972. "La religion des Achéménides," in Gerold Walser, ed., *Beiträge zur Achämenidengeschichte* (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag), pp. 59-82.

1975. "Encore vieux-perse *yāumaniš*," in *Mélanges linguistiques offerts à Émile Benveniste* (Louvain: Peeters), pp. 137-40.

1979. "La royauté iranienne et le x'*arənah*," in Gherardo Gnoli, ed., *Iranica* (Naples: Istituto per lo Studio del Medio ed Estremo Oriente), pp. 375-86.

DUMÉZIL, Georges

1924. *Le festin d'immortalité: Étude de mythologie comparée indo-européenne*. Paris: Librairie Orientaliste Paul Geuthner.

1929. *Le problème des centaures: Étude de mythologie comparée indo-européenne*. Paris: Librairie Orientaliste Paul Geuthner.

1943. *Servius et la fortune*. Paris: Gallimard.

1948. "À propos de latin *ius*," *Revue de l'histoire des religions* 134: 95-99.

1948b. *Mitra-Varuna. Essai sur deux représentations indo-européennes de la souveraineté*. Paris: Gallimard.

1961. "Les «trois fonctions» dans le Rg Veda et les dieux indiens de Mitani," *Bulletin de l'Académie Royal de Belgique* 47: 265-98.

1973. *Mythes et épopée: 3. Histoires romaines*. Paris: Gallimard.

ELFENBEIN, Josef

2002-3. "The Oldest Detective Story in World History," *Orientalia Suecana* 51/52: 103-16.

ENGNELL, Ivan

1943. *Studies in Divine Kingship in the Ancient Near East*. Uppsala: Almqvist & Wiksells.

- ERDMANN, Kurt  
1960. "Persepolis – Daten und Deutungen," *Mitteilungen der Deutschen Orient Gesellschaft* 92: 21-47.
- EVANS, J.A.S.  
1961. "The Dream of Xerxes and the Nomoi of the Persians," *Classical Journal* 57: 109-111.  
1965. "Despotes Nomos," *Athenaeum* 43: 142-53.  
1981. "Notes on the Debate of the Persian Grandees in Herodotus 3, 80-82," *Quaderni Urbinati di Cultura Classica* 7: 79-84.
- FARBER, Walter  
1990. "mannam lušpur ana Enkidu: Some New Thoughts about an Old Motif," *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 49: 299-321.
- FAUTH, Wolfgang  
1979. "Der königliche Gärtner und Jäger im Paradeisos: Beobachtungen zur Rolle des Herrschers in der vorderasiatischen Hortikultur," *Persica* 8: 1-53.
- FEHLING, Detlev  
1971. *Die Quellenangaben bei Herodot.* Berlin: de Gruyter.
- FEIST, Sigmund  
1939. *Vergleichendes Wörterbuch der Gotischen Sprache.* Leiden: E.J. Brill.
- FENNELLY, James  
1980. "The Persepolis Ritual," *Biblical Archeology* 43: 135-62.
- FERRILL, A.  
1966. "Herodotus on Tyranny," *Historia* 27: 385-98.
- FORSDYKE, Sara  
2001. "Athenian Democratic Ideology and Herodotus' 'Histories,'" *American Journal of Philology* 122: 329-58.
- FORSSMAN, Bernard  
1968. "Apaoša, der Gegner des Tištria," *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung* 82: 37-61.
- FRACHTENBERG, Leo J.  
1908. "Etymological Studies in Ormazdian and Ahrimanian words in Avestan," in Jivanji Jamsedji Modi, ed., *Spiegel Memorial Volume* (Byculla: British India Press), pp. 269-89.
- FRAENKEL, Ernst  
1953. "Zu den baltischen Ausdrücken für 'Krieg' und 'Heer' und ihren Entsprechung in anderen indoeuropäischen Sprachen," *Lingua Posnaniensis* 4: 85-97.
- FRANKFORT, Henri, et al.  
1946. *The Intellectual Adventure of Ancient Man.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- FRANKFORT, Henri  
1948. *Kingship and the Gods: A Study of Ancient Near Eastern Religion as the Integration of Society & Nature.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- FRASER, Robert, ed.  
1991. *Sir James Frazer and the Literary Imagination: Essays in Affinity and Influence.* New York: St. Martin's Press.

- FREI, Peter, and Klaus KOCH  
 1984. *Reichsidee und Reichsorganisation im Perserreich*. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.
- FRIEDRICH, Wolf-Hartmut  
 1998. "Die Platane des Großkönigs (Herodot 7,31)," in W.-H. Friedrich, *Gegenwärtige Vergangenheit. Studien zur antiken Literatur und ihrem Nachleben* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht), pp. 139-45.
- FRISCH, Peter  
 1968. *Die Träume bei Herodot*. Meisenheim am Glan: A. Hain.
- FRISK, Hjalmar  
 1936. *Wahrheit und Lüge in den indogermanischen Sprachen: Einige morphologische Beobachtungen*. Göteborg: Elander.
1973. *Griechisches etymologisches Wörterbuch*. Heidelberg: Carl Winter Universitätsverlag.
- FRITZ, Kurt von  
 1965. "Die griechische ἐλευθερία bei Herodot," *Wiener Studien* 78: 5-31.
- FRYE, Richard N.  
 1963. *The Heritage of Persia*. Cleveland: World Publishing Co.
1964. "The Charisma of Kingship in Ancient Iran," *Iranica Antiqua* 4: 36-54.
- GADD, C.G.  
 1948. *Idea of Divine Rule in the Ancient East*. London: Oxford University Press.
- GALL, Hubertus von  
 1989. "Das achämenidische Königsgrab. Neue Überlegungen und Beobachtungen," in L. de Meyer and E. Haerinck, eds., *Archeologia Iranica et Orientalis. Miscellanea in honorem Louis van den Berghe* (Ghent: Peeters), pp. 503-23.
- GAMKRELIDZE, Thomas V. and Vjačeslav V. IVANOV  
 1995. *Indo-European and the Indo-Europeans. A Reconstruction and Historical Analysis of a Proto-Language and a Proto-Culture*, trans. Johanna Nichols; ed., Werner Winter. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- GAMMIE, John  
 1986. "Herodotus on Kings and Tyrants: Objective Historiography or Conventional Portraiture?," *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 45: 171-95.
- GANTZ, Timothy  
 1993. *Early Greek Myth: A guide to Literary and Artistic Sources*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.
- GÄRTNER, H.A.  
 1983. "Les rêves de Xerxès à Artaban chez Hérodote," *Ktema* 8: 11-18.
- GASTER, Theodore  
 1961. *Thespis: Ritual, Myth, and Drama in the Ancient Near East*. Garden City, NY: Doubleday.
1969. *Myth, Legend, and Custom in the Old Testament: A Comparative Study, with Chapters from Sir James George Frazer's Folklore in the Old Testament*. New York: Harper and Row.



- GAUER, Werner  
1995. "Europa und Asien: Die Entdeckung der Kontinente und die Einheit der alten Welt," *Saeculum* 46: 204-15.
- GEIGER, Bernhard  
1916. *Die Amāša Spāntas: Ihr Wesen und ihre ursprüngliche Bedeutung*. Vienna: Alfred Hölder.  
1934. "Rta und Verwandtes," *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlande* 41: 107-26.
- GELDNER, Karl Friedrich  
1884. *Drei Yasht aus dem Zendavesta*. Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer.
- GEORGES, Pericles  
1994. *Barbarian Asia and the Greek Experience: From the Archaic Period to the Age of Xenophon*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.
- GERSHEVITCH, Ilya  
1959. *The Avestan Hymn to Mithra*. Cambridge: University Press.  
1983. "Extrapolation of Old Persian from Elamite," in Heidmarie Koch and D.S. MacKenzie, eds., *Kunst, Kultur und Geschichte der Achämenidenzeit und ihr Fortleben* (Berlin: Dietrich Reimer): 51-56.  
1979. "The False Smerdis," *Acta Antiqua Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 27: 337-52.
- GHIRON-BISTAGNE, Paulette  
1992/3. "À propos du «vase des Perses» au Musée de Naples: une nouvelle interpretation?," *Cahiers du groupe interdisciplinaire du théâtre antique* 7: 145-58.
- GHIRSHMAN, Roland  
1957. "Notes iraniennes VII: à propos de Persépolis," *Artibus Asiae* 20: 265-78.
- GIGANTE, Marcello  
1993. *Nomos Basileus, con un'appendice*. Naples: Bibliopolis.
- GIGNOUX, Philippe  
1991. "Thought, Word and Deed: A Topic of Comparative Religion," in *K.R. Cama Oriental Institute International Congress Proceedings* (Bombay: K.R. Cama Oriental Institute.), pp. 41-51.  
2001a. *Man and Cosmos in Ancient Iran*. Rome: Istituto Italiano per l'Africa e l'Oriente.  
2001b. "Les bases de la philosophie mazdéenne," *Compte rendus de l'Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres* (Jan.-Mar.), pp. 117-29.
- GILLIS, Daniel  
1979. *Collaboration with the Persians*. Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner.
- GNOLI, Gherardo  
1964. "Considerazioni sulla religione degli Achemenidi alla luce di una recente teoria," *Studi e Materiali di Storia delle Religioni* 35: 239-50.  
1967. *Ricerche storiche sul Sistān antico*. Rome: Istituto per il Medio e Estremo Oriente.

1972. "Note su xšāyaθiya e xšaça," in Jan Bergman, et al, eds., *Ex orbe religionum: Studia Geo Widengren oblata* (Leiden: E.J. Brill), pp. 88-97.
- 1974a. "Politique religieuse et conception de la royauté sous les Achéménides," in *Commémoration Cyrus: Hommage Universel* (Leiden: E.J. Brill), pp. 117-90.
- 1974b. "Arang e Wehrōd, rāy e xwarrah," in Ph. Gignoux and A. Tafazoli, eds., *Mémorial Jean de Menasce* (Louvain: Imprimerie orientale), pp. 77-81.
1981. "Antico-Persiano Anušya- e gli immortali di Erodoto," *Monumentum Georg Morgenstierne I* (Leiden: E.J. Brill), pp. 266-80.
1982. "Le fravashi e l'immortalità," in G. Gnoli and J.-P. Vernant, eds., *La mort, les morts dans les sociétés anciennes* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press), pp. 339-47.
1983. "Le dieu des Arya," *Studia Iranica* 12: 7-22.
1984. "Note sullo x'arānah," *Acta Iranica* 23: 207-18.
1985. "La religion des Achéménides," in *De Zoroastre à Mani. Quatre leçons au Collège de France* (Paris: Travaux de l'Institut d'études iraniennes de l'Université de la Sorbonne Nouvelle), pp. 53-72.
1989. *The Idea of Iran: An Essay on its Origin*. Rome: Serie Orientale.
1993. *Iran als religiöser Begriff im Mazdaismus*. Opladen: Westdeutscher Verlag.
2005. "Ancora su antico-persiano xšaça," in Michaele Bernardini and Natalia L. Tornesello, eds., *Scritti in onore di Giovanni M. D'Erme* (Naples: Università degli Studi di Napoli, L'Orientale), pp. 557-82.
2007. "Old Persian xšaça-, Middle Persian šahr, Greek ἔθνος," in Maria Macuch, et al., eds., *Iranian Languages and Texts from Iran and Turan: Ronald E. Emmerick Memorial Volume* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz), pp. 109-18.
- GOETZ, Hermann
1974. "Die Herkunft der 'Frau Welt,'" in Manfred Mayrhofer, Wolfgang Meid, Bernfried Schlerath, and Rüdiger Schmitt, eds., *Antiquitates Indogermanicae. Studien zur indogermanischen Altertumskunde und zur Sprach- und Kulturgeschichte der indogermanischen Völker. Gedenkschrift für Hermann Güntert* (Innsbruck: Innsbrucker Beiträge zur Sprachwissenschaft), pp. 145-46.
- GOLDHILL, Simon
1988. "Battle Narrative and Politics in Aeschylus' *Persae*," *Journal of Hellenic Studies* 108: 189-93.
- GOLDMAN, Bernard
1974. "Political Realia on Persepolitan Sculpture," *Orientalia Lovanien-sia* 5: 31-45.
- GONDA, Jan
1960. *Die Religionen Indiens. I: Veda und älterer Hinduismus*. Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer.
- GRASSL, Anton
1903. *Herodot als Ethnologe. Eine Beitrag zur Geschichte der Völkerkunde*. Munich: Dissertation, Universität München.

- GRASSMANN, Hermann  
 1964. *Wörterbuch zum Rig-Veda*. Leipzig: F.A. Brockhaus, 1873; 4th ed., Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz.
- GRAY, Louis H.  
 1927. "The 'Ahurian' and 'Daevian' Vocabularies in the Avesta," *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, pp. 427-41.  
 1930. *The Foundations of the Iranian Religions*. Bombay: D.B. Taraporevala.
- GRAY, Vivienne  
 1995. "Herodotus and the Rhetoric of Otherness," *American Journal of Philology* 116: 185-212.
- GRAZIANI, Simonetta  
 1991. *Testi editi ed inediti datati al regno di Bardiya*. Napoli: Istituto Universitario Orientale.
- GREEN, Peter  
 1996. *The Greco-Persian Wars*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- GRILLOT-SUSINI, Françoise  
 1990. "Les textes de fondation du palais de Suse," *Journal Asiatique* 278: 213-22.
- GSCHNITZER, Fritz  
 1977. *Die sieben Perser und das Königtum des Dareios. Ein Beitrag zur Achaimenidengeschichte und zur Herodotanalyse*. Heidelberg: Carl Winter Universitätsverlag.
- GÜNTERT, Hermann  
 1914. *Über die ahurischen und daëvischen Ausdrücke im Awesta*. Heidelberg: Sitzungsberichte der Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften.  
 1919. *Kalypso*. Halle: Max Niemeyer.  
 1928. *Kundry*. Heidelberg: Carl Winter.
- HACHMANN, Rolf  
 1995. "Die Völkerschaften auf den Bildwerken von Persepolis," in U. Finkbeiner, R. Dittmann, and H. Hauptmann, eds., *Beiträge zur Kulturgeschichte Vorderasiens. Festschrift für Michael Boehmer* (Mainz: Philipp von Zabern), pp. 195-223.
- HALE, Wash Edward  
 1986. *Āsura- in Early Vedic Religion*. Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass.
- HALL, Edith  
 1989. *Inventing the Barbarian: Greek Self-Definition through Tragedy*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.  
 1996. ed. and trans. *Aeschylus, Persians*. Warminster, Eng.: Aris & Phillips.
- HALL, Jonathan  
 1997. *Ethnic Identity in Greek Antiquity*. Cambridge: University Press.
- Hallock, R.T.  
 1960. "The 'One Year' of Darius I," *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 19: 36-39.  
 1969. *Persepolis Fortification Tablets*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

HÄMPEL, Jürgen

- 1974-82. "Däityā," in Carsten Colpe, ed., *Altiranische und Zoroastrische Mythologie* (Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta Verlag), pp. 323-24.

HARMATTA, J.

1955. "Elamica II," *Acta Linguistica Hungarica* 5: 285-91.  
1976. "Darius' expedition against the Sakā tigraxaudā," *Acta Antiqua Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 24: 15-24.

HARRISON, Jane Ellen

1912. *Themis: A Study of the Social Origins of Greek Religion*. Cambridge: University Press.  
1922. *Prolegomena to the Study of Greek Religion*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

HARRISON, Thomas

1998. "Aeschylus, Atossa and Athens," *Electrum* 2: 69-86.  
2000a. *Divinity and History: The Religion of Herodotus*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.  
2000b. *The Emptiness of Asia: Aeschylus' Persians and the History of the Fifth Century*. London: Duckworth.  
2002. ed., *Greeks and Barbarians*. New York: Routledge.

HARTMAN, Sven

1953. *Gayōmart. Étude de syncretisme dans l'ancien Iran*. Uppsala: Almqvist & Wiksells.

HARTNER, Willy and Richard ETTINGHAUSEN

1964. "The Conquering Lion – The Life Cycle of a Symbol," *Oriens* 17: 161-71.

HARTOG, François

1980. *Le miroir d'Hérodote*. Paris: Gallimard.  
1988. *The mirror of Herodotus: the Representation of the Other in the Writing of History*. Berkeley: University of California Press.  
1996. "Fondements grecs de l'idée d'Europe," *Quaderni di Storia* 22: 5-17.

HASENFRATZ, Hans-Peter

1983. "Iran: Antagonismus als Universalprinzip," *Saeculum* 34: 235-47.

HEGYI, Dolores

1973. "Historical Authenticity of Herodotus in the Persian Logoi," *Acta Antiqua Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 21: 73-87.  
1977-78. "Der Begriff βάβραπος bei Herodotos," *Annales Universitatis Budapestinensis de Rolando Eötvös nominatae, sect. Classica* 5-6: 53-59.

HELM, Peyton R.

1983. "Herodotus' Mēdikos Logos and Median History," *Iran* 19: 85-90.

HENDRIKSEN, Hans

1948. "On the Meaning of Skr. *bhavati*," *Acta Orientalia* 20: 206-15.

HENNING, W.B.

1932. "Ein manichäischer kosmogonischer Hymnus," *Nachrichten von der Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen, Philologisch-Historische Klasse*, pp. 214-28.

1944. "Brahman," *Transactions of the Philological Society*, pp. 108-18.
1946. "The Sogdian Texts of Paris," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 11: 713-40.
1958. *Handbuch der Orientalistik, Band 4: Iranistik – Linguistik*. Leiden: E.J. Brill.
- HERRENSCHMIDT, Clarisse
1976. "Désignation de l'empire et concepts politiques de Darius 1<sup>er</sup> d'après ses inscriptions en vieux perse," *Studia Iranica* 5: 33-65.
1977. "Les créations d'Ahuramazda," *Studia Iranica* 6: 17-58.
- 1979a. "La Perse, rien que la Perse: Essai sur la royauté d'Ariyaramnès et d'Aršamès," in Philippe Gignoux, ed., *Pad Nām ī Yazdān* (Paris: Institut d'études iraniennes), pp. 5-21.
- 1979b. "La première royauté de Darius avant l'invention de la notion d'Empire," in Philippe Gignoux, ed., *Pad Nām ī Yazdān* (Paris: Institut d'études iraniennes), pp. 23-33.
1980. "La religion des Achéménides: État de la question," *Studia Iranica* 9: 325-39.
1982. "Les historiens de l'empire achéménide et l'inscription de Bisotun," *Annales ESC* 37: 813-23.
1983. "Sur la charte de fondation DSaa," *Revue d'Assyriologie* 2: 177-79.
1985. "Une lecture iranisante du poème de Symmachos dédié à Arbinas, dynaste de Xanthos," *Revue des études anciennes* 87: 125-36.
- 1987a. "Aspects universalistes de la religion et de l'idéologie de Darius I<sup>er</sup>," in G. Gnoli and L. Lanciotti, eds., *Orientalia Iosephi Tucci Memoriae Dicata* (Rome: Istituto Italiano per il Medio ed Estremo Oriente), pp. 617-25.
- 1987b. "Manipulations religieuses de Darius I<sup>er</sup>," in Marie-Madeleine Macfoux, ed., *Mélanges Pierre Lévêque* (Paris: Les Belles Lettres), pp. 195-207.
1989. "Le tribut dans les inscriptions en vieux-perse et dans les tablettes élamites," in Briant and Herrenschmidt, *Le tribut dans l'empire Perse* (Paris: Peeters), pp. 107-20.
1990. "Nugae Antico-Persianae," *Achaemenid History* 4: 37-61.
1991. "Vieux-perse *šiyāti*," in Jean Kellens, ed., *La religion iranienne à l'époque Achéménide* (Gent: Iranica Antiqua, Supplément 5), pp. 13-21.
- 1993a. "Notes de Vieux Perse III," *Indo-Iranian Journal* 36: 45-50.
- 1993b. "*viθā(m) patiy, aggareion*," *DATA: Achaemenid History Newsletter*, p. 4.
1994. "Les *xwētōdas*, ou mariages 'incestueux' en Iran ancien," in Pierre Bonte, ed., *Épouser au plus proche. Inceste, prohibitions et stratégies matrimoniales autour de la Méditerranée* (Paris: Editions de l'Ecole des hautes études en sciences sociales), pp. 113-25.
1996. "Entre Perses et Grecs, I. Démocrite et le mazdéisme. Religion, philosophie, science," *Transeuphratène* 11: 115-43.
2000. "Le rire de Zarathustra l'iranien" in Marie-Laurence Desclos, ed., *Le rire des Grecs: anthropologie du rire en Grèce ancienne* (Grenoble: J. Millon), pp. 497-511.

2002. "Le moi mazdéen et les âmes," *Iranian Journal of Anthropology* 1: 19-31.
- HERRMANN, Gottfried  
1978. "Zu altpersisch *uv'mršiyuš 'mriy'*," *Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 128: 98-99.
- HERZFELD, Ernst  
1935-37. "Der Tod des Kambyzes: *hvāmršyūš amryatā*," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies* 8: 589-97.  
1936. "Die Religion der Achaemeniden," *Revue de l'histoire des religions* 113: 21-41.  
1938. *Altpersische Inschriften*. Berlin: Dietrich Reimer.  
1941. *Iran in the Ancient East*. London: Oxford University Press.
- HEUBNER, F.  
1985. "Studien zum Barbarenbegriff bei Herodot," in Ernst Kluwe, ed., *Kultur und Fortschritt in der Blütezeit der griechischen Polis* (Berlin: Akademie Verlag), pp. 91-108.
- HINTZE, Almut  
1994. *Der Zamyād-Yašt*. Wiesbaden: Ludwig Reichert.
- HINZ, Walther  
1967. "Elams Vertrag mit Naram-Sin von Akkade," *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie* 58 (1967): 66-96.  
1969a. *Altiranische Funde und Forschungen*. Berlin: de Gruyter.  
1969b. "Persisches im 'Parzival,'" *Archaeologische Mitteilungen aus Iran* 2: 177-81.  
1973. *Neue Wege im Altpersischen*. Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz.  
1976. *Darius und die Perser: Eine Kulturgeschichte der Achämeniden*. Baden-Baden: Holle Verlag.
- HINZ, Walther and Hildemarie KOCH  
1987. *Elamisches Wörterbuch*. Berlin: Dietrich Reimer.
- HIRSCH, Steven  
1985. *The Friendship of the Barbarians: Xenophon and the Persian Empire*. Hanover and London: University Press of New England.  
1986. "Cyrus' Parable of the Fish: Sea Power in the Early Relations of Grece and Persia," *Classical Journal* 81: 222-29.
- HOANG-SON, Hoang-sy-Quy  
1969. "Le mythe indien de l'homme cosmique dans son contexte culturel et dans son evolution," *Revue de l'histoire des religions* 175: 133-54.
- HOFMANN, Inge and Anton VORBIHLER  
1980. "Der Kambyzesbild bei Herodot," *Archiv für Orientforschung* 27: 86-105.
- HOFFMANN, Karl  
1957. "Mārtānda und Gayomart," *Münchener Studien zu Sprachwissenschaft* 11: 85-103.  
1955. "Altpersisch '*afuvāyā*' (DNb 38)," in Hans Krahe, ed., *Corolla Linguistica: Ferdinand Sommer zum 80. Geburtstag Ferdinand Sommer* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz), pp. 80-85.

- HOFFMANN, Karl and Johanna NARTEN  
 1989. *Der Sasanidische Archetypus. Untersuchung zu Schreibung und Lautgestalt des Avestischen* (Wiesbaden: Reichert, 1989).
- HOGLUND, Kenneth  
 1992. *Achaemenid Imperial Administration in Syria-Palestine and the Missions of Ezra and Nehemiah*. Atlanta: Scholars' Press.
- HOHTI, Paavo  
 1976. "Die Schuldfrage der Perserkriege in Herodots Geschichtswerk," *Arctos* 10: 37-48.
- HOOKE, S.H.  
 1933. ed. *Myth and Ritual: Essays on the Myth and Ritual of the Hebrews in relation to the Culture Pattern of the Ancient East*. London: Oxford University Press.  
 1935. ed. *The Labyrinth: Further Studies in the Relation between Myth and Ritual in the Ancient World*. London: Society for promoting Christian Knowledge.  
 1958. ed. *Myth, Ritual, and Kingship: Essays on the Theory and Practice of Kingship in the Ancient Near East and in Israel*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- HOROWITZ, Wayne  
 1998. *Mesopotamian Cosmic Geography*. Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbraun.
- HORSFALL, N.M.  
 1974. "Aeschylus and the Strymon," *Hermes* 102: 503-5.
- HORST, Pieter Willem van der  
 1988. "The Unknown God (Acts 17:23)," in R. van den Broek, T. Baarda, and J. Mansfeld, eds., *Knowledge of God in the Graeco-Roman World* (Leiden: E.J. Brill), pp. 19-42.
- HOW, W.W., and J. WELLS  
 1928. *A Commentary on Herodotus*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- HÜBNER, Alfred  
 1944. "Zum Tod des Kambyses," *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung* 68: 57.
- HUMBACH, Helmut  
 1957. "Zur altiranische Mythologie," *Zeitschrift der deutsche morgen-lanischen Gesellschaft* 107: 366-67.  
 1960. "Die Awestische Länderliste," *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde Süd- und Ostasiens* 4: 36-46.  
 1961a. "Bestattungsformen im Vidēvdāt," *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung* 77: 99-105.  
 1961b. "Textkritische und sprachliche Bemerkungen zum Nirangistān," *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung* 77: 106-11.  
 1974. "Des Dareios Spass mit den griechischen Barbaren," in Udo Reinhardt and Klaus Sallmann, eds., *Musa locosa. Arbeiten über Humor und Witz, Komik und Komödie der Antike. Andreas Thierfelder zum Siebzigsten Geburtstag* (Hildesheim: Georg Olms), pp. 26-28.
- HUMBACH, Helmut and Pallan R. ICHAPORIA  
 1996. *Zamyād Yasht. Yasht 19 of the Younger Avesta. Text, Translation, Commentary*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.

- HUMPHREYS, Sally  
1987. "Law, Custom and Culture in Herodotus," *Arethusa* 20: 211-21.
- HUNZINGER, Christine  
1995. "La notion de θαῦμα chez Hérodote," *Ktema* 20: 47-70.
- IMANPOUR, Mohammad T.  
2006. "The Function of Persepolis: Was Norooz celebrated at Persepolis during the Achaemenid Period?," in Antonio Panaino and Andrea Piras, eds. *Proceedings of the 5th Conference of the Societas Iranologica Europaea* (Milan: Mimesis), pp. 115-21.
- INSLER, Stanley  
1975. *The Gāthas of Zarathustra*. Leiden: E.J. Brill.
- ISAAC, Benjamin  
2004. *The Invention of Racism in Classical Antiquity*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- ITŌ, Gikyō  
1971. "Gāthica VIII. Xerxes' Gatehouse 'of All-Countries' at Persepolis," *Orient* 7: 1-7.  
1981. "On Old Persian 'RT'Č' BRZMNIY," *Studia Iranica* 10: 323-24.
- IVANTCHIK, Askold I.  
2006. "'Scythian' Archers on Archaic Attic Vases: Problems of Interpretation," *Ancient Civilizations from Scythia to Siberia* 12: 197-271.
- JACOBS, Bruno  
1982. "Persepolisdelegationen und Satrapienordnung," *Acta Praehistorica et Archaeologica* 13-14: 75-84.  
1987. "Das Chvarnah – Zum Stand der Forschung," *Mitteilungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft zu Berlin* 119: 215-48.  
1991. "Der Sonnengott im Pantheon der Achämeniden," in Jean Kelens, ed., *La religion iranienne à l'époque Achéménide* (Ghent: Iranica Antiqua), pp. 49-80.  
1997. "Eine Planänderung an den Apadāna-Treppen und ihre Konsequenzen für die Datierung der Planungs- und Bebauungsphasen von Persepolis," *Archäologische Mitteilungen aus Iran und Turan* 29: 281-87.
- JACOBSEN, Thorkild  
1976. *The Treasures of Darkness: A History of Mesopotamian Religion*. New Haven: Yale University Press.
- JACOBSTHAL, Paul  
1927. *Ornamente griechischer Vasen*. Berlin: Frankfurter Verlag.
- JACOBY, Felix  
1923. *Die Fragmente der Griechischen Historiker*. Berlin: Weidmann.
- JACKSON, A.V. Williams  
1928. *Zoroastrian Studies*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- JACKSON, W.T.H.  
1982. *The Hero and the King: An Epic Theme*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- JAMZĀDEH, Parivash  
1982. "The Winged Ring with Human Bust in Achaemenid Art as a Dynastic Symbol," *Iranica Antiqua* 17: 91-99.



1992. "The Apadāna Reliefs and the Metaphor of Conquest," *Iranica Antiqua* 27: 125-47.
- JACOB, Christian  
1991. *Géographie et ethnographie en Grèce ancien*. Paris: A. Colin.
- JOCHMUS, Lieutenant-General A.  
1854. "Notes on a Journey into the Balkan, or Mount Hæmus, in 1847," *Journal of the Royal Geographic Society* 24: 36-86.
- JONES, C.P.  
1996. "ἔθνος and γένος in Herodotus," *Classical Quarterly* 46: 315-20.
- JONG, Albert de  
1997. *Traditions of the Magi. Zoroastrianism in Greek and Latin Literature*. Leiden: E.J. Brill.
2005. "Eeuwig, ongeschapen, maar zonder 'bestaan': de Boze Geest en zijn werkelijkheid in het zoroastrisme," in Rob Wiche, ed., *Des Duivels. Het kwaad in religieuze en spirituele tradities* (Leuven: Acco), pp. 51-64.
- JOUANNA, J.  
1981. "Les causes de la défaite des barbares chez Eschyle, Hérodote, et Hippocrate," *Ktema* 6: 3-15.
2001. "A l'origine de l'origine des peuples," in Valérie Fromentin and Sophie Gotteland, eds., *Origines Gentium* (Bordeaux: Ausonius), pp. 21-39.
- JUNKER, Heinrich  
1923. "Frau Welt in Iran," *Zeitschrift für Indologie und Iranistik* 2: 237-46.
- KAZAZIS, John N.  
1978. *Herodotus' Stories and History: A Propopian Analysis of his Narrative Techniques*. Champaign-Urbana: University of Illinois Dissertation.
- KELLENS, Jean  
1969. "Sur un parallèle inverse à l'inscription des 'daiva'," *Studi e Materiali di Storia delle Religioni* 40: 209-13.
1974. *Les noms-racines de l'Avesta*. Wiesbaden: Ludwig Reichert.
1976. "Trois réflexions sur la religion des Achéménides," *Studien zur Indologie und Iranistik* 2: 113-32.
1983. "Die Religion der Achämeniden," *Altorientalische Forschungen* 10: 107-23.
1987. "DB V: un témoignage sur l'évolution de l'idéologie achéménide," in G. Gnoli and L. Lanciotti, eds., *Orientalia Iosephi Tucci Memoriae Dicata* (Rome: Istituto Italiano per il Medio ed Estremo Oriente), pp. 677-82.
1989. "Ahura Mazda n'est pas un dieu créateur," in C.-H. de Fouchécour and Ph. Gignoux, eds., *Études irano-aryennes offertes à Gilbert Lazard* (Paris: Association pour l'avancement des études iraniennes), pp. 217-28.
- 1991a. ed. *La religion iranienne à l'époque achéménide*. Gent: Iranica Antiqua.

- 1991b. "Questions préalables," in Jean Kellens, ed., *La religion iranienne à l'époque achéménide* (Gent: Iranica Antiqua), pp. 81-86.
- 1991c. "Remarques sur l'opposition de nombre en vieil-avestique," in Ronald E. Emmerick and Dieter Weber, eds., *Corolla Iranica. Papers in honour of Prof. Dr. David Neil MacKenzie* (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang), pp. 101-8.
1995. "L'âme entre le cadavre et le paradis," *Journal asiatique* 283: 19-56.
1997. "Les Achéménides dans le contexte indo-iranien," *Topoi* Supplement 1: 287-97.
2000. *Essays on Zarathustra and Zoroastrianism*, trans. P.O. Skjærvø. Costa Mesa, CA: Mazda Publishers.
2002. "L'idéologie religieuse des inscriptions achéménides," *Journal asiatique* 290: 417-64.
2007. "Quand Darius parle à Darius," in Maria Macuch, et al., eds., *Iranian Languages and Texts from Iran and Turan. Ronald E. Emmerick Memorial Volume* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz), pp. 143-46.
2008. "Les cosmogonies iraniennes entre héritage et innovation, in Brigitte Huber, Marianne Volkart, and Paul Widmer, eds., *Chomolangma, Demawend und Kasbek. Festschrift für Roland Bielmeier* (Halle: International Institute for Tibetan and Buddhist Studies), pp. 681-87.
- KELLENS, Jean and ÉRIC PIRART  
1988-91. *Les textes vieil-avestiques*. Wiesbaden: Ludwig Reichert.
- KELLY, Thomas  
1970. "The Traditional Enmity between Sparta and Argos: The Birth and Development of a Myth," *American History Review* 75: 971-1003.
1974. "Argive Foreign Policy in the Fifth Century B.C.," *Classical Philology* 69: 81-99.
- KENT, Roland G.  
1934. "More Old Persian Inscriptions," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 54: 34-52.
- 1945a. "Old Persian Texts VI. Darius' Naqš-i-Rustam B Inscription," *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 4 (1945): 39-52.
- 1945b. "Old Persian *artāčā brazmaniya*," *Language* 21: 223-30.
1953. *Old Persian: Grammar, Texts, Lexicon*, 2d ed. New Haven: American Oriental Society.
- KIENAST, Burkhard  
1979. "Zur Herkunft der Achämenidischen Königstitulatur," in Ulrich Haarmann and Peter Bachmann, eds., *Die Islamische Welt zwischen Mittelalter und Neuzeit: Festschrift für Hans Robert Roemer zum 65. Geburtstag* (Beirut: Franz Steiner), pp. 351-59.
- KIRK, G.S., J.E. Raven, and M. SCHOFIELD  
1983. *The Presocratic Philosophers*, 2d ed. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- KLEIN, Ernest  
1987. *A Comprehensive Etymological Dictionary of the Hebrew Language* (New York: Macmillan).

KOCH, Heidemarie

1977. *Die religiöse Verhältnisse der Dareioszeit*. Göttingen: Göttinger Orientforschungen.  
 1980. "Steuern in der achämenidischen Persis," *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie* 70: 105-37.  
 1987. "Götter und ihre Verehrung im achämenidischen Persien," *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie* 77: 239-78.  
 1992. *Es kündigt Dareios der König... Vom Leben im persischen Großreich*. Mainz: Philipp von Zabern.  
 1993. *Achämeniden-Studien*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.  
 2002. "Iranische Religion im achämenidischen Zeitalter," in Reinhard G. Kratz, ed., *Religion und Religionskontakte im Zeitalter der Achämeniden* (Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlagshaus), pp. 11-26.

KOCH, Klaus

1983. "Die Völkerrepresentanten auf den Reliefs von Persepolis und den achämenidischen Gräbern," *Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenlandischen Gesellschaft* Supplement 5: 290-300.

KONSTAN, David

2001. "To Hellēnikon ethnos: Ethnicity and the Construction of Ancient Greek Identity," in Irad Malkin, ed., *Ancient Perceptions of Greek Ethnicity* (Washington: Center for Hellenic Studies), pp. 29-50.

KOTWAL, Firoze M. and James W. BOYD

1991. *A Persian Offering: The Yasna, A Zoroastrian High Liturgy*. Paris: Association pour l'avancement des études iraniennes.

KRAMER, Samuel Noah

1969. *The Sacred Marriage Rite: Aspects of Faith, Myth, and Ritual in Ancient Sumer*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

KRATZ, Reinhard G., ed.,

2002. *Religion und Religionskontakte im Zeitalter der Achämeniden*. Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlagshaus.

KREYENBROEK, G.

1985. *Sraoša in the Zoroastrian Tradition*. Leiden: E.J. Brill.

KUHRT, Amelie

1983. "The Cyrus Cylinder and Achaemenid Imperial Policy," *Journal for the Study of the Old Testament* 25: 83-97.  
 1984. "The Achaemenid concept of Kingship," *Iran* 22: 156-60.  
 1988. "Earth and Water," *Achaemenid History* 3: 87-99.

KUIPER, F.B.J.

1997. *Selected Writings on Indian Linguistics and Philology*, ed. A. Lubotsky, et al. Amsterdam: Rodopi.

LABAT, René

1939. *Le caractère religieux de la royauté assyro-babylonienne*. Paris: A. Maisonneuve.

LAMBERTERIE, Charles de

1989. "Arménien *ari* et *anari*," in C.-H. de Fouchécour and Ph. Gignoux, eds., *Études irano-aryennes offertes à Gilbert Lazard* (Paris: Association pour l'avancement des études iraniennes), pp. 237-46.

LAMONT, William

2006. *Last Witnesses: The Muggleonian History, 1652-1979*. London: Ashgate.

LANG, Mabel

1944. *Biographical Patterns of Folklore and Morality in Herodotus' History*. Bryn Mawr, PA: Bryn Mawr University Dissertation.

LANGDON, Stephen

1914. *Tammuz and Ishtar: A Monograph upon Babylonian Religion and Theology*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

LANWERD, Susanne

1993. *Mythos, Mutterrecht und Magie: zur Geschichte religionswissenschaftlicher Begriffe*. Berlin: Dietrich Reimer.

LARIONOFF, Serge

1889. "Histoire du roi Djemchid et des dev," *Journal asiatique* 14: 59-83.

LATEINER, Donald

- 1982a. "A Note on the Perils of Prosperity in Herodotus," *Rheinisches Museum* 125: 97-101.  
 1982b. "The Failure of the Ionian Revolt," *Historia* 31: 129-60.  
 1985. "Polarità. Il principio della differenza complementare," *Quaderni di Storia* 11: 79-103.  
 1989. *The Historical Method of Herodotus*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

LATTE, Kurt

1921. "Kepheus," in *Paulys Realencyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft*, ed. Georg Wissowa (Munich: Alfred Druckenmüller) 11/1:224.

LATTIMORE, Richmond

1943. "Aeschylus on the Defeat of Xerxes," in *Classical Studies in Honor of William Abbott Oldfather* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press), pp. 82-93.

LAUROT, Bernard

1981. "Idéaux grecs et barbarie chez Hérodote," *Ktema* 6: 39-48.

LAZARD, Gilbert

1976. "Notes de vieux-perse," *Bulletin de la Société de linguistique* 71: 175-92.

LAZENBY, J.F.

1993. *The Defence of Greece, 490-479 B.C.* (Warminster: Aris & Phillips.

LECOQ, Pierre

1974. "La langue des inscriptions achéménides," *Acta Iranica* 3: 55-62.  
 1984. "Un problème de religion achéménide: Ahura Mazdā ou X'arənah?," in *Orientalia J. Duchesne-Guillemin emerito oblata* (Leiden: E.J. Brill), pp. 301-26.  
 1990a. "Paradis en vieux perse?," in François Vallat, ed., *Contribution à l'histoire de l'Iran: mélanges offerts à Jean Perrot* (Paris: Recherches sur les civilisations), pp. 209-12.  
 1990b. "Observations sur le sens du mot *dahyu* dans les inscriptions achéménides," *Transeuphratène* 3: 131-40.

1995. "Un aspect de la politique religieuse de Gaumāta le mage," in Rika Gyselen, *Au Carrefour des religions: Mélanges offerts à Philippe Gignoux* (= *Res Orientales* 7), pp. 183-86.
1997. *Les inscriptions de la Perse achéménide*. Paris: Gallimard.
1984. "Un problème de religion achéménide: Ahura Mazdā ou X'arenah?," in *Orientalia J. Duchesne-Guillemin emerito oblata* (Leiden: E.J. Brill), pp. 301-26.
- LENTZ, Wolfgang
1960. "Der Aufbau der vierten Darius-Inschrift von Persepolis (DPd)," in *Indogermanica. Festschrift für Wolfgang Krause* (Heidelberg: Carl Winter), pp. 94-105.
1962. "Yima and Khvarnah in the Avestan Gāthas," in *A Locust's Leg: Studies in Honour of S.H. Taqizadeh* (London: P. Lund), 131-34.
- LEROY, Maurice
1967. "Arta l'exaltée. A propos de l'Inscription des daiva," *Studi e Materiali di Storia delle Religioni* 38: 293-301.
- LÉVI-STRAUSS, Claude
1969. *The Elementary Structures of Kinship*. Boston: Beacon Press.
1995. *The Story of Lynx*, trans. Catherine Tihanyi. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- LÉVY, Edmond
1984. "Naissance du concept du barbare," *Ktema* 9: 5-14.
1992. "Hérodote *philobarbaros* ou la vision du barbare chez Hérodote," in Raoul Lonis, ed., *L'Étranger dans le monde grec* (Nancy: Presses Universitaires de Nancy) 2: 193-244.
- LEWIS, Charlton T. and Charles SHORT
- 1980 [orig. 1879]. *A Latin Dictionary*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- LEWIS, David
1977. *Sparta and Persia*. Leiden: E.J. Brill.
1987. "The King's Dinner (Polyaenus IV.3.32)," *Achaemenid History* 2: 79-87.
- LIEBERT, Gösta
1962. "Indoiranica, 1. Ap. vazraka-, aw. vazra-, ai. vājra-," *Orientalia Suecana* 11: 126-54.
- LINCOLN, Bruce
1981. *Priests, Warriors, and Cattle: A Study in the Ecology of Religions*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
1983. "The Earth Becomes Flat: A Study of Apocalyptic Imagery," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 25: 136-53.
1984. "Sacrificio e Creazione, Macellai e Filosofi," *Studi Storici* 25: 859-74.
1985. "Introduction," to Bruce Lincoln, ed., *Religion, Rebellion, Revolution* (New York: Macmillan, 1985), pp. 3-11.
1986. *Myth, Cosmos, and Society: Indo-European Themes of Creation and Destruction*. Cambridge, MA.: Harvard University Press.
1987. "On the Scythian Royal Burials," in Susan Skomal and Edgar Polomé, eds., *Proto-Indo-European: The Archaeology of a Linguistic Problem* (Washington: Institute for the Study of Man), pp. 267-285.

1989. *Discourse and the Construction of Society*. New York: Oxford University Press.
1991. *Death, War, and Sacrifice*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
1996. "Old Persian *fraša* and *vašna*: Two terms at the Intersection of Religious and Imperial Discourse," *Indogermanische Forschungen* 101: 147-167.
1997. "Pahlavi *kirrēnīdan* and traces of Iranian creation mythology," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 117: 681-85.
1999. *Theorizing Myth: Narrative, Ideology, and Scholarship*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
2001. "The Center of the World and the Origins of Life," *History of Religions* 40: 311-26.
2003. "Hegelian Meditations on 'Indo-European' Myths," *Papers from the Mediterranean Ethnographic Summer Seminar* 5 (2003): 59-76.
2004. "The Cyrus Cylinder, the Book of Virtues, and the 'Liberation' of Iraq: On Political Theology and Messianic Pretentions," in *Religionen in Konflikt: Vom Bürgerkrieg über Ökogewalt bis zur Gewalterinnerung im Ritual*, ed. Vasilios Makrides and Jörg Rüpke (Münster: Aschendorf), pp. 248-64.
2006. "From Artaxerxes to Abu Ghraib," in Tore Ahlbäck, ed., *Exercising Power. The Role of Religions in Concord and Conflict* (Åbo, Finland: Donner Institute for Research in Religious and Cultural History), pp. 213-241.
2007. *Religion, Empire, and Torture: The Case of Achaemenian Persia*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- 2009a. "Anomaly, Science, and Religion: Treatment of the Planets in Medieval Zoroastrianism," *History of Religions* 49: 270-83.
- 2009b. "An Ancient Case of Interrogation and Torture," *Social Analysis* 53: 157-72.
- 2009c. "Cēšmag, the Lie, and the Logic of Zoroastrian Demonology," *Journal of the American Oriental Society*. 129: 45-55.
- LIPÍNSKI, Edward  
1981/84. "Un culte de X'an et de Haθya à Éléphantine au V-siècle av. n.è.," *Folia Orientalia* 22: 5-11.
- LLOYD, Alan  
1988. "Herodotus on Cambyses: Some Thoughts on Recent Work," *Achaemenid History* 3: 55-66.
- LLOYD, G.E.R.  
1964. "The Hot and the Cold, the Dry and the Wet in Greek Philosophy," *Journal of Hellenic Studies* 84: 92-106.
1987. *Polarity and Analogy: Two Types of Argumentation in Early Greek Thought* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1966; reprint ed., Bristol Classical Press.
- LOCHNER-HÜTTENBACH, Fritz  
1964. "Brief des Königs Darius an den Satrapen Gadatas," in Wilhelm Brandenstein and Manfred Mayrhofer, *Handbuch des Altpersischen* (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz), pp. 91-98.

LOMMEL, Herman

1922. "Awestische Einzelstudien," *Zeitschrift für Indologie und Iranistik* 1: 16-32.  
 1926. "Rāsa," *Zeitschrift für Indologie und Iranistik* 4: 194-206.  
 1927. *Die Yāšts des Awesta*. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.  
 1930. *Die Religion Zarathustras nach dem Awesta dargestellt*. Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr.

LÜDERS, Heinrich

1959. *Varuṇa: II. Varuṇa und das Rta*. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.

LURAGHI, Nino

2001. "Local Knowledge in Herodotus' Histories," in Luraghi, ed., *The Historian's Craft in the Age of Herodotus* (New York: Oxford University Press), pp. 138-60.

MALBRAN-LABAT, Florence

1998. "La trilingue de Behistun et les singularités de la version babylonienne," *Semitica* 48: 61-74.

MACDONALD, A.W.

1953. "A propos de Prajāpati," *Journal asiatique* 240: 323-38.

MACKENZIE, D.N.

1971. *A Concise Pahlavi Dictionary*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

MALAMOU, Charles

1982. "Les morts sans visage. Remarques sur l'idéologie funéraire dans le Brāhmanisme," in Gherardo Gnoli and Jean-Pierre Vernant, eds., *La mort, les morts dans les sociétés anciennes* (Cambridge and Paris: Cambridge University Press and Editions de la Maison des Sciences de l'Homme), pp. 441-54.

MALANDRA, W.W.

1973. "A Glossary of Terms for Weapons and Armor in Old Iranian," *Indo-Iranian Journal* 15: 264-89.

MALINOWSKI, Bronislaw

1954. "Myth in Primitive Psychology," reprinted in Malinowski, *Magic, Science and Religion, and other essays* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday), pp. 93-148.

MALKIN, Irad, ed.,

2001. *Ancient Perceptions of Greek Ethnicity*. Washington: Center for Hellenic Studies.

MANGANARO, Marc

1992. *Myth, Rhetoric, and the Voice of Authority: A Critique of Frazer, Eliot, Frye, and Campbell*. New Haven: Yale University Press.

MARKWART, Josef

1938. *Wehrot und Arang. Untersuchungen zur mythischen und geschichtlichen Landeskunde von Ostiran*, ed. Hans Heinrich Schaeder. Leiden: E.J. Brill.

MARQUART, Josef

1907. "Untersuchung zur Geschichte von Iran [Schluß]," *Philologus Supplement* 10: 1-258.

MAWET, Francine

2000. "Inde: réponses ou questions?," in Sylvie Vanséveren, ed., *Modèles Linguistiques et Idéologies: "Indo-Européen"* (Brussels: Editions Ousia), pp. 61-84.

MAYRHOFER, Manfred

- 1956-76. *Kurzgefaßtes etymologisches Wörterbuch des Altindisches*, 3 vols. Heidelberg: Carl Winter, 1956-76.
1973. *Onomastica Persepolitana: Das altiranische Namengut der Persepolis-Täfelchen*. Vienna: Verlag der Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften.
1977. *Zum Namengut des Avesta*. Vienna: Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften.
1979. *Iranisches Personennamenbuch. I/1. Die avestischen Namen. I/2. Die altpersischen Namen*. Vienna: Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaft.
1985. "Lingvističeskie rezul'taty izučenja persepol'skoj nadpisi Kserksa, polučennye so vremeni ee otkrytia v 1967 godu," *Voprosy Jazykoznanja* 3: 30-31.
- 1986-2001. *Etymologisches Wörterbuch des Altindoarischen*. Heidelberg: Carl Winter Universitätsverlag.

MEIER, Christian

1988. *Die politische Kunst der griechischen Tragödie*. Munich: C.H. Beck.
- MEIER, Mischa et al.,
2004. *Deiokes, König der Meder. Eine Herodot-Episode in ihren Kontexten*. Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner.

MEIGGS, Russell and David LEWIS, eds.,

1969. *A Selection of Greek Historical Inscriptions to the end of the Fifth Century B.C.* Oxford: Clarendon Press.

MEILLET, Antoine

1907. "Le dieu indo-iranien Mitra," *Journal Asiatique* 10: 143-59.

MEILLET, A. and E. BENVENISTE

1931. *Grammaire de vieux-perse*. Paris: Honoré Champion.

MENASCE, Jean de

- 1943-44. "Observations sur l'inscription de Xerxes à Persepolis," *Vivre et penser* 49: 124-32.
1971. "Exégèse spirituelle d'un mythe géographique mazdéenne," *Journal Asiatique*: 21-24.

MIKALSON, Jon

2003. *Herodotus and Religion in the Persian Wars*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press.

MODI, Jivanji Jamshedji

1937. *The Religious Ceremonies and Customs of the Parsees*, 2d ed. Bombay: Jehangir B. Karani's Sons.

MOLÉ, Marijan

1963. *Culte, mythe, et cosmologie dans l'Iran ancien*. Paris: Presses universitaires de France.
1967. *La légende de Zoroastre selon les textes pehlevi*. Paris: C. Klincksieck.



- MONIER-WILLIAMS, Sir Monier  
1899. *A Sanskrit-English Dictionary*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- MONSON, R.V.  
1991. "The Madness of Cambyses," *Arethusa* 24.
- MORA, Fabio  
1985. *Religione e Religioni nelle Storie di Erodoto*. Milan: Edizioni Universitarie Jaca.
- MOREAU, Alain  
1993. "Le songe d'Atossa, *Perses*, 176-214. Éléments pour une explication de texts," in Paulette Ghibon-Bistagne, et al., *Les Perses d'Eschyle* (Montpellier: Université Paul Valéry), pp. 29-51.
- MÜLLER, Klaus E.  
1972-80. *Geschichte der antiken Ethnographie und ethnologischen Theoriebildung*. Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner.
- MUNSON, Rosaria Vignolo  
1991. "The Madness of Cambyses (Herodotus 3.16-38)," *Arethusa* 24: 43-65.  
2001. *Telling Wonders: Ethnographic and Political Discourse in the Work of Herodotus*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.
- MURRAY, Gilbert  
1912. *Four Stages of Greek Religion*. New York: Columbia University Press.  
1938. *Liberality and Civilization*. New York: Macmillan.  
1940. *Aeschylus: The Creator of Tragedy*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- MURRAY, Oswyn  
1987. "Herodotus and Oral History," *Achaemenid History* 2: 97-115.  
2001. "Herodotus and Oral History Reconsidered," in Nino Luraghi, ed., *The Historian's Craft in the Age of Herodotus* (New York: Oxford University Press), pp. 314-25.
- MUSCARELLA, Oscar, Annie CAUBET, and Françoise TALLON  
1992. "Susa in the Achaemenid Period," in Prudence O. Harper, Joan Aruz, and Françoise Tallon, eds., *The Royal City of Susa. Ancient Near Eastern Treasures in the Louvre* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art), pp. 215-52.
- NAGY, Gregory  
1987. "Herodotus the Logios," *Arethusa* 20: 175-84.
- NARTEN, Joanna  
1982. *Die Amāša Spəntas im Awesta*. Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz.  
1986. *Der Yasna Haptanhāiti*. Wiesbaden: Ludwig Reichert.
- NENCI, Giuseppe ed.,  
1990. *Hérodote et les peuples non grecs*. Geneva: Fondation Hardt.
- NESSERLATH, H.-G.  
1995. "Herodot und die Enden der Erde," *Museum Helveticum* 52: 20-44.
- NINCK, Martin  
1945. *Die Entdeckung von Europa durch die Griechen*. Basel: Benno Schwabe.
- NIPPEL, Wilfried  
1990. *Griechen, Barbaren und 'Wilde': Alte Geschichte und Sozialanthropologie*. Frankfurt am Main: Fischer.

2002. "The Construction of the 'Other'," in Thomas Harrison, ed., *Greeks and Barbarians* (New York: Routledge.), pp. 278-310.
- NORDEN, Eduard  
1913. *Agnostos Theos: Untersuchungen zur Formengeschichte religiöser Rede*. Leipzig: B.G. Teubner.
- NYBERG, Henrik Samuel  
1974. *A Manual of Pahlavi*. Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz.
- NYLANDER, Carl  
1974. "Al-Bērūnī and Persepolis," *Acta Iranica* 1: 137-50.  
1980. "Earless in Nineveh: Who Mutilated 'Sargon's Head?'," *American Journal of Archaeology* 84: 329-33.
- OLMSTEAD, A.T.  
1948. *History of the Persian Empire*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- ONIANS, Richard  
1951. *The Origins of European Thought*. Cambridge: University Press.
- OPPENHEIM, Leo, et al.,  
1956. *The Assyrian Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago*. Chicago: Oriental Institute.
- ORLIN, Louis L.  
1976. "Athens and Persia ca. 507 B.C.: A Neglected Perspective," in Louis L. Orlin, ed., *Michigan Oriental Studies in honor of George G. Cameron* (Ann Arbor: Department of Near Eastern Studies), pp. 255-66.
- PAGLIARO, Antonio  
1954. "Riflessi di etimologie iraniche nella tradizione storiografica greca," *Rendiconti dell' Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei, Classe di Scienze morali, storiche e filologiche, Serie VIII, Vol. 9, fasc. 5-6*: 133-53.
- PALOMAR, Natalia  
1987. "El λόγος de Deyoces, Heródoto 1.95-102," *Itaca* 3: 23-25.
- PANAINO, Antonino  
1986. "hainā-, dušiyāra-, drauga-: un confronto antico-persiano avestico," *Socializio glottologico Milanese* 27: 95-102.  
1990-95. *Tištrya. I. The Avestan Hymn to Sirius. II. The Iranian Myth of the Star Sirius*. Rome: Seria Orientale.  
1993. "Ancora sulle tre calamità," *Atti del Sodalizio Glottologico Milanese* 22: 70-83.  
2001. "A Few Remarks on the Zoroastrian Conception of the Status of Angra Mainyu and of the Daēvas," in Rika Gyselen, ed., *Démons et merveilles d'Orient* (Bures-sur-Yvette: Groupe pour l'Étude de la Civilisation du Moyen-Orient), pp. 99-107.  
2003. "Herodotus I.96-101: Deioces' conquest of power and the foundation of sacred royalty," in Giovanni Lanfranchi, et al., eds., *Continuity of Empire (?): Assyria, Media, Persia* (Padua: Sargon Editrice), pp. 327-38.  
2007. "Ahura Mazdā and the Darkness: About the Meaning of Y. 44.5b," in Maria Macuch, et al., eds., *Iranian Languages and Texts from Iran and Turan: Ronald E. Emmerick Memorial Volume* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz), pp. 271-83.

- PAYEN, Pascal  
1997. *Les îles nomades: conquérir et résister dans l'Enquête d'Hérodote*. Paris: Editions de l'Ecole des hautes études en sciences.
- PELLICIA, Hayden  
1992. "Sappho 16, Gorgias' Helen, and the Preface to Herodotus' Histories," *Yale Classical Studies* 29: 63-84.
- PERON, Jacques  
1982. "Réalité et au-delà dans les Perses d'Eschyle," *Bulletin de l'Association Guillaume Budé*: 3-40.
- PINNEY, Gloria Ferrari  
1984. "For the Heroes are at Hand," *Journal of Hellenic Studies* 104: 181-83.
- PIRART, Eric  
2002. "Le mazdéisme politique de Darius I<sup>er</sup>," *Indo-Iranian Journal* 45: 121-51.  
2006. *Guerriers d'Iran. Traductions annotées des textes avestiques du culte zoroastrien rendu aux dieux Tištriya, Miθra, et Vrθragna*. Paris: Éditions L'Harmattan.  
2007. *Georges Dumézil face aux demons iraniens*. Paris: Harmattan.
- PIRAS, Andrea  
1994-95. "A proposito di antico-persiano šiyāti," *Studi Orientali e Linguistici* 5: 91-97.
- PLEKET, H.W. & R.S. STROUD, eds.,  
1982. *Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum*, Vol. 28. Amsterdam: J.C. Gieben.
- POEBEL, Arno  
1938. "Chronology of Darius' First Year of Reign," *American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures* 55: 142-65, 285-314.
- POKORNY, Julius  
1959. *Indogermanisches etymologisches Wörterbuch*. Bern: Franke Verlag.
- POPE, Arthur Upham  
1957a. "Persepolis as a ritual city," *Archaeology* 10: 123-30.  
1957b. "Persepolis considered as a ritual city," *Proceedings of the 22nd Congress of Orientalists. Vol. 2: Communications* (Leiden: E.J. Brill), pp. 58-66.
- POSENER, Georges  
1936. *La première domination perse en Egypte*. Cairo: Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale.
- POTTS, Daniel T.  
1999. "Elamite Ulā, Akkadian Ulaya, and Greek Choaspes: A Solution to the Eulaios Problem," *Bulletin of the Asia Institute* 13: 27-44.
- POWELL, J. Enoch  
1938. *A Lexicon to Herodotus*, 2d ed. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. (reprint ed., Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 2004)
- PRETINI, Raffaella  
2003. *I manteis nelle Storie di Erodoto*. Tesi di Dottorato, Università degli Studi di Milano.

- PRIER, Raymond Adolph  
1989. *Thauma Idesthai: The Phenomenology of Sight and Appearance in Archaic Greek*. Tallahassee: Florida State University Press.
- PUHVEL, Jaan  
1969. "The 'Death of Cambyes' and Hittite Parallels," in *Studia Classica et Orientalia Antonino Pagliaro Oblata* (Rome: Bardi) 3: 169-175.  
1975. "Remus et Frater," *History of Religions* 15: 379-86.
- RAAFLAUB, Kurt A.  
1987. "Herodotus, Political Thought, and the Meaning of History," *Arethusa* 20: 221-48.
- RAECK, Wulf  
1981. *Zum Barbarenbild in der Kunst Athens im 6. und 5. Jahrhundert v. Chr.* Bonn: Rudolf Habelt.
- RAUBITSCHKE, A.E.  
1964. "The Treaties between Persia and Athens," *Greek, Roman, and Byzantine Studies* 5: 151-59.
- RAVIOLA, Flavio  
1990. "La tradizione letteraria su Parthenope," *Hesperia* 1: 19-60.
- RAWLINSON, George, Col. Sir Henry RAWLINSON, and Sir J.G. WILKINSON,  
1859-70. *The History of Herodotus*. New York: Appleton.
- RAWLINSON, H.C.  
1847. "The Persian Cuneiform Inscription at Behistun, deciphered and translated," *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* 10: i-lxxi, 1-349.
- REDFIELD, James  
1985. "Herodotus the Tourist," *Classical Philology* 80: 97-118.
- RICHARDS, John W.  
1979. "Sacral Kings of Iran," *Mankind Quarterly* 20: 143-60.
- RIMINUCCI, Chiara  
2006. "Les *daiva* dans l'inscription de Xerxès (XPh): entités étrangères ou anciennes divinités iraniennes?," in Antonio Panaino and Andrea Piras, eds., *Proceedings of the 5th Conference of the Societas Iranologica Europaea* (Milan: Mimesis), 1: 183-99.
- RINGBOM, Lars-Ivar  
1950. "Diktens 'Fru Värld' och 'Världens Furste' I kyrkoportalen," in Martin Olsson, ed., *Studier tillägnade Henrik Cornell på 60-årsdagen* (Stockholm: Nordisk Rotogravyr), pp. 44-66.
- ROAF, Michael  
1974. "The Subject Peoples on the base of the statue of Darius," *Cahiers de la délégation archéologique française en Iran* 4: 73-160.  
1983. *Sculptures and Sculptors at Persepolis (= Iran 21)*. London: British Institute of Persian Studies.
- ROBERT, Louis  
1978. "Les conquêtes du dynaste lycien Arbinas," *Journal des Savants*, pp. 3-34.
- ROLLE, Renate  
1979. *Totenkult der Skythen*, 2 vols. Berlin: de Gruyter.

- ROLLINGER, Robert  
2000. "Herodotus and the Intellectual Heritage of the Ancient Near East," in Sanna Aro and R. M. Whiting, eds., *The Heirs of Assyria* (Helsinki: The Neo-Assyrian Text Corpus Project), pp. 65-83.
- ROMILLY, Jacqueline de, ed.,  
1974. *Eschyle, Les Perses*. Paris: Presses Universitaires de France.
- ROMM, James  
1987. "Dragons and Gold at the Edges of the Earth: A Folktale Motif Developed by Herodotus," *Wonders and Tales* 1: 45-55.  
1989. "Herodotus and Mythic Geography: The Case of the Hyperboreans," *Transactions of the American Philological Association* 119: 97-113.
- RÖNNOW, Kasten  
1932. "Ved. krátu-," *Le Monde Oriental* 26: 1-90.
- ROOT, Margaret Cool  
1979. *The King and Kingship in Achaemenid Art*. Leiden: E.J. Brill.
- ROSE, H.J.  
1957-58. *A Commentary on the Surviving Plays of Aeschylus, Verhandelingen der Koninklijke Nederlandse Akademie van Wetenschappen, Afdeling Letterkunde* 64/1-2.
- ROSE, Martin  
1997. "Je me suis aménagé des paradis...," *Cahiers protestants* 3: 5-11.
- ROSSELLINI, M. and S. SAÏD  
1978. "Usages de femmes et autres nomoi chez les 'sauvages' d'Hérodote. Essai de lecture structurale," *Annali della Scuola Normale di Pisa* 8: 949-1005.
- RÖSLER, Wolfgang  
1970. *Reflexe vorsokratischen Denkens bei Aischylos*. Meisenheim am Glan: Anton Hain.
- ROSSI, Adriano  
2003. "Echoes of Religious Lexicon in the Achaemenid Inscriptions?," in Carlo Cereti et al., eds., *Religious Themes and Texts of pre-Islamic Iran and Central Asia. Studies in honour of Professor Gherardo Gnoli* (Wiesbaden: Reichert), pp. 339-51.
- ROTH, Martha T.  
2007. "On Amputation, Beating, and Illegal Seizure," in Martha T. Roth, et al., eds., *Studies Presented to Robert D. Biggs* (Chicago: The Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago), pp. 207-18.
- ROUSSEL, Louis ed. and trans.,  
1960. *Eschyle, Les Perses*. Montpellier: Presses universitaires de France.
- SAÏD, Edward  
1978. *Orientalism*. New York: Vintage Books.
- SALEMANN, Carl  
1908. *Manichäische Studien, Vol. 1 Die Mittelpersische Texten*. St. Petersburg: Académie Impériale des Sciences de St.-Petersbourg.
- SANCISI-WEERDENBURG, Heleen  
1980. *Yaunā en Persai: Grieken en Perzen in een ander Perspectief*. Groningen: Dijkstra Niemeyer.

1981. "Legitimatie in het Achaemenidenrijk," in *Legitimiteit of leugen, achtergronden van macht en gezag in de vroege Staat* (Leiden: Institute of Cultural and Social Studies), pp. 147-81.
1983. "Exit Atossa: Images of Women in Greek Historiography on Persia," in Averil Cameron and Amélie Kuhrt, *Images of Women in Antiquity* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press), pp. 20-33.
1988. "Was There Ever a Median Empire?" *Achaemenid History* 3: 197-212.
1989. "Gifts in the Persian Empire," in Briant and Herrenschildt, eds., *Le tribut dans l'empire Perse* (Paris: Peeters), pp. 129-46.
1991. "Nowruz at Persepolis," *Achaemenid History* 7: 173-201.
1993. "The Orality of Herodotus' Mēdikos Logos or: the Median Empire Revisited," *Achaemenid History* 8: 39-55.
1994. "Xerxes en de plataan: vier varieties op een motief," *Lampas* 27: 213-29.
1998. "Bāji," *Achaemenid History* 11: 23-34.
2001. "Yaunā by the Sea and across the Sea," in Irad Marlkin, ed., *Ancient Perceptions of Greek Ethnicity* (Washington: Center for Hellenic Studies), pp. 323-46.
- SASSI, Maria Michaela
1985. "I Barbari," in Mario Vegetti, ed., *Il sapere degli antichi* (Turin: Boringhieri), pp. 262-78.
1988. *La Scienza dell' uomo nella Grecia antica*. Turin: Boringheri.
2000. *The Greeks and the Science of Man*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press (Italian original, 1988).
- SAVALLI, Ivana
1987. "L'idéologie dynastique des poèmes grecs de Xanthos," *L'Antiquité classique* 57: 103-23.
- SCHACHERMEYR, Fritz
1973. "Athen als Stadt des Großkönigs," *Grazer Beiträge* 1: 211-20.
- SCHAEDE, H.H.
1926. *Studien zum antiken Synkretismus aus Iran und Griechenland*. Leipzig: B. G. Teubner.
1940. "Altpersisch aruvastam 'Rüstigkeit,'" *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung* 43: 289-93.
1941. *Das persische Weltreich*. Breslau: Korn.
- 1946-47. "Des eigenen Todes sterben," *Nachrichten der Akademie der Wissenschaften, Göttingen, phil.-hist. Klasse*, pp. 24-36.
- SCHAUENBERG, Konrad
1975. "Εὐρυμέδων εἶμι," *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts. Athenische Abteilung* 90: 97-121.
- SCHLERATH, Bernfried
1960. *Das Königtum im Rig- und Atharvaveda. Ein Beitrag zur indogermanischen Kulturgeschichte*. Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner.
1974. "Gedanke, Wort und Werk im Veda und im Avesta," in Manfred Mayrhofer, et al., eds., *Antiquitates Indogermanicae. Studien zur indogermanischen Altertumskunde und zur Sprach- und Kulturgeschichte der indogermanischen Völker. Gedenkschrift für*

Hermann Güntert (Innsbruck: Innsbrucker Beiträge zur Sprachwissenschaft), pp. 201-21.

SCHMEJA, Hans

1982. "Ging ein zum Throne der Götter," In *Monumentum Georg Morgenstierne*, Vol. 2 (Leiden: E.J. Brill), pp. 185-188.

SCHMIDT, Erich

1953. *Persepolis. Vol. I: Structures, Reliefs, Inscriptions*. Chicago: Oriental Institute.  
1970. *Persepolis. III: The Royal Tombs and Other Monuments*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

SCHMIDT, Hanns-Peter

1978. "Indo-Iranian Mitra Studies: The State of the Central Problem," in *Études Mithriaques* (Leiden: E.J. Brill), pp. 345-93.  
1980. "Ancient Iranian Animal Classification," *Studien zur Indologie und Iranistik* 5/6: 209-44.  
1996. "The Non-Existence of Ahreman and the Mixture (*gumēzišn*) of Good and Evil," in *K.R. Cama Oriental Institute. Second International Congress Proceedings* (Bombay: K.R. Cama Oriental Institute), pp. 79-95.

SCHMITT, Rüdiger

1963. "Ein altpersisches *ghostword* und das sog. 'inverse *ca*,'" *Orientalia* 32 (1963): 437-48.  
1967. *Dichtung und Dichtersprache in indogermanischer Zeit*. Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz.  
1972. "Nugae Bagistanenses," *Münchener Studien zur Sprachwissenschaft* 30: 139-54.  
1973. "Deiokes," *Anzeiger der Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-historische Klasse* 110: 137-47.  
1977. "Königtum im alten Iran," *Saeculum* 28: 384-95.  
1982. "Achaemenian Throne-names," *Annali del Istituto Orientale di Napoli*, Sezione Linguistica 42: 83-95.  
1986. "Artaxerxes III," *Encyclopedia Iranica* 2: 658-59.  
1987. "Altpersisch *m-n-u-vi-i-š* = *manauviš*," in George Cardona and Norman Zide, eds., *Festschrift for Henry Hoenigswald* (Tübingen: G. Narr), pp. 363-66.  
1991a. ed. and trans. *The Bisitun Inscriptions of Darius the Great: Old Persian Text. Corpus Inscriptionum Iranicarum, Vol. I, Texts I*. London: School of Oriental and African Studies.  
1991b. "Zu dem 'arischen Ahuramazdā,'" *Studia Iranica* 20: 189-92.  
1996. "Bemerkungen zu dem sog. Gadatas-Brief," *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 112: 95-101.  
1997a. "Epigraphisch-exegetische Probleme der altpersischen Texte 'DNb' und 'XPf' (Teil 3)," *Archäologische Mitteilungen aus Iran* 29: 271-79.  
1997b. "Onomastica Iranica Symmicta," in Riccardo Ambrosini, et al., eds., *Scribthair a ainm n-ogaim. Scritti in Memoria di Enrico Campanile* (Pisa: Picini Editore), pp. 921-27.  
1998a. "Tradition und Innovation. Zu indoiranischen Formeln und Fügungen im Altpersischen," in Jay Jasanoff, et al., eds., *Mír*

- Curad. *Studies in Honor of Calvert Watkins* (Innsbruck: Innsbrucker Beiträge zur Sprachwissenschaft, 1998), pp. 635-44.
- 1998b. "Achaimenideninschriften in griechischer literarischer Überlieferung," *Acta Iranica* 28: 34-36.
- 1999a. *Beiträge zu altpersischen Inschriften*. Wiesbaden: Ludwig Reichert.
- 1999b. "Zur Bedeutung von altpers. /dahyu-/, " in Peter Anreiter and Erzsébet Jerem, eds., *Studia Celtica et Indogermanica. Festschrift für Wolfgang Meid* (Budapest: Archaeolingua), pp. 443-52.
- 1999c. Rüdiger Schmitt, "Bemerkungen zum Schlußabschnitt von Darius' Grabinschrift DNB," *Altorientalische Forschungen* 26 (1999): 127-39.
2000. ed. and trans. *The Old Persian Inscriptions of Naqsh-e Rostam and Persepolis*. Corpus Inscriptionum Iranicarum, Vol. I, Texts II. London: School of Oriental and African Studies.
- SCHMITT, Rüdiger and David STRONACH
1986. "Apadāna," *Encyclopedia Iranica* II/2, pp. 145-58.
- SCHRÖDER, Franz Rolf
1928. *Die Parzivalfrage*. Munich: C.H. Beck.
1973. "Cundrie," in Dietrich Schmidtke and Helga Schüpert, eds., *Festschrift für Ingeborg Schröbler zum 65. Geburtstag* (Tübingen: Niemeyer), pp. 187-95.
- SCHULZE, Wilhelm
1912. "Der Tod des Kambyses," *Sitzungsberichte der preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaft zu Berlin, hist.-phil. Klasse*, pp. 685-703.
- SCHWABL, Hans
1961. "Das Bild der fremden Welt bei den frühen Griechen," in *Grecs et barbares* (Geneva: Fondation Hardt), pp. 1-36.
- SCHWARTZ, Martin
1985. "The Religion of Achaemenian Iran," in Ilya Gershevitch, ed., *The Cambridge History of Iran. Vol. 2: The Median and Achaemenian Periods* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press), pp. 664-97.
- SCURLOCK, J.A.
1990. "Herodotos' Median Chronology Again?!" *Iranica Antiqua* 25: 149-65.
- SEALEY, Raphael
1957. "Herodotus, Thucydides, and the Causes of War," *Classical Quarterly* 7: 1-12.
1976. "The Pit and the Well: The Persian Heralds of 491 B.C.," *Classical Journal* 72: 13-20
- SEARLE, John R.
1979. *Expression and Meaning: Studies in the Theory of Speech Acts*. Cambridge: University Press.
- SEGAL, Robert, ed.,
1996. *Ritual and Myth: Robertson Smith, Frazer, Hooke, and Harrison*. New York: Garland.
1998. *The Myth and Ritual Theory. An Anthology* (Malden, MA: Blackwell).



SHAHBAZI, A. S.

- 1972. "The 'One Year' of Darius Re-examined," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 35: 609-14.
- 1974. "An Achaemenid Symbol: I. A Farewell to «Fravahr» and «Ahura-mazda»," *Archaeologische Mitteilungen aus Iran* 7: 136-44.
- 1978. "New Aspects of Persepolitan Studies," *Gymnasium* 85: 487-500.
- 1980. "III. Farnah «(God Given) Fortune Symbolised," *Archaeologische Mitteilungen aus Iran* 13: 119-47.
- 1983. "Darius' «Haft Kishvar»," in H. Koch and D.N. MacKenzie, eds., *Kunst, Kultur und Geschichte der Achamenidenzeit* (Berlin: D. Reimer), pp. 239-46.
- 1985. *Old Persian Inscriptions of the Persepolis Platform*. London: Corpus Inscriptionum Iranicarum.
- 2005. "The History of the Idea of Iran," in Vesta Sarkhosh Curtis and Sarah Stewart, eds., *Birth of the Persian Empire* (London: I.B. Tauris), pp. 100-11.

SHAKED, Shaul

- 1967. "Some Notes on Ahreman, the Evil Spirit, and his Creation," in E.E. Urbach et al., eds., *Studies in Mysticism and Religion presented to Gershom G. Scholem* (Jerusalem: Magnes Press), pp. 227-34.
- 1971. "The notions *mēnōg* and *gētīg* in the Pahlavi texts and their relation to eschatology," *Acta Orientalia* 33: 59-107.
- 1987. "First man, first king: notes on Semitic-Iranian syncretism and Iranian mythological transformations," in S. Shaked, et al., eds., *Gilgul: Essays on Transformation, Revolution, and Permanence in the History of Religions dedicated to R.J. Zwi Werblowsky* (Leiden: E.J. Brill), pp. 238-56.
- 1991. "Aspects of Iranian Religion in the Achaemenian Period," in K.R. Cama Oriental Institute. *International Congress Proceedings* (Bombay: K.R. Cama Oriental Institute), pp.90-100.
- 1995. *From Zoroastrian Iran to Islam. Studies in Religious History and Intercultural Contacts*. Aldershot: Variorum.
- 2005. "Cosmic Origins and Human Origins in the Iranian Cultural Milieu," in Shaul Shaked, ed., *Genesis and Regeneration: Essays on Conceptions of Origins* (Jerusalem: The Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities), pp. 210-22.

SHIMRON, Binyamin

- 1989. *Politics and Beliefs in Herodotus*. Stuttgart: Franz Steiner.

SIMS-WILLIAMS, Nicholas

- 1981. "The Final Paragraph of the Tomb-Inscription of Darius I (DNb. 50-60): The Old Persian Text in the Light of an Aramaic Version," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 44: 1-7.

SKALMOWSKI, Wojciech

- 1988. "Old Persian *vazraka*," in *A Green Leaf: Papers in Honour of Professor Jes P. Asmussen*, (Leiden: E.J. Brill), pp. 39-42.

SKJÆRVØ, Prods O.

1994. "Achaemenid \*Vispašiyātiš-, Sasanian Wispšād," *Studia Iranica* 23: 79-80.

1999. "Avestan Quotations in Old Persian? Literary Sources of the Old Persian Inscriptions," *Irano-Judaica* 4: 3-64.

2003. "Truth and Deception in Ancient Iran," in Carlo G. Cereti and Farrokh Vajifdar, eds., *Ataš-e Dorun: The Fire Within. Jamshid Soroush Sorouschian Commemorative Volume* (n.p.: Mehrborzin Soroushian), pp. 383-434.

2005. "The Achaemenids and the Avesta," in Vesta Sarkhosh Curtis and Sarah Stewart, eds., *Birth of the Persian Empire* (London: I.B. Tauris), pp. 70-74.

SMITH, Amy C.

1999. "Eurymedon and the Evolution of Political Personifications in the Early Classical Period," *Journal of Hellenic Studies* 119: 128-41.

SMITH, George

1869. "Assyrian History. Additions to the History of Tiglath-Pileser II," *Zeitschrift für Assyriologische Studien* 7: 92-100, 106-12.

SMITH, Jonathan Z.

1978. "When the Bough Breaks," in *Map is Not Territory. Studies in the History of Religions* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press), pp. 208-39.

SODEN, Wolfram von

1983. "Kyros und Nabonid. Propaganda und Gegenpropaganda," in Heidemarie Koch and D.N. MacKenzie, eds., *Kunst, Kultur und Geschichte der Achamenidenzeit und ihr Fortleben*. Berlin: Dietrich Reimer.

SOLMSEN, Lieselotte

1943. "The Speeches in Herodotus; Account of the Ionic Revolt," *American Journal of Philology* 64: 194-202.

SOURDILLE, Camille

1910. *Hérodote et la religion d'Égypte*. Paris: E. Leroux.

SPRAGUE DE CAMP, L.

1963. "Xerxes' Okapi and Greek Geography," *Isis* 54: 123-25.

STASZAK, Jean-François

1995. *La géographie d'avant la géographie. Le climat chez Aristote et Hippocrate*. Paris: L'Harmattan.

STAUSBERG, Michael

2002. *Die Religion Zarathustras: Geschichte—Gegenwart—Rituale*, Band I. Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer.

STELLA, Luigia Achillea

1994. *Eschilo e la cultura del suo tempo*. Alexandria: Edizioni dell' Orso.

STEVE, M. J.

1974. "Inscriptions des Achéménides à Suse (suite)," *Studia Iranica* 3: 135-69.

STOCKING, George

1995. *After Tylor: British Social Anthropology, 1888-1951*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press.

- STROHM, Paul  
 1998. *England's Empty Throne: Usurpation and the Language of Legitimation, 1399-1422*. New Haven: Yale University Press.
- STRONACH, David  
 1978. *Pasargadae. A Report on the Excavations Conducted by the British Institute of Persian Studies from 1961 to 1963*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.  
 1985. "The Apadāna: A signature of the line of Darius," in J.-L. Huot, et al., eds., *De l'Indus aux Balkans: recueil à la mémoire de Jean Deshayes* (Paris: Recherche sur les civilisations), pp. 433-45.  
 1989. "The Royal Garden at Pasargadae: Evolution and Legacy," in L. de Meyer and E. Haerincx, eds., *Archeologia Iranica et Orientalis. Miscellanea in honorem Louis van den Berghe* (Ghent: Peeters), 1:475-502.  
 1990. "The Garden as a Political Statement: Some Case Studies from the Near East in the First Millennium B.C.," *Bulletin of the Asia Institute* 4: 171-80.
- STRUNK, Klaus  
 1975. "Semantisches und Formales zum Verhältnis von indoiran. Krātu-/xratu- und gr. κρατύς," in *Monumentum H. S. Nyberg* (Leiden: E.J. Brill) 2: 265-96.
- STUBBINGS, Frank H.  
 1946. "Xerxes and the Plane-tree," *Greece and Rome* 15: 63-67.
- SZEMERENYI, Oswald  
 1966. "Iranica II," *Die Sprache* 12: 190-226.  
 1975. "Iranica V," in *Monumentum H.S. Nyberg* (Leiden: E.J. Brill), pp. 313-94.
- TADMOR, Hayim and M. Weinfeld  
 1984. "Autobiographical Apology in the Royal Assyrian Literature," in H. Tadmor and M. Weinfeld, eds., *History, Historiography and Interpretation* (Leiden: E.J. Brill), pp. 36-57.
- TATUM, James  
 1989. *Xenophon's Imperial Fiction: On The Education of Cyrus*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- TESTEN, David  
 1997. "Old Persian <x-š-p-v<sup>(a)</sup> r<sup>(a-i)</sup>-u-c-p-t<sup>(a-i)</sup>-v<sup>(a)</sup>-a> 'by night or by day'," *Iranica Antiqua* 32: 145-50.
- THIEME, Paul  
 1957. *Mitra and Aryaman*. New Haven: Yale University Press.
- THOMAS, Rosalind  
 1997. "Ethnography, Proof and Argument in Herodotus' Histories," *Proceedings of the Cambridge Philological Society* 43: 128-48.  
 2000. *Herodotus in Context: Ethnography, Science, and the Art of Persuasion*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.  
 2001. "Ethnicity, Genealogy, and Hellenism in Herodotus," in Irad Malkin, ed., *Ancient Perceptions of Greek Ethnicity* (Washington: Center for Hellenic Studies), pp. 213-33.

- THOMPSON, E.P.  
1993. *Witness against the Beast: William Blake and the Moral Law*. New York: New Press.
- THOMPSON, George  
1998. "On Truth-Acts in Vedic," *Indo-Iranian Journal* 41: 125-53.
- THOMPSON, Norma  
1996. *Herodotus and the Origins of the Political Community: Arion's Leap*. New Haven: Yale University Press.
- THOMPSON, R. Campbell  
1924-26. *Assyrian Medical Texts*. London: J. Bale.
- TILIA, Ann Britt  
1972. *Studies and Restorations at Persepolis and other sites of Fārs*. Rome: Istituto Italiano per il medio ed estremo Oriente.
- TOURRAIX, Alexandre  
1976. "La femme et le pouvoir chez Hérodote," *Dialogues d'Histoire Ancienne* 2: 369-90.
- TRIEBEL-SCHUBERT, Charlotte  
1990. "Anthropologie und Norm: der Skythenabschnitt in der hippokratischen Schrift *Über die Umwelt*," *Medizin-historisches Journal* 25: 90-103.
- TRÜMPELMANN, Leo  
1974. "Töre von Persepolis. Zur Bauplanung des Dareios," *Archäologische Mitteilungen aus Iran* 7: 163-71.  
1983. "Zu den Gebäuden von Persepolis und ihrer Funktion," in H. Koch and D.N. MacKenzie, eds., *Kunst, Kultur und Geschichte der Achämenidenzeit* (Berlin: D. Reimer), pp. 225-37.
- TÜMPPEL, K.  
1921. "Belos 3," in *Paulys Realencyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft*, ed. Georg Wissowa (Munich: Alfred Druckenmüller) 3/1:259-64.
- TUPLIN, Christopher  
1990. "Persian Decor in the *Cyropaedia*: Some Observations," *Achaemenid History* 5: 17-29.  
1996. *Achaemenid Studies*. Stuttgart: Franz Steiner.  
1998. "The Seasonal Migration of Achaemenid Kings: A Report on Old and New Evidence," *Achaemenid History* 11: 63-114.
- UNDERWOOD, T.L. ed.,  
1999. *The Acts of the Witnesses: The Autobiography of Lodowick Muggleton and other early Muggletonian Writings*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- UNGER, Eckhard  
1915. "Die Dariusstele am Tearos," *Archäologische Anzeiger*, pp. 3-16.
- UTAS, Bo  
1965-66. "Old Persian Miscellanea," *Orientalia Suecana* 14-15: 118-40.
- VALDEZ, R. and R.G. Tuck, Jr.  
1980. "On the Identification of the animals accompanying the 'Ethiopian' delegation in the bas-reliefs of the Apadāna at Persepolis," *Iran* 18: 156-57.

- VALLAT, François  
 1986. "Table accadienne de Darius I<sup>er</sup> (DSaa)," in *Fragmenta Historiae Elamicae: Mélanges offerts à M. J. Steve* (Paris: Éditions Recherche sur les Civilisations), pp. 277-87.
- VERHEIJ, Arian J.C.  
 1991. "Paradise Retried: On Qohelet 2:4-6," *Journal for the Study of the Old Testament* 50: 113-15.
- VEVAINA, Yuhān Sohrab-Dinshaw  
 2010. "Textual Taxonomies, Cosmological Deixis, and Canonical Commentaries in Zoroastrianism," *History of Religions* 50: 111-43.
- VICKERY, John B.  
 1973. *The Literary Impact of the Golden Bough*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- VOGELSANG, Willem  
 1986. "Four Short Notes on the Bisitun Text and Monument," *Iranica Antiqua* 21: 121-31.  
 1992. *The Rise and Organisation of the Achaemenian Empire. The Eastern Iranian Evidence*. Leiden: E.J. Brill.  
 1998. "Medes, Scythians, and Persians: The Rise of Darius in a North-South Perspective," *Iranica Antiqua* 33: 195-224.  
 2001. "The Sixteen Lands of Videvdāt 1: Airyanam Vaejah and the Homeland of the Iranians," *Persica* 16: 49-66.
- VOIGTLANDER, Elizabeth N. von, ed. and trans.  
 1978. *The Bisitun Inscription of Darius the Great: Babylonian Version*. London: Corpus Inscriptionum Iranicarum.
- VOLKMANN, Hans  
 1954. "Die Inschriften im Geschichtswerk des Herodot," in *Convivium: Beiträge zur Altertumswissenschaft. Konrat Ziegler... zum siebenzigsten Geburtstag* (Stuttgart: A. Druckemüller), pp. 41-65.
- WACKERNAGEL, Jacob  
 1910. "Indoiranica: Zum Dualdvandva," *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung* 43: 295-298.  
 1927. "Vergeßene Wortdeutung: 4. ai. *śams-*; got. *hazjan*: lat. *cen-sere*," *Indogermanische Forschungen* 45: 321-27.  
 1932. "Indoiranica: 8. Altpersische arika-," *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachwissenschaft* 59: 28-30.
- WALLINGA, H.T.  
 1987. "The Ancient Persian Navy and its Predecessors," *Achaemenid History* 1: 47-77.
- WALSER, Gerold  
 1983. "Der Tod des Kambyzes," in Heinz Heinen, ed. *Althistorische Studien Hermann Bengtson zum 70. Geburtstag dargebracht von Kollegen und Schülern* (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner), pp. 8-18.  
 1966. *Die Völkerschaften auf den Reliefs von Persepolis. Historische Studien über den sogenannten Tributzug an der Apadānatreppe*. Berlin: Deutsche archäologisches Institut.

- WATERS, Kenneth H.  
1971. *Herodotus on Tyrants and Despots: A Study in Objectivity*. Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner.
- WATERS, Matt  
2004. "Cyrus and the Achaemenids," *Iran* 42: 91-102.
- WATKINS, Calvert  
1995. *How to Kill a Dragon: aspects of Indo-European*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- WEISSBACH, F. H., ed.,  
1911. *Die Keilinschriften der Achämeniden*. Leipzig: J.C. Hinrich.
- WÉRY, Louise-Marie  
1966. "Le meurtre des hérauts de Darius en 491 et l'inviolabilité du héraut," *L'Antiquité classique* 35: 468-86.
- WEST, E.W.  
1897. *Pahlavi Texts, Part V: Marvels of Zoroastrianism*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- WEST, Francis  
1984. *Gilbert Murray: A Life*. New York: St. Martin's.
- WEST, M.L., ed.,  
1966. *Theogony, edited with Prolegomena and Commentary*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- WEST, Stephanie  
1985. "Herodotus' Epigraphical Interests," *Classical Quarterly* 35: 278-305.
- WESTON, Jessie  
1920. *From Ritual to Romance: An Account of the Holy Grail from Ancient Ritual to Christian Symbol*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- WIDENGREN, Geo  
1953. *Religionens Värld*. Stockholm: Svenska Kyrkans Diakonstyrelses.  
1955. *Stand und Aufgaben der iranischen Religionsgeschichte*. Leiden: E.J. Brill.  
1959. "The Sacral Kingship of Iran," in *La Regalità sacra. Contributi al tema dell' VIII Congresso Internazionale di Storia delle Religioni* (Leiden: E.J. Brill), pp. 242-57.  
1965. *Die Religionen Irans*. Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer.  
1969a. *Der Feudalismus im alten Iran*. Cologne: Westdeutscher Verlag.  
1969b. "The Death of Gayōmart," in Joseph M. Kitagawa and Charles H. Long, eds., *Myths and Symbols: Studies in Honor of Mircea Eliade* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press), pp. 179-94.  
1974. "La royauté de l'Iran antique," *Acta Iranica* 1: 84-89.  
1983. "Die Neujahrsfest im alten Iran," *Iranzamin* 2/2: 35-42.
- WIESEHÖFER, Josef  
1978. *Der Aufstand Gaumatas und die Anfänge Dareios I*. Bonn: Habelt.  
1987. "Zur Frage der Echtheit des Dareios-Briefes an Gadatas," *Rheinisches Museum* 130: 396-98.  
1989. "Tauta gar en atelea. Beobachtungen zur Abgabefreiheit im Achämenidenreich," in Pierre Briant and Clarisse Herrenschildt, eds., *Le tribut dans l'empire Perse* (Paris: Peeters), pp. 183-92.

2001. *Ancient Persia from 550 BC to 650 AD*, trans. Azizeh Azodi. London: I.B. Tauris.
- WIKANDER, Stig  
1938. *Der arische Männerbund*. Lund: Gleerup.
- WILLIAMS, A.V.  
1985. "A Strange Account of the World's Origin: PRDD XLVI," in A.D.H. Bivar and J.R. Hinnells, eds., *Papers in Honour of Professor Mary Boyce* (Leiden: E.J. Brill), pp. 683-97.  
1990. ed. and trans. *The Pahlavi Rivāyat accompanying the Dādestān ī Dēnīg*. Copenhagen: Munksgaard.
- WINTER, Irene J.  
2000. "The Eyes Have It: Votive Statuary, Gilgamesh's Axe, and Cathected Viewing in the Ancient Near East," in Robert S. Nelson, *Visuality Before and Beyond the Renaissance: Seeing as Others Saw* (Cambridge: University Press), pp. 22-44.
- WISEMAN, T.P.  
1995. *Remus: A Roman Myth*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- WÜST, Walther  
1966. *Altpersische Studien. Sprach- und Kulturgeschichtliche Beiträge zum Glossar der Achämeniden-inschriften*. Munich: J. Kitzinger.
- YAMAUCHI, Edwin  
1996. *Persia and the Bible*. Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Books.
- YOUNG, T. Cuyler  
2004. "Darius I, Commander-in-Chief: Bisitun I:35 to III:92 as Military History," in Grant Frame, ed., *From the Upper Sea to the Lower Sea: Studies on the History of Assyria and Babylonia in Honour of A.K. Grayson* (Leiden: Nederlands Instituut voor het Nabije Oosten), pp. 277-88.
- ZAEHNER, R.C.  
1955. *Zurvan; A Zoroastrian Dilemma*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.  
1956. *The Teachings of the Magi*. London: Allen & Unwin.  
1961. *Dawn and Twilight of Zoroastrianism*. New York: G.P. Putnam.
- ZAMBELLI, Marcello  
1971. "Per la Storia di Argo nella prima metà del V secolo a.C.," *Rivista di Filologia e di Istruzione Classica* 99: 148-58.
- ZAMBIANCHI, Maria Teresa  
1998. "Mito e geografia nelle Storie di Erodoto," in Delfino Ambaglio, ed., *συγγραφή. Materiali e appunti per lo studio della storia e della letteratura antica* (Como: Edizioni New Press), pp. 9-34.
- ZAWADZKI, Stefan  
1994. "Bardiya, Darius and Babylonian Usurpers in the Light of the Bisitun Inscription and Babylonian Sources," *Archaeologische Mitteilungen aus Iran* 27: 127-45.
- ZORELL, Franciscus  
1984. *Lexicon Hebraicum Veteris Testamenti* (Rome: Pontificium Institutum Biblicum).





## INDEX

Achaemenes, 317n, 399

Achaemenian royal inscriptions: accounts of creation in, 10, 16-18, 173, 477; on deity engaging with kings, 190; on demons, 247-50; happiness (*šiyāti*) in, 136, 178, 258, 264, 477; "the Lie" in, 227; lists of Wise Lord's material creations in, 98; *maθišta* in, 429; as official texts, 393; Old Persian as language of, xviii; on paradise, 8-9; recurrent *topoi* of, 393; as trilingual, 172. See also *inscriptions by name*

Achaemenian rulers: as afflicted with the Lie, 424; aim to recover perfect happiness of mankind, 477-78; annual circuit of, 46, 52-55, 58; as antidote to bad year, 416, 419; birth-names changed to throne-names, 233; as both subjects and objects of fear, 424; burial in stone crypts, 278; centerpoint occupied by, xx, 54; core of ideology of, 79; cosmogonic myth and dynastic crisis, 375-92; Darius on king protecting himself from the Lie, 145n; Darius on when king feels no fear and the Persian army is protected, then happiness will be undestroyed, 135-37, 178, 183, 259-60, 264, 407-8, 409; Darius restores institution of kingship, 130; deity engages with, 190, 190n4; demonic threats to, 254, 255-58; diplomacy with Greeks, 304-23; dishes from all over empire on tables of, 78; divine charisma of, 175; drink only from the Choaspes, 103, 208-10; earth and water demanded as tokens of submission, 440, 447-48; end of the line, 391, 392; expansionist politics acquire religious coloration, 9, 19;

in fifth act of creation of Wise Lord, 98, 174, 175, 251-54, 446-47; genealogy in Bisitun inscriptions, 399; God's law and that of, 420, 420n38; as great (*vazrka*) king, 432, 433, 435; hold court under image of plane tree, 101; horticulture and imperialism of, 59-85; imperial titles, 124-25, 176, 178; King-as-gardener topos, 66; kingship as good (*naiba*) by nature, 180; king's truth, 20-40; the Lie as real opponent of, 268; in lists of Wise Lord's material creations in Achaemenian texts, 98; as not needed when happiness is perfect, 477; Persian people/army (*kāra*) as instrument of, 407; pleasure gardens (*paradeisoī*) for, 5, 61, 65-68; prayer formulae seeking divine protection, 247-49; protection against menacing evils in DPd and DPe, 410; qualifications for royal office, 253-55; and rebels as binary pairs, 198; religion's significance for, 473-74; salvific role (*ahūm.biš*) of, 16; space, motion, and climate in imaginary of, 41-58; symbiosis between army and, 410; *θanh-* for, 34-37; taxonomy of lands/peoples as seen from vantage point of, 306; tombs at Naqš-e Rostam, 442-45; transition from Median to Persian dynasty, 400; treat their enemies like vermin, 461; truth as established through kingship, 40; using Zoroastrian evidence to interpret data from, 16-18, 148-49, 202-4, 448; *vašna Auramazdāha* used to legitimate rule of, 233, 357-58; Wise Lord bestows (*fra-bar-*) kingship, 194 n18; Wise Lord bestows the gift of

- office, 147, 169, 175, 176, 186, 194, 251-54, 285; Wise Lord chooses in order to restore and defend Truth, 285; Wise Lord chooses in order to restore primordial unities, 19, 126, 128, 145, 198, 200, 348, 372; and Zoroastrianism, 4, 24, 42, 148-49, 460-61, 473-74. *See also* Achaemenian royal inscriptions; Artaxerxes I; Artaxerxes II; Artaxerxes III Ochus; Cyrus the Great; Darius; Xerxes
- Āçina: accusations of behaviors that constituted rebellion, 403; in Bisitun relief, 113, 113n15; Darius's accusation of lying by, 234; description of rebellion of, 239; execution of, 133; genealogy claimed by, 399, 401; legitimations for Darius's military action against, 28; name and lineage he claimed for himself versus that given in Darius's texts, 396n4, 397; speech acts attributed to, 36; structural logic that governs how rebellions against Darius are described, 401
- Acrisius, 313, 314, 313-15, 316
- Acusilaus, 310n23
- adurujiya*, 36, 233, 239, 240, 379, 417n30
- Ægyptus, 320
- Aelian, 53, 102
- Aeschylus. *See* *Persians* (Aeschylus)
- Africans, 161, 162, 163
- afuvā*, 254, 255-56, 406
- agora*, 284, 284n49, 285
- agriya*, 25-26
- ah-*, 360, 366, 369
- A<sup>2</sup>Ha (Artaxerxes II, Hamadan a): prayer formulae seeking divine protection, 248; *vašna Auramazdāha* used in, 365
- A<sup>2</sup>Hc (Artaxerxes II, Hamadan c): formulae describing Wise Lord's final act of creation, 252; on Wise Lord bestowing (*fra-bar-*) things, 194n18
- Ahn, Gregor, 3
- Ahremen/Ahriman. *See* Evil Spirit (Anra Mainiiu; Ahremen)
- ahu*, 367
- ahūm.biš*, 16
- Ahuna Vairiia prayer, 229-30, 231, 237, 244
- Ahura Mazdā. *See* Wise Lord (Ahura Mazdā; Ohrmazd)
- aikhmē*, 350-51
- Akītu festival, 168, 171
- Akkadian, 172
- Alburz Mountains, 465-66, 467
- Alexander the Great, 391, 392
- Amazons, 349-50
- Amurdād* (Immortality; *Amaratāt*), 71, 72, 100, 103, 464, 464
- Anāhita, 190n5
- Anaxagoras, 330-31, 333-34
- Anaximander, 333
- Andromedē, 311, 312n30, 313, 314
- Andron of Halicarnassus, 300-302
- Anra Mainiiu. *See* Evil Spirit (Anra Mainiiu; Ahremen)
- animals: Achaemenian and Zoroastrian cosmogonies compared, 17, 448, 448-49, 460; Ahremen creates vermin to wage war against, 150; Ahremen's assault's effect on, 203, 450, 451; bodily well-being and pleasure traced to, 18; depicted on Apadāna staircase at Persepolis, 121, 185; as different in different lands, 177; grammatical number for Wise Lord's material creations in Older Avesta, 89, 91; grammatical number for Wise Lord's material creations in Pahlavi texts, 94; grammatical number for Wise Lord's material creations in Younger Avesta, 93, 95; "happiness for mankind" (*šiyāti... martiyahyā*) as referring most concretely to plants and, 448; in identity of *dahyu*, 109; Magi's distinctions among, 450, 452, 453; original place of, 203; in pleasure gardens (*paradeisoī*), 5, 61, 62; in six original creations of Wise Lord, 16, 90, 91, 148, 416n27; as tribute, 119-20; tripartite pattern in, 464, 464. *See also* bovines; vermin (*xrafstra*)

- A<sup>1</sup>Pa (Artaxerxes I, Persepolis a), *vašna Auramazdāha* used in, 365
- Apadāna staircase at Persepolis: on extent of Achaemenian empire, 120, 120-21; original center relief of, 118; peoples and goods reunited in, 184-86; reliefs on eastern staircase at, 117, 117-23; sacred kingship seen in, 170-86; Scythians depicted in pointed hats at, 116; tributaries depicted in, 49, 49, 117-23, 171; two models of center-periphery relation confused in, 123
- Apis Bull: Artaxerxes III Ochus slays, 388, 390; Cambyeses slays, 385-86, 387, 390
- Apollodorus, 311n24
- Arabians: ancestry of, 156, 157, 158, 159, 163; in Darius's list of imperial possessions, 110; depicted in Apadāna at Persepolis relief sculptures, 121, 122; as slithering back to Iran, 161, 163-64
- Arang River, 465, 466, 467, 468, 469, 471
- Araxa: accusations of behaviors that constituted rebellion, 403; Babylonian inscription on execution of, 421n43; in Bisitun relief, 113n15; Darius's accusation of lying by, 234; Darius's victory over, 31; description of rebellion of, 240; genealogy claimed by, 399; legitimations for Darius's military action against, 28; name and lineage he claimed for himself versus that given in Darius's texts, 396n4, 397; speech acts attributed to, 36; structural logic that governs how rebellions against Darius are described, 401
- Arbinas, 341-42
- Arda Wirāz Nāmag, 211, 243
- aretē*, 342, 343, 345
- Ariaramnes, 357
- arika*: as vulnerability to the Lie, 25-29, 460-61; Cambyeses leaves state of, 23, 38, 213; Darius legitimates his attacks on other peoples in terms of, 26-28; Darius on his treatment of people who were, 25-26; definitions conventionally offered, 24; etymology of, 24-25; *hamiṭiya* compared with, 28; Scythians as, 404; and why Wise Lord chose Darius, 28-29
- Aristagoras of Miletus, 286, 351-52, 353
- Aristotle, 329
- Armenians, 110, 185
- army, Persian. *See* Persian people/army (*kāra*)
- Arrian, 62
- Arsames, 362, 429
- Arses (Artaxerxes IV), 391, 392
- Artabazanes, 359
- Artavardiya, 429n15, 430
- Artaxerxes I: Argives seek to maintain Persian alliance, 316; birth-name changed to throne-name by, 233; *vašna Auramazdāha* used by, 365
- Artaxerxes II: banquet of, 373-74; *maṭiṣta* used by, 429; on palace at Susa as a paradise, 8-9, 374; plants palace garden, 66; site of palace in Susa, 208; statues of Anāhita introduced in reign of, 190n5; *vašna Auramazdāha* used by, 357, 365
- Artaxerxes III Ochus: death and dismemberment of, 388-92; as *framātar*, 371
- Artemidorus, 297n25
- aruvasta*: acquired by king from Wise Lord, 342-43; as capacity for changing the world, 255; as divine quality, 254; of the king, 98, 253-54, 344; literal sense of, 253n45; taxonomy underlying Persian system of education, 345; uniqueness of, 253, 257
- Aryans: Gayōmard as ancestor of, 153; Iran as homeland of, 203
- aša*, 30, 225n1, 226
- A<sup>2</sup>Sa (Artaxerxes II, Susa a): prayer formulae seeking divine protection, 248; *vašna Auramazdāha* used in, 365

- Asaph, 64, 65  
*ašauuan*, 226  
 A<sup>2</sup>Sd (Artaxerxes II, Susa d): prayer formulae seeking divine protection, 248; *vašna Auramazdāha* used in, 365  
 AsH (Arsames, Hamadan), on Wise Lord bestowing (*fra-bar-*) things, 194n18  
 Asheri, David, 279  
 Ashurbanipal, 265  
 Asia: in Aeschylus's *Persians*, 290-91, 292-300; in Andron of Halicarnassus's *Syngenika*, 300-302; becomes identified with continental landmass, 290-91; and categorical opposition between East and West, 324-34; Herodotus contrasts Europe with, 276-77; personified, 289-90; sisterhood of Europe and, 289-303; story of Persēs and Europe's primacy over, 315. *See also* Iran  
*asmān*. *See* sky (*asmān*; heavenly phenomena)  
 Assmussen, Jes, 24, 191-92, 243  
 Assyria, 43, 110, 315  
 Astyages, 400, 400  
 Aθamaita: Darius calls him illegitimate *maθišta*, 430, 430; legitimations for Darius's military action against, 28  
 Athenaeus, 53  
 Atlantis, 7n11, 9  
 Atossa, 292n14, 292-95, 326, 359n8  
*autopsy*, 273  
 Avesta: Achaemenian texts compared with, xix; on bad year, 411-14; on climate binaries, 55-56; cognates of *kamna* in, 427-28; on the dead and the earth, 438-39; geocentric models of world order in, 45; on happiness as post mortem reward, 261n12; on the Lie, 218-22; *pairi. daēza* in, 59-60, 61; on rivers, 468; on stench, 249n37; *vasna* in, 366-68. *See also* Older Avesta; Yasna; Younger Avesta  
 Avestan language, xvii-xviii  
 Aži Dahāka, 228n12  
 Babylon: Akītu festival, 168; in Apadāna at Persepolis relief sculptures, 185; Bēl-Marduk, 312; in concentric pattern of Achaemenian empire, 43; Cyrus the Great's discursive tactics against, 309; Cyrus the Great takes, 468, 469, 470-71, 472; Darius on seizure of, 362; in Darius's list of imperial possessions, 110; documents on events of 522 B.C.E., 377; Eurasian creation myth familiar to, 392; Herodotus's study of Babylonians, 274; in king's annual circuit, 53, 53, 54; legitimations for Darius's military action against, 28; in Naqš-e Rostam relief sculptures, 141; Nidintu-Bēl, 28, 113-14, 113n15, 133, 394, 395-96, 399; Persia succeeds older civilizations, 315; rebellion of, 305  
 bad year: Avestan analysis of, 411-14; components of, 416n27; Darius asks Wise Lord's protection of his land/people from, 12, 181, 409, 410, 416; as preceded by the Lie, 416; protection against menacing evils in DPd and DPe, 410; rightful king as antidote to, 416, 419; as source of fear, 416, 419, 419; Tištrya (Sirius) overcoming, 413n  
 Bagoas, 389, 390, 391-92  
*bāji*, 119, 119n25, 147  
 Balcer, Jack Martin, 3, 316n37, 380-81  
 barbarians, Herodotus's depictions of, 275-77  
 Bardiya: Babylonian documents on, 13n30; Cambyzes and murder of, 14, 23, 23n14, 24, 25, 213, 377, 381, 384, 385, 386; Cambyzes overthrown by, 33, 377, 453; Darius overthrows, 14, 33, 41; in Darius's account of his coming to power, 13, 14, 23, 376, 377, 378; Darius's oath omits murder of, 33, 34; Eurasian creation myth and,

- 387, 388, 390; Gaumāta represents himself as, 14, 23, 33, 381, 397, 398, 414, 453; genealogy in Bisitun inscriptions, 399; Greek sources on Cambyses and, 23n14; location of rebellion of, 453-54; Phaidyme to test whether he is an imposter, 220; rebellion fomented in name of, 13; relations of characters in Bisitun inscriptions to moment he departs for Egypt, 376; in ritual sacrifice, 384; Susa as capital of, 204; Vahyazdāta represents himself as, 397, 398, 431, 453. *See also* Smerdis
- bats, 160
- bav-*, 213, 214, 215-16, 358, 362, 366
- bears, 160, 161, 163
- Beck, C.H., 325n2
- Bēl-Marduk, 312. *See also* Belus.
- Bēlus, 311n27, 311-12, 313, 314, 319, 320. *See also* Bēl-Marduk.
- Benveniste, Émile, xviii, 12, 24, 29, 29n42, 35, 68, 261n12, 266n34, 406
- Béquignon, Yves, 209
- Bettini, Maurizio, xx
- Bianchi, Ugo, xviii
- Bible, Hebrew, 8n14, 8-9, 63-64
- Bickerman, Elias, 375
- birth names, 233, 396
- Bisitun relief: alterity treated as distance from center at, 116; Darius dominates relief sculptures, 394, 395; relations with defeated *dahyu* depicted in relief sculptures at, 111-16, 112, 235, 235-36; Skunxa added to relief sculptures, 113n15, 114-16, 115, 404-5, 405. *See also* DB (Darius, Bisitun)
- Black Sea, 457
- blinding rebels, 226
- Bosporus, 456-57, 459
- bovines: in Eurasian cosmogonic myth, 383, 389, 391; as fit ritual victims, 452; Gaumāta associated with, 381-83; as representative of beneficial species, 18n37. *See also* Apis Bull; primordial bovine
- bowmanship: of Amazons, 350; as masculine activity, 350; in Persian education, 335, 336, 338, 338, 342, 345
- Boyce, Mary, xviii, 42n3, 476n14
- Bremmer, Jan, 9
- Briant, Pierre, 3, 21, 33, 52, 69, 209, 335n1, 475n11
- Broadhead, H.D., 325n2
- būmi*: becomes whole again, 126, 146; denotes both "earth" and "empire," 19, 124-25, 146, 176, 194. *See also* earth (*būmi*)
- Bundahišn: Indian, 158n28, 159, 160. *See also* Greater Bundahišn
- burial of the dead, 437-38, 439
- būšānu*, 209
- Byzantines, 156, 157, 159
- Calmeyer, Peter, 3
- Cambyses: Apis Bull killed by, 385-86, 387, 390; Artaxerxes III compared with, 388, 389; Bardiya overthrows, 33, 377, 453; conceals his crime, 23, 24, 38, 213, 377; Darius on Gaumāta depriving him of the kingship, 14, 23, 360, 377; in Darius's account of his coming to power, 13-14, 15, 23, 38, 376, 377; in Darius's periodization, 15, 41; death of, 13, 13n31, 377-78, 386, 414; and death of Bardiya, 14, 23, 23n14, 24, 25, 213, 377, 381, 384, 385, 386; desires to marry his sister, 280-81; Eurasian creation myth and, 384, 387, 390; genealogy in Bisitun inscriptions, 399; gifts not tribute for, 50; leaves for Egypt, 13, 14, 23, 25, 38, 196, 213, 216, 376, 377, 379, 414n22; and origin of Lie, 13-14, 23, 213-14, 216; redefinitions of situation in 522 B.C.E., 378; relations of characters in Bisitun inscriptions to moment he departs for Egypt, 376; transition from Median to Persian dynasty, 400
- Cameron, George, 177n24
- Campanile, Enrico, 383n
- cannibalism, 276, 281n39

- Catalogue of Women*, 311n24  
 CB (Cyrus Cylinder), 59n5, 309n19, 435  
 center, ideology of, 43-46, 50, 54, 149, 203-4, 285, 422, 422n52  
 Cēphēnes, 312, 312n30  
 Cēpheus, 311, 312, 312n30, 313, 314  
 Cēšmag, 231, 237-39, 241, 245, 246, 247  
 Choaspes (Eulaios; Karkheh), 103, 207-10, 212  
 Cīdag Andarz ī Pōryōtkēšān, 244  
 Cihrdād Nask, 152, 153-57  
 Cimon, 297  
 Clement of Alexandria, 190n5  
 Cleomenes, 351  
 climate: in Achaemenian ideology, 55-58; Hippocrates' *On Airs, Waters, and Places* on, 332; king's annual circuit and, 52, 53, 54, 58; in pleasure gardens (*paradeisoī*), 5-6, 62; of Susa, 206-7, 210  
 Colpe, Carsten, xviii  
 concentric geographical model, 43-46; degree of Persianization and, 110-11; in geography of creation, 202-4; kings' annual circuit destabilizes, 54; moral and spatial centrality associated, 285, 422, 422n52; tribute flows from outer circles to center, 50; Xwanirah, 153-54, 155-56, 155n22, 158, 466  
 corpse-handlers, 60  
 corpses, 438-39, 456  
 cosmology: and hydraulics, 462-72; Persocentric cosmos, 110-11. *See also* creation  
 cows. *See* bovines  
 creation: accounts in Achaemenian royal inscriptions, 10, 16-18, 173, 477; accounts in Zoroastrian texts, 16-18, 42; Achaemenian and Pahlavi accounts compared, 16-18, 148-49, 202-4; bifurcated cosmos of Mazdaean religion, 446-61; cosmogonic myth and dynastic crisis, 375-92; fifth act of, 10, 174, 175, 177, 251-54, 446-47; five distinct acts of, 173; four primordial, 125-26, 146, 173, 174, 191, 446; geography of, 202-12; of kingship of Medes, 20-22; in Pahlavi Rivāyat accompanying the Dādestān ī Dēnīg, 73-76; six original, 16, 148, 149, 416n27, 438; taxonomy as expressed through sequence of, 447; variants with *fraša*, 369; warmth and moisture associated with, 56-57  
 Cristofoli, Roberto, 297n26  
 Ctesias, 386n45, 421n43  
 Cyaxares, 344n44, 400, 400  
 Cyrus Cylinder (CB), 59n5, 309n19, 435  
 Cyrus the Great: Babylon taken by, 468, 469, 470-71, 472; Cambyses as heir to, 13, 376; capital placed at Susa by, 204; counsels his countrymen against abandoning rough soil of Persia, 299n29; discursive tactics against Babylon, 309; elite bodyguard of, 376n7; genealogy in Bisitun inscriptions, 399; gifts not tribute for, 50; grave of, 7; Gyndes punished by, 468-69, 472; Herodotus on Lakrinēs and, 283-84; royal garden at Pasargadae, 6, 7, 62; Smerdis the Magus's ears cut off by, 221; transition from Median to Persian dynasty, 400; and Zoroastrianism, 4  
 Cyrus the Younger: garden of, 66, 67-68; just men supported by, 336n8; Xenophon's service with, 346  
<sup>1</sup>*dā-*: for fifth act of creation, 253; for first four acts of creation, 10-11, 446, 447; with *fraša*, 369, 372; in Old Persian inscriptions, 11n20; with *vasna*, 367  
<sup>2</sup>*dā-*: *dāta* (law) related to, 420  
 Dādestān ī Dēnīg: on Evil Spirit as non-existent, 243; on Gayōmard, 151.  
 Dādṛši, 402  
 Dahāg, 161, 162, 163

- dahyu* (plural, *dahyāva*), 108-26; in Apadāna at Persepolis relief sculptures, 117-23, 184-86; in Bisitun relief sculptures, 111-16; depicted in relief sculptures, 111-23; depicted on Darius's tomb at Naqš-e Rostam, 139-44; formulae introducing lists of, 138; geographic division of, 146, 176-77; hierarchical order of, 111, 121-23; introductory formulae preceding lists of, 179; in lists of imperial possessions, 109-11; "of which there are many," 178; original unity to be restored, 125-26; translating term, 108-9; two models of human alterity, 123, 127; Wise Lord bestows (*fra-bar-*), 194n18
- Dāitī (Weh-dāitī; Weh River), 203, 229, 229n16, 465, 466, 467, 468, 469, 471
- Dāmdād Nask, 468
- Danaē, 311, 313, 313n32, 313-14, 314, 319, 320
- Danaides, 319, 320
- Danaus, 319, 320
- Dandamaev, Muhammad A., 3, 27, 119
- dar-*, 362-63, 366
- Darius: account of his seizing the throne, 14-16, 22-25, 32, 33, 34, 359, 375-84; in Aeschylus's *Persians*, 291, 293, 326; as antithesis of falsehood, 29, 417, 417n29; Apadāna at Persepolis begun by, 117; Athenians' alliance with, 285-87, 305; Bardiya overthrown by, 14, 33, 41; becomes king by *vašna Auramazdāha*, 134-35, 359, 360n11, 361, 427; blessings and curses for concealing inscription at Bisitun, 215-16, 216; in bringing history to an end, 145; on building palace at Persepolis and the lands/peoples gathering there, 183-84; on Cambyses and origin of the Lie, 13-14, 23, 213-14, 216; in Cambyses's Egyptian campaign, 376; in center relief of Apadāna staircase, 118; claims he overthrew Gaumāta, 14, 15, 23, 31, 33, 41, 134, 230, 359, 378-79, 380, 396, 426; claim to rule of, 362, 398; on conquered populations bringing him tribute, 304, 361, 422, 423; consciously structures his accession narration as epic, 380-81; conservative actions of, 130; consolidates his victory in Bisitun inscription, 38-40; crown of, 114, 114, 235; cuts off Fravarti's sense organs, 197; debate with Otanes and Magabyzus about government, 282; as depicted at Bisitun, 114, 114-16; dominates Bisitun relief sculptures, 394, 395; embassies to Greek cities of, 306; enthronement represented as Wise Lord's response to the Lie, 15-16, 145, 195-96, 371, 415; Eurasian creation myth and accession narrative of, 383-92, 387, 390; in fifth act of creation of Wise Lord, 10, 175, 251-54, 446; as *framātar*, 371-72; on Gadatas's horticultural efforts, 65; on Gaumāta depriving Cambyses of the kingship, 14, 23, 360, 377; genealogy in Bisitun inscriptions, 399; as having few men, 425-27; Herodotus on ascension to the throne, 13, 34, 384-87; on his father and grandfather alive when he became king, 362; on his seeing who is rebellious and who is not, 197; on his treatment of people who were *arika*, 25-26; on illegitimate *maθišta*, 430, 430-31; imperial titles of, 124-25; in inscription at Naqš-e Rostam, 442-45; on the king feeling no fear and the Persian army protected, then happiness will be undestroyed, 135-37, 178, 183, 259-60, 264, 407-8, 409; on land/people of Persia as good, 180-81; on lands/peoples who made palace at Persepolis, 177, 184; on law as instrument of control, 422; on the law

that he proclaimed, 420n38, 421; lists of holdings of, 43-45, 44, 46-48, 109-11; on making things good, 181, 422; mass media campaign of, 398; *maθišta* used by, 429; military actions against various peoples, 26-28; moral qualities and physical skills of, 342-44; mythical genealogy of, 317n; names and describes the rebels, 233-36; nine insurrections against, 14, 15, 35-37, 217, 239-41, 241n14, 363-64, 393-405, 453-54; nineteen battles of, 15, 31, 37; no one as able to deprive Gaumāta of the kingship, 134, 379, 425, 427; on no one proclaiming anything about Gaumāta, 39n67, 134, 359, 379-80, 415, 425; on not being weak in pursuit of happiness, 258, 262-68; as one king over many kings, 176; palace at Susa of, 50-51, 198-99, 204, 370, 371, 372-74; on people and army fearing Gaumāta, 134, 414, 423, 423n57, 425; periodization of events in inscriptions of, 15, 41; places new chief over Scythians, 429, 431; prays to Wise Lord for assistance, 230; puts things *gāθavā* ("in place"), 128-34; rebels punished by, 27, 133-34, 222-24, 403-4, 421, 425; rebuilds a wall in Susa, 128, 131-32, 251, 251n43; redefinitions of situation in 522 B.C.E., 378; relations of characters in Bisitun inscriptions to moment Cambyes departs for Egypt, 376; on relations of ruler and ruled, 35; relief sculptures of defeated enemies at Bisitun, 111-16, 235-36; *ṛta* does not appear in inscriptions of, 417-18; Scythians invaded by, 26-27, 440, 445, 456; on seizing lands/peoples, 47, 48, 111, 135, 137, 138, 179, 304, 362, 422, 442-43; solemn oath to tell truth about what he did after he became king, 30-34, 38; as spearman, 353n70, 376; stelae on the Bosphorus, 456-58; story of

Greeks and Kallatiai, 278-80; strength of, 266n35, 267; summarizes what he did in year after he became king, 31, 37; *θanh-*, 35, 38, 39; on telling truth about events of 522-521, 34; those appointed *maθišta* by, 429, 430; tomb at Naqš-ī Rustam, 116, 125, 139-44, 251, 342, 346, 443-44, 444; tribute payments as innovation of, 50; universal kingship of, 176; *vašna Auramazdāha* in ascension to kingship of, xix, 134-35, 357, 358-60, 360n11, 361, 362, 363-64, 365; on waters of the Tearus, 457-58; on what he did in year after he became king, 14-15, 23, 35-37; on what was proclaimed, by night or day, was done, 226n5; on why Wise Lord chose him, 28-29, 195n19, 257n58; Wise Lord bestows (*fra-bar-*) things on, 194n18; Wise Lord enthrones as king, 10-11, 15, 41, 134-35, 141, 175, 176, 196, 259, 358, 359, 360n11, 361, 363, 371-72, 380, 426, 427, 429, 442, 474-75, 477; on the Wise Lord protecting the people from the enemy horde, bad year, and the Lie, 12, 181-82, 409, 410, 411, 416; Wise Lord's accomplishments compared with those of, 51, 372, 374; Wise Lord sees earth/empire seething and bestows it on Darius, 194-96, 444; wonder but not unity restored by, 200; wonders made by, 370; Xerxes chosen as crown prince by, 360, 429; Xerxes' conquests compared with those of, 137, 139; and Zoroastrianism, 4. *See also* DB (Darius, Bisitun); DE (Darius, Elvend); DNa (Darius, Naqš-ī Rustam a); DNb (Darius, Naqš-ī Rustam b); DPd (Darius, Persepolis d); DPe (Darius, Persepolis e); DPf (Darius, Persepolis f); DPg (Darius, Persepolis g); DPh (Darius, Persepolis h); DSa (Darius, Susa a); DSe (Darius, Susa e); DSf



(Darius, Susa f); DSi (Darius, Susa i); DSj (Darius, Susa j); DSm (Darius, Susa m); DSp (Darius, Susa p); DSS (Darius, Susa s); DZc (Darius, Suez c); and other inscriptions by name

Darius II, 365

Darius III Codomannus, 391, 392

darkness: as demon, 247; Evil Spirit and Lie associated with, 162; Evil Spirit resides in Endless Darkness, 462; light versus, 226

*dāta*. See law (*dāta*)

*daxmas*, 249n37, 439

day: Greeks associate themselves with, 331; night versus, 226

DB (Darius, Bisitun): Achaemenian genealogy in, 399; on bad year preceded by the Lie, 416; blessings and curses for concealing the inscription, 215-16, 216; on Cambyses and origin of the Lie, 13-14, 23; on conquered populations bringing Darius tribute, 304, 361; contrasting uses of *kamna* in, 426; copies made of, 398; on Darius as antithesis of falsehood, 29, 417, 417n29; on Darius as having few men, 425-27; Darius consolidates his victory in, 38-40; on Darius cutting off Fravarti's sense organs, 197, 222; Darius prays to Wise Lord for assistance in, 230; on Darius putting things *gāthavā* ("in place"), 129; on Darius's imperial titles, 124; on Darius's military actions against Elamites and Scythians, 26-28; on Darius's seizure of the throne, 14-16, 22-25, 32, 33, 34, 359, 375-84; on Darius's solemn oath to tell truth about what he did after he became king, 30-34, 38; on Darius's treatment of people who were *arika*, 25-26; Darius summarizes what he did in year after he became king in, 31, 37; demonic entities first appear in, 213; descriptions of rebellion in, 239-41, 393-405; Eurasian creation myth and,

387, 390; exists to justify a coup d'état, 380-81; on Fravarti's punishment, 197, 222; on Gaumāta depriving Cambyses of the kingship, 14, 23, 360, 377; Herodotus's narrative and, 375; introductory formula preceding lists of lands/peoples under Achaemenian rule, 179; on king protecting himself from the Lie, 145n; on the law that Darius proclaimed, 420n38, 421; list of Darius's holdings in, 43, 44, 46, 47-48, 109-11; on Martiya, 423n58; minor texts identifying the rebels, 233-36, 394, 402, 404; on nine insurrections against Darius, 14, 15, 35-37, 217; on nineteen battles of Darius, 15, 31, 37; on no one as able to deprive Gaumāta of the kingship, 134, 379, 425, 427; on no one proclaiming anything about Gaumāta, 39n67, 134, 359, 379-80, 415, 425; on people and army fearing Gaumāta, 134, 414, 423, 423n57, 425; periodization of events in, 15; redefinitions of situation in 522 B.C.E., 378; relations of characters to moment Cambyses departs for Egypt, 376; on relations of ruler and ruled, 35; *θanh-* in, 35, 38, 39; temporal and social order of DB §10, 23-24; on those appointed *maθišta* by Darius, 429, 430; two redefinitions of power struggle in, 380, 381; *vašna Auramazdāha* used in, 134-35, 357, 358-60, 360n11, 361, 362, 363-64, 365; on what Darius did in year after he became king, 14-15, 23, 35-37; on what was proclaimed, by night or day, was done, 226n5; on why Wise Lord chose Darius, 28-29, 195n19, 257n58; on Wise Lord bestowing (*fra-bar-*) things, 194n18; on Wise Lord making Darius king, 134-35, 196, 358-59, 360n11, 363, 380, 426, 427, 474-75

DBb (Darius, Bisitun minor inscription b), on Gaumāta, 234

- DBBab (Darius, Bisitun inscription, Babylon version), on punishment of rebels, 421n43
- DBc (Darius, Bisitun minor inscription c), on Āčina, 234
- DBd (Darius, Bisitun minor inscription d), on Nidintu-Bēl, 234, 394
- DBe (Darius, Bisitun minor inscription e), on Fravarti, 234
- DBf (Darius, Bisitun minor inscription f), on Martiya, 234, 423, 423n58
- DBg (Darius, Bisitun minor inscription g), on Tritantaxma, 234, 401n9
- DBh (Darius, Bisitun minor inscription h), on Vahyazdāta, 234
- DBi (Darius, Bisitun minor inscription i), on Araxa, 234
- DBj (Darius, Bisitun minor inscription j), on Frāda, 234, 401, 402, 403
- DE (Darius, Elvend): on fifth creation of Wise Lord, 175; on four primordial creations of Wise Lord, 174; plural used for "humanity" in, 173
- death: Evil Spirit introduces, 150, 151, 438; the land and the dead, 437-45; the Lie draws Wise Lord's creatures toward, 259; mortality as defining part of human condition, 261; stench of Ahreman associated with, 249; truth as attainable only after, 418; Xerxes on following divine law and proper ritual to obtain happiness in life and truthful/righteousness in, 260-62, 264, 418
- Deinon, 78
- Deiokes, 20-22, 40, 46, 281-82
- deities: Anāhita, 190n5; contrasting hierarchic positions associated with *vazrka* and *vazra*, 435; Zeus, 294, 311, 313, 319, 320. *See also* Wise Lord (Ahura Mazdā; Ohrmazd)
- demons: in Achaemenian texts, 247-50; arch-demons of Zoroastrianism, 217; Cēšmag, 231, 237-39, 241, 245, 246, 247; contrasting hierarchic positions associated with *vazrka* and *vazra*, 435; darkness associated with, 162n35; demonology, 237-57; first appear in DB §10, 213; in genesis of less-than-human species, 163; grammatical number for Wise Lord's material creations in Younger Avesta, 93, 95; Greater Bundahišn on, 246-47; *hajnā* has demonic associations, 411; personal qualities regarded as demonic forces, 460
- Dēnkard: Cihrdād Nask summarized in, 152, 153-57; on cold and dry as Ahremanian qualities, 56-57; on Gayōmard, 150n; on Iran and the districts, 155n21; on the Lie and Zarathuštra, 230-33, 237-39, 241-45; on migration of people from Iran, 155n22; on stench and demons, 249n37; on warmth and moisture and health, 57
- DH (Darius, Hamadan), on Wise Lord bestowing (*fra-bar-*) things, 194n18
- didā*, 59
- dikaio synē*, 336, 337, 338, 341, 343, 345
- Dio Chrysostom, 53
- Diodorus Siculus, 7n11, 8n13, 9, 62, 389n51, 391
- disease: cold and dry associated with, 57; stench associated with, 249. *See also* healing
- dismemberment, sacrificial, 383, 384, 388, 389
- DNa (Darius, Naqš-e Rostam a): on Darius seizing lands/peoples, 47, 48, 111, 137, 138, 179, 362, 422, 442-43; on Darius's imperial titles, 125; fear no longer mentioned in, 137; on fifth creation of Wise Lord, 10, 175, 252, 446; on four primordial creations of Wise Lord, 125, 173, 174, 191, 446, 447; *fraša* in, 369; and Greater Bundahišn on creation, 16n15, 17; on "happiness for mankind" (*šiyāti...martiyahyā*), 10, 17; introductory formula preceding lists of lands/peoples under Achaemenian rule, 138, 179; on land-people relationship, 442-45; list of Darius's

- holdings in, 43, 44, 47-48, 111, 444; lists of Wise Lord's material creations in Achaemenian texts, 98; periodization of events in, 15; on Persian spear use, 353n70; plural used for "humanity" in, 173; prayer formulae seeking divine protection, 248; on throne-bearers at Naqš-ī Rostam, 141-43; *vajna-* in, 201; *vašna Auramazdāha* used in, 365; on Wise Lord bestowing (*fra-bar-*) things, 194n18; on Wise Lord seeing earth/empire seething and bestowing it on Darius, 194-96, 444
- DNb** (Darius, Naqš-ī Rostam b): binary contrasts between demonic threat and royal quality, 254; on Darius seeing who is rebellious and who is not, 197; on Darius's moral qualities and physical skills, 342-44; formulae describing Wise Lord's final act of creation, 253, 253, 256; *fraša* in, 193n16, 369; *handugām* in, 31; happiness as theme of, 258; *ima frašam taya vajnataj* in, 191; lists of Wise Lord's material creations in Achaemenian texts, 98; on not being weak in pursuit of happiness, 262-68; occurrences of *šiyāti* and *šiyāta* and their temporal distribution, 264; on personal qualities with demonic associations, 460; Strabo's access to, 346; *vajna-* in, 201; *vašna Auramazdāha* used in, 365; on Wise Lord making a wonder on the earth, happiness for mankind, and wisdom and prowess for Darius, 51, 98, 258, 264
- dogs, 450, 452
- doru*, 351, 352
- DPd** (Darius, Persepolis d): formulae describing Wise Lord's final act of creation, 252; interrelations with DPe, 408-11; on land/people of Persia as good, 180-81; Old Persian as language of, 172; prayer formulae seeking divine protection, 248; *vašna Auramazdāha* in, 361; on Wise Lord bestowing (*fra-bar-*) things, 194n18; on Wise Lord making Darius king, 361; on the Wise Lord protecting the people from the enemy horde, famine (bad year), and the Lie, 12, 181-82, 409, 410, 411, 416
- DPe** (Darius, Persepolis e): on army as instrument for subjugating other lands/peoples, 178; interrelations with DPd, 408-11; introductory formula preceding lists of lands/peoples under Achaemenian rule, 138, 179; on the king feeling no fear and the Persian army protected, then happiness will be undestroyed, 135-37, 178, 183, 259-60, 264, 407-8, 409; on lands/peoples "of which there are many," 178; list of Darius's holdings in, 46, 47-48, 49, 111; occurrences of *šiyāti* and *šiyāta* and their temporal distribution, 264; Old Persian as language of, 172; on the peoples fearing Darius and bringing him tribute, 135, 179, 304, 423
- DPf** (Darius, Persepolis f): on Darius building palace at Persepolis and the lands/peoples gathering there, 183-84; Elamite as language of, 172
- DPg** (Darius, Persepolis g): Akkadian as language of, 172; begins with account of creation, 173; binary oppositions that organize categories into which lands and peoples have been divided, 176-77; on fifth creation of Wise Lord, 174, 175, 176; formulae describing Wise Lord's final act of creation, 252; on four primordial creations of Wise Lord, 174; on lands/peoples who made palace at Persepolis, 177, 184; lists of Wise Lord's material creations in Achaemenian texts, 98; plural used for "humanity" in, 173
- DPh** (Darius, Persepolis h): on extent of Achaemenian empire, 120n27,

- 120-21; on Wise Lord bestowing (*fra-bar-*) things, 194n18  
*drauga*. See Lie (*draûga*)  
*draujana*, 28  
*drayah*, 454-56, 457  
*draguant*, 28, 226  
*drug*, 226, 227. See also Lie (*drauga*)  
*drûh*, 225  
DSa (Darius, Susa a): on Darius making wonders, 370; *vašna Auramazdāha* used in, 365  
DSaa, on Darius's palace at Susa, 372, 373  
DSab (Darius, statue inscription), formulae describing Wise Lord's final act of creation, 252  
D<sup>2</sup>Sb (Darius II, Susa b), *vašna Auramazdāha* used in, 365  
DSd (Darius, Susa d), on Darius's imperial titles, 124-25  
DSe (Darius, Susa e): on Darius making things good, 181, 422; on Darius putting things *gāθavā* ("in place"), 128, 131-33, 132; on Darius rebuilding a wall, 128, 131-32, 251, 251n43; on Darius seizing lands/peoples, 47, 48, 138, 179, 362, 422; introductory formula preceding lists of lands/peoples under Achaemenian rule, 138, 179; list of Darius's holdings in, 47-48; shift from fear to law in, 137, 422; *vašna Auramazdāha* used in, 365  
DSf (Darius, Susa f): on Darius's father and grandfather alive when he became king, 362; on Darius's palace at Susa, 50-51, 370, 371, 372, 373, 373n59; on Wise Lord bestowing (*fra-bar-*) things, 194n18; on Wise Lord's creation, 148  
DSi (Darius, Susa i): on Darius making things good, 181; *vašna Auramazdāha* used in, 365  
DSj (Darius, Susa j): on palace at Susa as a wonder, 198-99, 370; *vaiṇa-*, 201  
DSm (Darius, Susa m): introductory formula preceding lists of lands/peoples under Achaemenian rule, 179; list of Darius's holdings in, 47-48; on Wise Lord bestowing (*fra-bar-*) things, 194n18  
DSo (Darius, Susa o), on Darius making wonders, 370  
DSp (Darius, Susa p): formulae describing Wise Lord's final act of creation, 252; on Wise Lord bestowing (*fra-bar-*) things, 194n18  
DSs (Darius, Susa s): formulae describing Wise Lord's final act of creation, 253; *fraša* in, 193n16, 369; lists of Wise Lord's material creations in Achaemenian texts, 98; on Wise Lord bestowing (*fra-bar-*) things, 194n18; on Wise Lord making a wonder on the earth, 51  
DSt (Darius, Susa t), formulae describing Wise Lord's final act of creation, 252  
DSz (Darius, Susa z), on Darius's palace at Susa, 372, 373, 373n59  
dualism: in Achaemenian ideology, 79; bifurcated cosmos of Mazdaean religion, 446-61; "bifurcation" versus "dualism," 449n10; ethical, 4, 136, 285, 395, 449  
Duchesne-Guillemin, Jacques, xviii  
*duru-*, 20, 36, 226, 379, 394  
dwarves, 159, 160  
DZc (Darius, Suez c): formulae describing Wise Lord's final act of creation, 252; lists of Wise Lord's material creations in Achaemenian texts, 98; on Wise Lord bestowing (*fra-bar-*) things, 194n18  
earth (*būmī*): Achaemenian and Zoroastrian cosmogonies compared, 17, 448, 448-49, 460; Ahreman creates vermin to wage war against, 150; Ahreman's assault's effect on, 125, 146, 203, 450, 451; burial of the dead in, 437-38, 439; center of, 104; and empire conflated, 19, 124-25, 146, 176; in four primordial creations of Wise Lord, 125, 173, 174,

- 191, 446, 447; fragmentation and restoration of original unity of, 146; and *fraša* in Wise Lord's creation, 193n16; grammatical number for Wise Lord's material creations in Older Avesta, 89, 91; grammatical number for Wise Lord's material creations in Pahlavi texts, 94; grammatical number for Wise Lord's material creations in Younger Avesta, 90, 92; lists of Wise Lord's material creations in Achaemenian texts, 98; original place of, 202, 203; in six original creations of Wise Lord, 16, 148, 416n27, 438; tripartite pattern in, 464, 464; and water as tokens of submission, 440, 447-48; Wise Lord bestows it on Darius, 194, 194n18
- Ecbatana: concentric walls of, 46, 59; Fravarti's followers' heads hung from battlements of, 134; in king's annual circuit, 52, 53, 54
- Ecclesiastes, 63-64
- Eden, 8, 63, 64
- education, Persian. *See* Persian education
- Egyptians: Apis Bull killed by Cambyses, 385-86, 387; Artaxerxes III reconquers, 388; Bagoas and death of Artaxerxes III, 389, 391-92; Cambyses's campaign against, 13, 14, 23, 25, 38, 196, 213, 216, 376, 377, 379, 414n22; Epaphus as Egyptian born, 319; Eurasian creation myth familiar to, 392; Herodotus's study of, 274, 275; Perseus's ancestors from, 314, 316; rebellion of, 305; tribute from, 50
- Elamites: Āçina, 113, 113n15, 133; in Apadāna at Persepolis relief sculptures, 121, 185; in concentric pattern of Achaemenian empire, 43; in Darius's list of imperial possessions, 110; Darius's military actions against, 26, 27, 28; Elamite in Achaemenian royal inscriptions, 172; in Naqš-ī Rostam relief sculptures, 141; tribute from, 50. *See also* Susa
- elders (*geraiteroi*), 348
- election, in Achaemenian ideology, 79
- Eliot, T.S., 167
- empire: imperialism, 445; rhetoric of, 79
- enemy horde (*haiṇā*): in Avestan analysis of bad year, 411, 412, 416n27; Darius asks Wise Lord's protection of his land/people from, 12, 181, 409, 410, 411, 416; happiness as absence of, 18; in logical sequence with famine and the Lie, 248-49; Persian people/army takes up arms against, 182-83; protection against menacing evils in DPd and DPe, 410; as source of fear, 416, 419, 419
- Epaphus, 319, 320
- epiphanies, 189-201
- Esther, Book of, 66
- Ethiopians: in Apadāna at Persepolis relief sculptures, 121, 122, 123, 185; at boundary of Achaemenian empire, 120; in Naqš-ī Rostam relief sculptures, 141; tribute from, 50
- Euphrates, 470-71, 472
- Europe: in Aeschylus's *Persians*, 290-91, 292-300; in Andron of Halicarnassus's *Syngenetika*, 300-302; becomes identified with continental landmass, 290-91; and categorical opposition between East and West, 324-34; personified, 289-90; sisterhood of Asia and, 289-303; story of Persēs and primacy over Asia, 315. *See also* Greeks; Thracians
- Europē, 320, 321
- Eurymedon vase, 353n72
- Evil Spirit (Anra Mainiiu; Ahreman): Achaemenian and Zoroastrian views of, 460; Ahremanian discourse absent in Old Persian, 226; Ahremanian discourse in Older Avesta, 226-27; cold and dry associated with, 56-57, 58; Dāitī corrupted by, 203; darkness associated

- with, 162; effects of assault of, 70, 125-26, 147, 203, 438, 449-50, 451, 467; Endless Darkness as dwelling of, 462; and etymology of *arika*, 24; figures of high rank using *vazra*, 435, 436; as *Gannāg Mēnōg*, 249; Gayōmard killed by, 151, 384; as ignorant, 151; as jealous of Wise Lord's six creations, 150; the Lie as subordinate to, 228-29; in Mazdaean tradition, 449; mixture associated with, 161; as non-existent, 242-45; as unable to definitively defeat good, 150-51; *Urpflanze* attacked by, 70-73, 74, 97, 97n14, 100; *xrafstras* created by, 232; in Zoroastrian creation story, 42
- existence, modes of, 243-44
- false speech, 182, 197, 337
- famine: and bad year, 411, 412, 416n27; Darius asks Wise Lord's protection of his land/people from, 12, 181, 409, 410; happiness as absence of, 18; in logical sequence with enemy horde and the Lie, 248-49. *See also* bad year
- fear, 406-24; *afuvā*, 254, 255-56, 406; complementary analyses in DPd and DPe, 408-11; Darius on people and army fearing Gaumāta, 134, 414, 423, 423n57; Darius on the king feeling no fear and the Persian army protected, then happiness will be undestroyed, 135-37, 178, 183, 259-60, 264, 407-8, 409; Darius on the peoples fearing him and bringing him tribute, 135, 178, 423; enters world with the Lie, 424, 424n; first mention in Achaemenian texts, 415; as instrument of Persian domination, 135, 143, 423, 424; law inspires, 137, 422; Pax Persiana maintained through, 137; Persian people/army and, 408; protection against menacing evils in DPd and DPe, 410; shift to law from, 137-39; sources of, 416, 419, 419; *tr̥s-*, 406, 410, 415; two types of, 406
- fire: in cosmologic discussions, 333; Evil Spirit corrupts, 438; grammatical number for Wise Lord's material creations in Pahlavi texts, 94; grammatical number for Wise Lord's material creations in Younger Avesta, 93, 95; Greeks associate themselves with, 331; Greek theorization of, 328
- first man. *See* Gayōmard
- food chain, 17-18
- Forsdyke, Sara, 295n20
- fra-bar-*, 194n18
- Frāda, 401-4; accusations of behaviors that constituted rebellion, 403; Babylonian inscription on execution of, 421n43; in Bisitun relief of Darius and defeated rebels, 113n15; Darius calls him illegitimate *maθišta*, 430, 430; Darius's accusation of lying by, 234; Darius's victory over, 31; description of rebellion of, 240; genealogy claimed by, 399; legitimations for Darius's military action against, 28; name and lineage he claimed for himself versus that given in Darius's texts, 397; no indication that he was put to death, 403; Skunxa compared with, 404; speech acts attributed to, 36, 36, 402; standard marks of rebel not applied to, 403
- fra-mā-*, 369, 370-71, 372
- framāna*, 254, 255, 255n49, 344, 345
- framātar*, 371-72
- fraša*. *See* wonder (*fraša*)
- Frašgird* (Renovation), 50-51, 76n62, 98, 150n, 192, 468
- fraθ-*, 255, 255n50
- "Frau Welt," 231-32
- Fravarti: accusations of behaviors that constituted rebellion, 403; in Bisitun relief of Darius and defeated rebels, 113n15; and contrasting uses of *kamna*, 426; Darius's accusation of lying by, 234; description

- of rebellion of, 240; genealogy claimed by, 399, 400; legitimations for Darius's military action against, 28; mutilation and execution of, 133-34, 197, 222, 404, 421n43, 425; name and lineage he claimed for himself versus that given in Darius's texts, 397; speech acts attributed to, 36; structural logic that governs how rebellions against Darius are described, 401; as victim and agent of the Lie, 223-24
- Frawāg, 158, 159, 160
- Frāxkard Sea, 72, 73n54, 97n17, 97n18, 467
- Frazer, Sir James George, 167-69, 186, 209
- Frēdōn, 155n21, 156, 157, 161, 162, 163
- fresh water, 450, 451, 455-56
- Gadatas, 65
- Galen, 458, 459
- gardens. *See* pleasure gardens (*paradeisoī*)
- gašāru*, 264, 265-66
- gasta*, 249-50
- gāθavā* ("in place"), 128-34, 137, 143, 143n34
- Gāthās, 18, 226, 229, 366, 428
- gāθu*, 142-43, 143n32
- Gaubaruva (Gobryas): appointed *maθišta* by Darius, 429n15, 430; and Darius in killing of Magus, 385; reworkings of Eurasian cosmogony in narratives of dynastic crises, 387, 388, 390; as spear-bearer of Darius, 353n70, 376n7
- Gauer, Werner, 290n7
- Gaumāta: accusations of behaviors that constituted rebellion, 403; in Bisitun relief of Darius and defeated rebels, 113n15, 235; Darius on him depriving Cambyses of the kingship, 14, 23, 360, 377; Darius on no one as able to deprive him of the kingship, 134, 379, 425, 427; Darius on no one proclaiming anything about, 39n67, 134, 359, 379-80, 415, 425; Darius on people and army fearing, 134, 414, 423, 423n57, 425; Darius overthrows, 14, 15, 23, 31, 33, 41, 134, 230, 359, 378-79, 380, 396, 426; Darius restores damage done by, 128; Darius's accusation of lying by, 234, 379, 417n30; description of rebellion of, 239; Eurasian creation myth and, 384, 387, 388, 390; fails because he lacks Wise Lord's favor, 427; as fiction, 33, 381; Herodotus does not mention name, 385; as instantiation of the Lie, 415; legitimations for Darius's military action against, 28; name he claimed for himself versus that given in Darius's texts, 396-97, 397; name's meaning, 381-83; redefinitions of situation in 522 B.C.E., 378; represents himself as Bardiya, 14, 23, 33, 381, 397, 398, 414, 453; speech acts attributed to, 36; structural logic that governs how rebellions against Darius are described, 401. *See also* Smerdis the Magus
- Gaya, 150, 152-53
- Gayōmard: Cihrdād Nask on, 153, 154; in descent of non-Iranian peoples, 156; Evil Spirit kills, 151, 384; as Gaya, 150; in genesis of less-than-human species, 163; naming of, 150, 150n; in origins of world's populations, 152-53, 154, 157; place of, 203; returns to material existence, 151; in taxonomy of Greater Bundahišn, 158, 159; transmission of word of instruction from Wise Lord to, 155n22
- Geertz, Clifford, 277
- gender: in animate creation, 95; of the Lie, 227, 230-33, 237
- Georges, Pericles, 325n4
- geraiteroi* (elders), 348
- Gershevitch, Ilya, 382n33
- gēnig*, 243, 245, 247
- giants, 159, 160

- Gnoli, Gherardo, xviii, 203  
 Gobryas. *See* Gaubaruva (Gobryas)  
 good (*nai̯ba*), 131, 131n7, 180-81, 200, 263  
 "good things" (*vīspā vohū*): grammatical number for Wise Lord's material creations in Older Avesta, 90, 91; grammatical number for Wise Lord's material creations in Younger Avesta, 93, 95  
*grab-*, 362, 363, 366  
 grammatical number, implications in mythology of vegetation, 89-104  
 Greater Bundahišn: and Achaemenian texts on creation, 16-18, 148; on Cēšmag, 238, 245, 246; climatic and theological binaries compared in, 56, 57-58; on demons, 246-47; on essential species of plants, 76; on Evil Spirit's attack on *Urpflanze*, 97n14; on Evil Spirit's effects, 449, 451; on fear entering world with the Lie, 424n; grammatical number for Wise Lord's material creations in Pahlavi texts, 94; Indian Bundahišn compared with, 160; myths concerning plants in, 69-73; on nature of humans, 158-64; organization of space and time in, 462; plants and hair associated in, 74; on restoration of unity, 76; on rivers, 465-68, 471; on stench and demons, 249n37; synoptic table of Zoroastrian mythology of plants, 80-85; temporal sequence in, 41-42; on Tree of Many Seeds, 97n17, 97n18; on *Urpflanze*, 96n10, 96n13; on vermin polluting water, 456  
 Great Year, 42  
 Greeks: Achaemenian diplomacy with, 304-23; Aeschylus's *Persians* and categorical opposition between East and West, 324-34; *agora*, 284, 284n49, 285; Athenians' alliance with Darius, 285-87, 305; in binary oppositions in Aeschylus' *Persians*, 331; Darius and burial practices of Kallatiai and, 278-80; Darius's embassies to cities of, 306; *drayah* associated with, 454-55; Eurasian creation myth familiar to, 392; hellenocentric ethnography of, 333; Herodotus on Persians' special animus for Athenians, 302; Herodotus on Persian view of origins of Greco-Persian war, 318-19, 322; Herodotus's reflexive critique of, 283-88; Persian invasions of 490 and 480, 286-87, 323; struggle against Xerxes, 296n22; Xerxes' diplomatic initiative to, 307; Xerxes' embassy to Argos, 308-23. *See also* Ionian Greeks  
 Grottanelli, Cristiano, 107  
 Gyndes, 468-69, 472  
*hai̯nā*: demonic associations of, 411; used only for non-Persian troops, 182, 411. *See also* enemy horde (*hai̯nā*)  
 Hall, Edith, 325, 325n4, 326  
*hamiçiya*, 27, 28, 254, 256-57  
 Hamp, Eric, xviii  
*hanatā*, 250-51  
*handugām*, 31, 39  
 haoma: White Haoma, 73, 98; in Yasna ritual, 72  
 happiness (*šiyāti*), 258-68; Darius on not being weak in pursuit of, 258, 262-68; Darius on the king feeling no fear and the Persian army protected, then happiness will be undestroyed, 135-37, 178, 183, 259-60, 264, 407-8, 409; formulaic occurrences refer to time of creation, 259; kingship as not needed when it is perfect, 477; Lie shatters primordial unity of, 125, 173, 177; long, 259-60, 408, 418-19; occurrences in Achaemenian inscriptions, 136, 178, 258, 264, 477; Persian people/army and long, 408; as post mortem reward in Avesta, 261n12; protection against menacing evils in DPd and DPe, 410; *šiyāta*, 259, 260-62, 264; Xerxes on following



- divine law and proper ritual to obtain happiness in life and truthful/righteousness in death, 260-62, 264, 418. *See also* "happiness for mankind" (*šiyāti...martiyahyā*)
- "happiness for mankind" (*šiyāti...martiyahyā*), 11-13; as absence of the Lie, the enemy horde, and famine, 18; in Achaemenian and Zoroastrian texts compared, 17, 17-18; Achaemenian rulers aim to recover, 77, 477-78; Darius attributes to Wise Lord, 51, 258; in four original creations of Wise Lord, 11, 126, 136, 148, 173, 174, 178, 191, 258, 348, 406-7, 446, 447; and *fraša* in Wise Lord's creation, 193n16; genitive case of *martiyahyā*, 11n21; Lie's effect on, 147, 451; lists of Wise Lord's material creations in Achaemenian texts, 98, 98; long happiness versus, 418-19; in narratives of Darius's rise to power, 15, 41; occurrences of *šiyāti* and *šiyāta* and their temporal distribution, 264; original place of, 202; Pahlavi Rivāyat and, 75; plants and, 69, 75, 448; restored at Persepolis palace, 186; warmth and moisture in, 210
- Hartog, François, 440-41
- hašiya*, 30, 38, 225n1
- Haurvatāt* (Wholeness/Health), 72
- Haxāmaniš*, 310n21
- healing: medicinal aspects of water of Choaspes, 209-10; of *psōrē*, 457, 458-59; *theombroton* associated with, 103-4, 210-11, 212
- hearing, those affected by the Lie develop defects of, 219
- heavens. *See* sky (*asmān*; heavenly phenomena)
- Hebrew Bible, 8-9, 8n14, 63-64
- Helen of Troy, 321
- Hellanicus, 312
- Hellespont, 291, 291n12, 326, 457
- Herodotus: on Achaemenian kings drinking only from the Choaspes, 208; on Achaemenian kings receiving divine revelations, 190n4; on Amazons, 349-50; as anthropologist, 271-88; on Aristagoras of Miletus, 351-52, 353; on Athenian and Spartan opposition to Persians, 307; on Bēlus, 312; Bisitun inscriptions and narrative of, 375; on Cambyses desiring to marry his sister, 280-81; as collector of alterity, 274; on concentric pattern of Persian political logic, 45-46, 110, 204; on Cyaxares, 344n44; on Cyrus counseling his countrymen against abandoning rough soil of Persia, 299n29; on Cyrus punishing the Gyndes, 468-69; on Darius's ascension of the throne, 13, 34, 384-87, 387; on Darius's invasion of Scythia, 440-41; on Darius's stelae on the Bosphorus, 456; on death of Cambyses, 377-78; on debate between Darius, Otanes, and Magabyzus about government, 282; on destruction of Troy, 321n52; on earth and water as tokens of submission, 440, 447; ethnic identity of descendants of Io in, 320; freedom and slavery as great theme of, 276-77; fundamental contradiction in, 277; on Greeks blaming Argos for Persian invasion, 316; as *histōr*, 272-73; on the Immortals, 99-100; on Ionian versus other climates, 55; kingship criticized by, 276, 280; land-sea contrast in, 455, 456n28; on Magi, 450-52, 453; on Mardonius urging Xerxes to conquer Greece, 77-79; on Mēdea and the Medes, 321n50; mythic genealogy connecting Perseus to Argos in, 313; on old versus recent events, 309n20; on origins of kingship among Medes, 20-22, 40, 281-82; on Otanes and Phaidyme, 220; on overthrow of Pseudo-Smerdis, 34, 34n56; on Perseus and Dorian kings, 313n32; on Persia as exempt from tribute, 48; on Persian education, 335, 337, 338, 338, 346; Persian interpretation of

- Perseid genealogy in, 314; on Persian navy, 455; on Persians making no cult images, 190n5; on Persians seeing themselves located at center of earth, 149, 422, 422n52; on Persians' special animus for Athenians, 302; on Persian view of origins of Greco-Persian war, 318-19, 322; primary concern of, 273; on privileges granted to Seven Noble Persians, 221n30; on proper title of Scythian ruler, 431; reflexive critique of Greece of, 283-88; social and political judgments made by, 276; on spear use by Persians, 350-51, 353; studies of diverse peoples, 274-77; on Susa, 204, 207; theorization of culture of, 277-83; on transition from Median to Persian empire, 400n; on tribute from Persian satrapies, 49-50; on Xerxes and plane tree, 66, 101-2; on Xerxes attempting to bridge Hellespont, 291n12; on Xerxes' embassy to Argos, 308; on Xerxes on expanding empire to make all lands one, 145-46
- Herrenschmidt, Clarisse, xviii, xx, 3, 9n15, 12, 18, 19, 55n44, 119n25, 124, 256, 343n41, 460
- Herzfeld, Ernst, 24, 25, 29n41, 264, 267n42
- Hesiod, 289, 290, 295n21, 300, 310n22
- Hesychius, 7-8, 8n13
- Hippocrates, 299, 331-32
- Histories* (Herodotus). *See* Herodotus
- history: begins with the Lie, 136, 145, 173; Darius on undestroyed happiness in, 259-60; divisions of time in Darius's inscriptions, 15, 41; in Mazdaean tripartite organization of time, 462; moral ambiguity and danger during, 419; occurrences of *šiyāti* and *šiyāta* and their temporal distribution, 264; situation of original creation during, 146; suspended between two periods of eternal duration, 127
- Hoffmann, Karl, 255, 267
- Homer, 289, 294-95
- Homeric Hymn to Apollo, 289n5
- Hordād* (Wholeness/Health), 72
- horsemanship: of Amazons, 350; as masculine activity, 350; in Persian education, 335, 336, 338, 338, 342, 345
- Horsfall, N.M., 328
- horticulture: and Achaemenian imperialism, 59-85. *See also* pleasure gardens (*paradeisoī*)
- Hōšang, 155n21, 156, 157, 158, 159, 163
- humanity (*martiya*): Achaemenian and Zoroastrian cosmogonies compared, 17, 448, 448-49, 460-61; Ahreman creates vermin to wage war against, 150; Ahreman's assault's effect on, 125, 147, 203, 450, 451; contrasting hierarchic positions associated with *vazrka* and *vazra*, 435; distanced from rest of creation, 194; in four primordial creations of Wise Lord, 125, 126, 173, 174, 191, 446, 447; fragmentation of, 127, 146, 176, 194; and *fraša* in Wise Lord's creation, 193n16; grammatical number for Wise Lord's material creations in Older Avesta, 89-90, 91; grammatical number for Wise Lord's material creations in Pahlavi texts, 94; grammatical number for Wise Lord's material creations in Younger Avesta, 93, 95; lists of Wise Lord's material creations in Achaemenian texts, 98; original place of, 202, 203; Persepolis palace in reunification of, 184; restoring primordial unity of, 77, 126, 127-28, 146; in six original creations of Wise Lord, 16, 148, 416n27; tripartite pattern in, 464, 464; unity and diversity of, 145-64. *See also* Gayōmard; "happiness for mankind" (*šiyāti...martiyahyā*)
- humanoid creatures, 159-60, 162, 163
- Humbach, Helmut, 278

- Humban-Haltash III, 401  
 hunting, 337, 340, 341, 347, 348  
 hydraulics: cosmology and, 462-72.  
*See also* water
- ice: Greeks associate Persians with, 331, 332; Greek theorization of, 328-30
- Idanthyrus, 440, 441, 445
- ideology: of the center, 43-46, 50, 54, 149, 203-4, 285, 422, 422n52; core of Achaemenian, 79; religious dimension of ancient, 172
- Iliad* (Homer), 294-95
- ima frašam taya vajñatai*, 191-94, 201
- Immortality (*Amurdād*; *Amərətāt*), 71, 72, 100, 103, 464, 464
- Immortals, 99-100, 102, 352, 353
- imperial possessions, lists of, 109-11
- Inachus, 319, 320, 321
- Inaros, 421n43
- incest, 280-81
- India, 120
- Indian Bundahišn, 158n28, 159, 160
- Indra, 246
- integrity, 233
- Io, 318, 319, 320, 321
- Ionian Greeks: Athens aids, 287; in concentric pattern of Achaemenian empire, 43, 45; as conquered population, 304; in Darius's list of imperial possessions, 110; Herodotus on siting of cities of, 55; rebellion of, 305, 306, 351; tribute from, 50, 120n26
- Irāj, 156, 157
- Iran: Irāj as ancestor of Iranians, 156, 157; linguistic and religious significance of "Iranian," 203n11; as primordial center, 203-4; relation to the districts, 155n21. *See also* Elamites; Medes; Persia; Parthians
- Islamic conquest, 163-64
- Jackson, W.T.H., 381
- jan-*, 364, 366
- Jason, 321
- jiv-*, 362
- Jones, H.L., 206, 207
- justice, sense of (*dikaio synē*), 336, 337, 338, 341, 343, 345
- Kallatiai, 278-80
- kamna*, 425-28; cognates in Avesta, 427-28
- kar-*: for fifth original creation, 10, 253, 446, 447; with *fraša*, 367, 369, 372; restricted and unrestricted senses of, 364-65; with *vašna Auramazdāha*, 365, 366; *zūrakara* and, 29
- kāra*: martial component of, 407n5; as Persian people at arms, 182-83, 407. *See also* Persian people/army (*kāra*)
- kaufah*: in Old Persian corpus, 453.  
*See also* mountains
- Kellens, Jean, xx, 3, 12, 18
- King-as-gardener topos, 66
- Kirk, G.S., 333
- Koch, Heidemarie, 3, 476n14
- Koloxais, 310n22
- Kuhrt, Amélie, 3
- lands/peoples. *See dahyu* (plural, *dah-yāva*)
- languages, diversity of, 176
- law (*dāta*): as antidote to the Lie, 419, 419-22; army stands behind, 139; fear of Darius's, 137, 422
- lawbreakers, punishment of, 421-22
- Lecoq, Pierre, 3, 24, 130n3
- Libyans: in Andron of Halicarnassus's *Syngénika*, 300, 301, 301; in Apadāna at Persepolis relief sculptures, 121, 185; in concentric pattern of Achaemenian empire, 43; Herodotus's study of, 274; Hippocrates' *On Airs, Waters, and Places* on, 332, 333
- Lie (*drauğa*): Achaemenian emphasis on, 226; in Achaemenian ethical dualism, 4, 136, 285, 395, 449; Achaemenian rulers as afflicted with, 424; *agora* associated with, 285; Ahreman compared with, 449; assumes shape of others, 238; bad

year as preceded by, 416; in Bardiya's reign, 34; in Cēšmag's form, 238, 239; cold and dry associated with, 57; countless manifestations of, 182; Darius as not subject to, 29; Darius on Cambyzes and origin of, 13-14, 23, 213-14, 216, 377, 379, 414; Darius on king protecting himself from, 145n; Darius on Wise Lord protecting the people from, 12, 181, 182, 409, 416; Darius's enthronement represented as Wise Lord's response to, 15-16, 145, 195-96, 371, 415; darkness associated with, 162; distance from center and vulnerability to, 422; *draḡuuant*, 28; duplicity of, 182, 232; enemy horde and famine logical sequence with, 248-49, 410; as essence and source of all evil, 225; expansion of pleasure gardens in struggle against, 77; fear enters world with, 416, 419, 419, 424, 424n; figures of high rank using *vazra*, 435, 436; flawed human actors associated with, 218-22, 224; Fravarti corrupted by, 197; Gaumāta as instantiation of, 415; Gaumāta's violence grounded in, 134, 379, 381; gender of, 227, 230-33, 237; "happiness for mankind" as absence of, 18; history proper begins with, 136, 145, 173; law (*dāta*) as antidote to, 419, 419-22; lawbreakers inspired by, 421; Lying as threat to the king, 256-57; means of overcoming, 228; misleads by emphasizing most attractive part of reality, 232-33; mixture associated with, 161; in moral drama of Darius's rise to power, 15, 41; multiplication of, 218, 224, 227; as non-existent, 242-45, 258; no perfect antidote to, 418-19; in Older Avestan texts, 218-20, 226, 227; operates by contagion, 407; original unities shattered by, 125, 127, 146, 173, 176, 212, 258-59,

348; Persepolis palace in reversal of, 184, 186; Persian army fights, 183; protection against menacing evils in DPd and DPe, 410; punishment of liars, 220-24; as real opponent of Achaemenian kings, 268; rebellion provoked by, 14, 27, 36, 217, 233-36, 363, 427, 453, 454; representing in Achaemenian Persia, 213-24; representing in Mazdaean Iran, 225-36; rivers affected by, 465; *ṛta* as obvious candidate for remedy for, 416-17; struggles with Wise Lord, 173-74; as subordinate to Evil Spirit, 228-29; Truth contrasted with in Bisitun relief, 116; in Younger Avestan texts, 220-22, 227-30; Zarathuštra and, 230-33, 237-39, 241-45; and Zoroastrian creation story, 42

life cycle: in education, 336, 347-48, 349; tripartite pattern of, 463, 463

light, darkness versus, 226

Lommel, Herman, 466

Lukonin, Vladimir, 119

Lydians: in Apadāna at Persepolis relief sculptures, 121; at boundary of Achaemenian empire, 120; in Darius's list of imperial possessions, 110; Herodotus's study of, 274; tribute from, 50

macrocosm, tripartite pattern of microcosm and, 463, 463

Magi, 450-52, 453, 461

Mahryānē: Cihrdād Nask on, 153, 154; in descent of non-Iranian peoples, 156; Gayōmard returns as, 151; in origins of world's populations, 152, 154, 157; in taxonomy of Greater Bundahišn, 158; transmission of word of instruction from Wise Lord to, 155n22

Mahryē: Cihrdād Nask on, 153, 154; in descent of non-Iranian peoples, 156; Gayōmard returns as, 151; in origins of world's populations, 152, 154, 157; in taxonomy of Greater

- Bundahišn, 158; transmission of word of instruction from Wise Lord to, 155n22
- Malandra, William, xviii, 382n34
- Malinowski, Bronislaw, 168, 277
- manah*, 254, 255, 255n47, 343, 345
- manauviš*, 254, 255-56
- mankind. *See* humanity (*martiya*)
- Mardonius, 77-79
- Martiya: accusations of behaviors that constituted rebellion, 403; in Bisitun relief of Darius and defeated rebels, 113n15; Darius calls him illegitimate *maθišta*, 430, 431; Darius's accusation of lying by, 234, 423, 423n58; description of rebellion of, 239; Elamites turn on, 423, 431; genealogy claimed by, 399, 401; legitimations for Darius's military action against, 28; name and lineage he claimed for himself versus that given in Darius's texts, 396n4, 397; speech acts attributed to, 36; structural logic that governs how rebellions against Darius are described, 401
- martiya*. *See* humanity (*martiya*)
- \**maθ*, 429, 432
- maθišta*, 429-32; Darius on illegitimate, 430, 430-31; semantic fields of, 432; those appointed *maθišta* by Darius, 429, 430
- Mawet, Francine, 383n
- Mazdaean religion: Achaemenian religion and Zoroastrianism seen as variants of, 460; bifurcated cosmos of, 446-61; homologies sought in, 462; on moral significance of physical qualities, 56. *See also* Zoroastrianism
- Mēdea, 321, 321n50
- Medes: Andromedē, 311; in Apadāna at Persepolis relief sculptures, 117, 118, 121, 122, 122, 185; in Bisitun relief of Darius and defeated rebels, 113n15; in Darius's list of imperial possessions, 110; in division of lands and peoples, 176; Ecbatana, 46, 52, 53, 54, 59; Eurasian creation myth familiar to, 392; Fravarti, 113n15, 133-34, 397, 399, 400; Gaumāta as Mede, 378, 397; Herodotus on origins of kingship among, 20-22, 40, 281-82; legitimations for Darius's military action against, 28; Mēdea, 321; in Naqš-ī Rostam relief sculptures, 141; Persia succeeds older civilizations, 315; transition from Median to Persian dynasty, 400; tribute from, 50
- Megabyzus, 282
- Meillet, A., 24, 29, 29n42
- mēnōg*, 243, 245, 250
- microcosm: Darius's palace as, 50; tripartite pattern of macrocosm and, 463, 463
- Mikalsen, Jon, 309n20
- Miroir d'Hérodote* (Hartog), 440-41
- miθa*, 254, 256-57, 343
- Mithra, 286-87, 286n56, 287n57
- mock courts, 337
- Molé, Marijan, 242
- monkeys, 160, 161, 163
- motion, tripartite pattern in, 467
- mountains: in Achaemenian inscriptions, 453-54; as result of Ahreman's assault, 450, 451; tripartite pattern in, 464, 464
- Muggletonians, 189
- Müller, Friedrich Max, 168
- Munson, Rosaria Vignolo, 276
- Murray, Gilbert, 324, 324n1, 326
- "Myth and Ritual School," 168
- Nāhaθya, 246
- naība* (good), 131, 131n7, 180-81, 200, 263
- Naqš-ī Rostam: Darius's tomb at, 116, 125, 139-44, 251, 342, 346; land-people relationship in relief and inscription, 442-45; relief sculptures of lands/peoples of empire at, 139-44. *See also* DNa (Darius, Naqš-ī Rostam a); DNb (Darius, Naqš-ī Rostam b)
- nationalism, land, people and ruler connected in, 445

- Nebuchadnezzar, 395, 397, 399  
 Nehemiah, 64-65  
*nēstīh*, 243, 245  
 Nidintu-Bēl: accusations of behaviors that constituted rebellion, 403; in Bisitun relief of Darius and defeated rebels, 113-14, 113n15; and contrasting uses of *kamna*, 426; Darius's accusation of lying by, 234, 394, 395; description of rebellion of, 239; execution of, 133, 421n43, 425; fails because he lacks Wise Lord's favor, 427; genealogy claimed by, 399; legitimations for Darius's military action against, 28; name and lineage he claimed for himself versus that given in Darius's texts, 395-96, 396n4, 397; speech acts attributed to, 36; structural logic that governs how rebellions against Darius are described, 401  
 night: day versus, 226; Greeks associate Persians with, 331  
 Nile, 333-34  
 Nirrti, 437, 437n7  
*nomoi*, 277-83, 299  
 number: implications in mythology of vegetation grammatical, 89-104; tripartite pattern in, 463, 463, 467, 472  
 Nyberg, H.S., 242  
 Nylander, Carl, 222-23  
 Ohrmazd. *See* Wise Lord (Ahura Mazdā; Ohrmazd)  
 Okeanids, 290, 300  
 Okeanos, 289, 290, 300  
 Older Avesta: Ahremanian discourse in, 226-27; Gāthās, 18, 226, 229, 366, 428; grammatical number for Wise Lord's material creations in, 89-90, 91; on the Lie, 218-20, 226, 227; *vasna* in, 366-68  
 Old Persian: *kamna* in, 425-28; as language of Achaemenian royal inscriptions, xviii, 172; *maθišta* in, 429-32; practical advantages of working with texts, 393; religious aspect of, xix  
 Olmstead, A.T., 33, 375  
*On Airs, Waters, and Places* (Hippocrates), 299, 331-32  
 Onesicritus, 346  
 Otanes, 34n56, 220, 282  
 Pahlavi language, xviii  
 Pahlavi Rivāyat accompanying the Dādestān ī Dēnīg: creation story in, 69, 73-76; grammatical number for Wise Lord's material creations in Pahlavi texts, 94; on origin of vermin, 161n; on restoration of unity, 76, 77; synoptic table of Zoroastrian mythology of plants, 80-85  
 Pahlavi texts: Achaemenian texts compared with, 16-18, 148-49, 202-4; on Ahuna Vairia prayer, 229; on climate binaries, 55-56; committed to writing, 151; geocentric models of world order in, 45; grammatical number for Wise Lord's material creations in, 94, 95-98; on the Lie, 230-33; myths concerning plants in, 69-73  
*pairi.daēza*, 5, 59-60, 61  
*pairi.daida*, 5, 59  
 \**pairi.daiza*, 5, 9, 59  
 Paišiyāvūda, 454  
*pālēz*, 5  
*paradeisoi*. *See* pleasure gardens (*paradeisoi*)  
 paradise, 3-19; in Achaemenian imperial ideology, 79; Achaemenian kings' royal circuit associated with properties of, 58; Avestan, 60-61; Eden, 8, 63, 64; Greek descriptions of Persian *paradeisoi*, 5-8, 9, 62-63; in Hebrew Bible, 8-9, 63-64; *pairi.daēza*, 5, 59-60, 61; \**pairi.daiza*, 5, 9, 59; as space of re-creation, 18-19; Susa as, 9, 207, 374. *See also* pleasure gardens (*paradeisoi*)  
*pardēs*, 6, 63, 64  
 Paris, 321  
 Parsi Zoroastrians, 100n24  
 Parthenopē, 300, 302

- Parthians: in Apadāna at Persepolis relief sculptures, 121; in Bisitun relief of Darius and defeated rebels, 113n15; in Darius's list of imperial possessions, 110; in Naqš-ī Rostam relief sculptures, 141
- Parysatis, Queen, 261n12
- Pasargadae, royal garden at, 6, 6-7, 62
- Payen, Pascal, 455n28
- peace: Persian education in preparation for, 340, 341; Persians rank more highly than war, 347-49; seen as feminine, 350
- peacocks, 211, 211n41
- pedagogy, Persian. *See* Persian education
- Peisistratos, 21
- Pericles, 333
- peri-teikhós*, 5
- Perseids, 311, 313, 314
- Persepolis: conquering lion sculpture, 170; Darius on building palace and the lands/peoples gathering there, 183-84; Darius on lands/peoples who made palace at, 177, 184; Gate of All Lands/Peoples made by Xerxes, 199-200; in king's annual circuit, 53, 54; peoples and goods reunited at, 184-86; Persians holding spears in relief sculptures from, 353, 354; pleasure garden (*paradeisos*) at, 62; seen as ritual city, 171; as visual meditation, 200-201. *See also* Apadāna staircase at Persepolis; DPd (Darius, Persepolis d); DPe (Darius, Persepolis e); DPf (Darius, Persepolis f); DPg (Darius, Persepolis g); DPh (Darius, Persepolis h); XPa (Xerxes, Persepolis a); XPh (Daiva inscription; Xerxes, Persepolis h); XPl (Xerxes, Persepolis l)
- Persepolis Fortification Tablets, 52, 382, 261n12
- Persepolis Treasury Texts, 68
- Persēs: as first Persian, 310n22; Herodotus's mythic genealogy connecting Perseus to Argos, 310-16, 313; Persian interpretation of Perseid genealogy as reported in Herodotus, 314
- Perseus, 310-16; ethnic identity of descendants of Io in Herodotus, 320; Herodotus's mythic genealogy connecting him to Argos, 313; Io as ancestor of, 319; Persian interpretation of Perseid genealogy as reported in Herodotus, 314
- Persia: Aeschylus's *Persians* and categorical opposition between East and West, 324-34; allied populations, 305; in Apadāna at Persepolis relief sculptures, 121; in binary oppositions in Aeschylus' *Persians*, 331, 332; concentric circles for representing spatial, ethnic, political relations of, 45-46, 50, 54, 110-11, 155, 202-4, 285; Cyrus the Great counsels his countrymen against abandoning rough soil of, 299n29; as exempt from tribute, 48, 185; Greeks and Kallatai burial practices contrasted with those of, 278-80; Herodotus on Persian view of origins of Greco-Persian war, 318-19, 322; Herodotus's study of Persians, 274; invasions of Greece of 490 and 480, 286-87, 323; legitimations for Darius's military action against, 28; in Naqš-ī Rostam relief sculptures, 141; navy of, 455; Persēs, 310-16; Persians see themselves located at center of earth, 43, 149, 203, 285, 422, 422n53; protection against menacing evils in DPd and DPe, 410; resistance among subject populations, 424; succeeds older civilizations, 315; Susa and recentering of empire, 205. *See also* Achaemenian rulers; Persian education; Persian people/army (*kāra*)
- Persian education, 335-50; curriculum, 335, 336-38, 338; the educational day, 339-40, 340, 347, 349; goal of, 341-45; Greek knowledge of, 345-46; stages of, 336, 347-48, 349; taxonomy underlying system of, 345

Persian people/army (*kāra*): as antidote to enemy horde, 416, 419; Darius seizes lands/peoples with, 135, 178; in defeat of the Lie, 348; end of history brought about by, 186; fear neutralized and long happiness secured by, 408; Gaumāta feared by, 134, 414, 423, 423n57, 425; if it will be protected happiness will be undestroyed, 135-37, 178, 183, 259-60, 264, 407-8, 409; Immortals, 99-100, 102, 352, 353; as instrument of Achaemenian kings, 407; Pax Persiana imposed and maintained by, 137, 178; protection against menacing evils in DPd and DPe, 410; rebels address themselves to, 240, 241; spear use by, 350-54; symbiosis between king and, 410; threat of enemy horde forces them to pick up weapons, 182-83, 411

*Persians* (Aeschylus): Asia and Europe identified with continental landmasses in, 290-91; Asia and Europe in dream of Atossa, 292-300; and categorical opposition between East and West, 324-34; Greek *sophrōsynē* and Persian *hybris* contrasted in, 326; Hippocrates' *On Airs, Waters, and Places* compared with, 331-32; on possibility of freedom spreading to Asia, 297-98; on Xerxes crossing the Strymon, 326-34

*Persika* (Deinon), 78

Phaidyme, 220

Photius, 62

Phylarchus, 101

physical prowess. See *aruvasta*

Pindar, 279, 283

plane trees, 66, 101-3

planets, as demons, 246

plants: Achaemenian and Zoroastrian cosmogonies compared, 17, 448, 448-49, 460; Achaemenian cosmogonic texts on, 99-104; Ahreman creates vermin to wage war against,

150; Ahreman's assault's effect on, 70, 203, 450, 451; bodily well-being and pleasure traced to, 18; in Cyrus the Younger's garden, 67; as different in different lands, 177; essential species of, 75-76; in garden in Ecclesiastes, 64; in garden in Song of Solomon, 63; grammatical number for Wise Lord's material creations in Older Avesta, 89, 91; grammatical number for Wise Lord's material creations in Pahlavi texts, 94, 96-98; grammatical number for Wise Lord's material creations in Younger Avesta, 90, 92, 95; in "happiness for mankind" (*šiyāti...martiyahyā*), 69, 75, 448; in identity of *dahyu*, 109; implications of grammatical number in mythology of vegetation, 89-104; mediate between death and life, 72; multiplicity of, 68-73; plane trees, 66, 101-3; in pleasure gardens (*paradeisoī*), 5, 61, 62, 76-79; pomegranates, 99, 99-100, 100n24, 101, 103; primordial unity of, 70, 72-73 75-76, 77, 96-97, 99, 104; in six original creations of Wise Lord, 16, 148, 416n27; synoptic table of Zoroastrian mythology of, 80-85; Tree of All Seeds, 73, 97, 97n17, 97n178, 99, 100, 103; tripartite pattern in, 464, 464; *Urpflanze*, 70-73, 74, 96-97, 202, 211; warmth and moisture associated with, 58, 70; Zoroastrian myths concerning, 69-73

Plato, 279, 329-30

pleasure gardens (*paradeisoī*): Achaemenian rulers and, 5, 61, 65-68; adding plants from all over empire, 76-79; expansion of, 77; Greek descriptions of, 5-8, 9, 62-63; inside versus outside the walls, 61; as microcosmic models of imperial economy, 69; and primordial unity of plants, 99; water in, 5, 61, 62, 69  
Pliny the Elder, 103, 210



- Plutarch, 53, 307n13  
 political function of religion, xvii, 473-77  
 pollution, 60  
 Polybius, 457  
 pomegranates, 99, 99-100, 100n24, 101, 103  
 Pompholugē, 300, 302  
 Poseidon, 294, 320  
 primordial bovine: all animals will merge back into, 75n62; Evil Spirit kills, 384; Gaya associated with, 152; as gendered, 95; happiness associated with animals, 18, 98; healing plants born from, 97n18; located at center of earth, 96; in Older Avesta's accounts of creation, 89; omitted in Achaemenian cosmogonic texts, 98; original place of, 202  
*psōrē*, 457, 458-59  
 quality, tripartite pattern, 463, 463, 467, 472  
 races, origins of, 154, 155  
 racism, 164  
 Rañhā, 466, 466n9, 468  
*rāsta*, 254, 257, 257n57, 343, 345  
 Raven, J.E., 333  
 rebellion, 393-405; blinding rebels, 226; Darius has last word over rebels, 397-98; *hamiçiya*, 27, 28, 254, 256-57; Lie provokes, 14, 27, 36, 217, 363, 427, 453, 454; names rebels claimed for themselves versus those given in Darius's texts, 395-97, 397; nine insurrections against Darius, 14, 15, 35-37, 217, 239-41, 241n14, 363-64, 453-54; punishment of rebels, 27, 133-34, 222-24, 403-4, 421, 425, 461; rebels fleeing with a few men after being defeated, 425; structural logic that governs how they are described, 401; variants in Darius's descriptions of, 398-401; Xerxes suppresses, 364. *See also* Ācina; Araxa; Aθamaita; Frāda; Fravarti; Gaumāta; Martiya; Nidintu-Bēl; Tritantaxma; Vahyaz-dāta  
 Reeve, John, 189  
 relief sculptures: conquering lion sculpture from Persepolis, 170; Darius dominates Bisitun sculptures, 394, 395; Darius with defeated rebels at Bisitun, 111-16, 112, 235, 235-36; diversity of *dahyu* within imperial whole depicted in, 111-23; at Naqš-e Rostam, 139-44, 443-44, 444; Persians holding spears in, 353, 354; sacred kingship seen in Apadāna staircase at Persepolis, 170, 170; Skunxa added to Bisitun, 113n15, 114-16, 115, 404-5, 405  
 religion, political significance of, xvii, 473-77  
 Renovation (*Frašgird*), 50-51, 76n62, 98, 150n, 192, 468  
 reproduction, 150, 151  
 Ṛg Veda, 225, 437-38  
 riding. *See* horsemanship  
 rivers: Avesta on, 468; Choaspes (Eulaios; Karkheh), 103, 207-10, 212; Dāiti (Weh; Weh-dāiti), 203, 229, 229n16, 465, 466, 467, 468, 469, 471; Euphrates, 470-71, 472; Greater Bundahišn on, 465-68; Gyndes, 468-69, 472; Nile, 333-34; Tearus, 457-58, 458n40, 459, 459n47  
 Robertson Smith, William, 168  
 Romans, 156, 157, 159  
 Romilly, Jacqueline de, 325n2  
 Root, Margaret Cool, 3  
 Rösler, Wolfgang, 334  
 Rossi, Adriano, 130n4  
 royal garden at Pasargadae, 6, 6-7, 62  
*ṛta*: does not appear in Darius's inscriptions, 417-18; law (*dāta*) approximates, 419; not in Darius's vocabulary, 30; as obvious candidate for remedy for the Lie, 416-17. *See also* truth  
*ṛtā*, 30, 225

- ṛtāvan*, 55, 418  
*ṛtāvan*, 225  
 running water, 467-68
- sacred kingship, 167-86  
 Said, Edward, 325  
*Saka tigraxaūda*, 26, 27, 26n34, 28  
 Salamis, Battle of, 297, 327n8  
 Salm, 156, 157, 159  
 salt water, 450, 451, 454-56, 459  
 Sancisi-Weerdenburg, Heleen, 3, 119n25, 317n  
 Šapuhr II, 152  
 Sardis, sack of, 286, 287  
 Sassanian empire, fall of, 163  
 Sassi, Maria Michaela, 326  
 Satiphernes, 261n12  
 Saurva, 246  
 Schmidt, Hanns-Peter, 243  
 Schmitt, Rüdiger, 3, 24, 256, 263n21  
 Scythians: at boundary of Achaemenian empire, 120; in concentric pattern of Achaemenian empire, 43; Darius places new chief over, 429; in Darius's list of imperial possessions, 110; Darius's military actions against, 26-27, 440, 445, 456; *drayah* associated with, 454-55; as gullible, 404; Herodotus's study of, 274, 275; Hippocrates' *On Airs, Waters, and Places* on, 332, 333; Koloxais, 310n22; in Naqš-e Rostam relief sculptures, 141; pointed hats worn by, 115, 115, 116, 404; as proto-nationalist, 442; royal tombs of, 440, 441-42, 443; Skunxa depicted at Bisitun, 113n15, 114-16, 115, 404-5, 405  
 Searle, John, 35  
 seasons, and king's annual circuit, 53, 54  
 Selections of Zādspram: on consequences of Ahreman's assault, 451; on essential species of plants, 75-76; on Evil Spirit's effects, 449; grammatical number for Wise Lord's material creations in Pahlavi texts, 94; myths concerning plants in, 69-73; Old Persian cosmogony compared with that of, 448-49; organization of space and time in, 462; on restoration of unity, 76; synoptic table of Zoroastrian mythology of plants, 80-85; temporal sequence in, 41-42; on Tree of All Seeds, 97n17; on *Urpflanze*, 96n11, 96n12; on vegetation and eschatological restoration of existence, 75n63  
 Sēn, 159  
 Sepeia, Battle of, 308  
 Septuagint, 8-9, 8n14  
 sexuality, 149, 151  
 Shahbazi, A.H., 45  
 Shaked, Shaul, 242-43  
 shooting stars, 412, 416n27  
 Sims-Williams, Nicholas, 262, 263n21  
 Sirius (Tištrya), 71, 413  
*šiyāta*, 259, 260-62, 264  
*šiyāti*. See happiness (*šiyāti*)  
*šiyāti...martiyahyā*. See "happiness for mankind" (*šiyāti...martiyahyā*)  
 Skunxa: in Bisitun relief of Darius and defeated rebels, 113n15, 114-16, 115, 404-5, 405; as chief not king, 115n18, 404; Darius calls him illegitimate *maθišta*, 430, 431; Darius places new chief over Scythians, 429, 431; Darius spares, 27, 404; legitimations for Darius's military action against, 28  
 sky (*asmān*; heavenly phenomena): Achaemenian and Zoroastrian cosmogonies compared, 17, 448, 448-49, 460; Ahreman creates vermin to wage war against, 150; Ahreman's assault's effect on, 147, 203, 451; in four primordial creations of Wise Lord, 125, 173, 174, 191, 446, 447; fragmentation and restoration of original unity of, 146, 147; and *fraša* in Wise Lord's creation, 193n16; grammatical number for Wise Lord's material creations in Older Avesta, 89, 91; grammatical number for Wise Lord's material creations in Pahlavi texts, 94; gram-

- matical number for Wise Lord's material creations in Younger Avesta, 90, 92; lists of Wise Lord's material creations in Achaemenian texts, 98; original place of, 202; in six original creations of Wise Lord, 16, 148, 416n27; tripartite pattern in, 464, 464
- Smerdis: in Herodotus's account of Darius's ascension, 23n14, 34n56, 220, 384-85, 387, 390. *See also* Bardiya
- Smerdis the Magus: Herodotus on Cambyses and, 386, 387, 388, 390; Herodotus on Darius's overthrow of, 384-85, 387, 390; Herodotus on Otanes and Phaidyme and, 220, 221. *See also* Gaumāta
- Solinas, Pier Giorgio, 107
- Song of Solomon, 63
- sōphrosynē*, 326, 336, 337-38, 338, 339, 341, 343, 345
- space: concentric pattern in Achaemenian, 43-58; Mazdaean tripartite organization of, 462, 462, 463, 467
- Spandarmad, 230-31, 239
- spear throwing: of Amazons, 350; as masculine activity, 350; in Persian education, 336, 338, 338, 345, 346; Persian use of spears, 350-54
- Stella, Luigia Achillea, 325n2
- stench: Ahreman as Foul Spirit, 249; demons as bringers of, 249n37; king's ability to stave of, 251; of salt water, 456
- Stolper, Matthew, 177n24, 366n32
- Strabo: access to Naqš-ī Rostam inscriptions, 346; on Persian education, 336, 338, 338, 339, 346, 347, 349; on salinity of Black Sea, 457; on spear use by Persians, 350; on Susa, 204-5, 206, 207
- strength, 263-67
- Stronach, David, 3, 6
- Susa: as at center of empire, 204-7, 212; on Choaspes, 103, 207-8, 208, 212; climate of, 206-7, 210; Darius rebuilds wall in, 128, 131-32, 251, 251n43; Darius's palace at, 50-51, 198-99, 204, 370, 371, 372-74; as *eudaimōn*, 206-7; golden pomegranates in colored tile relief from, 99; in king's annual circuit, 53, 53, 54; in maintaining primordial perfection, 212; map of Persian empire, 205; as a microcosm, 9, 207; Persians holding spears in relief sculptures from, 353, 354; polychrome decorated wall at, 129; reputation of, 206; as visual meditation, 200-201; walls of, 59. *See also* DSa (Darius, Susa a); DSe (Darius, Susa e); DSf (Darius, Susa f); DSi (Darius, Susa i); DSj (Darius, Susa j); DSm (Darius, Susa m); DSp (Darius, Susa p); DSS (Darius, Susa s)
- Symmachus, 341-42, 346
- Syngenika* (Andron of Halicarnassus), 300-302
- Tadmor, Hayim, 359n8
- θand-*, 369
- θanh-*, 20, 34-37, 38, 39, 394
- Taxmaspada, 429n15, 430
- Tāxmōrup, 155n21, 157
- Tāz, 156, 157, 158, 159, 162, 163
- Tearus, 457-58, 458n40, 459, 459n47
- Tethys, 289, 300
- thaumatology, 272
- Themistocles, 297
- Theogony* (Hesiod), 289, 290, 295n21, 300, 310n23
- theombrotion*, 103-4, 210-11, 212
- Thermopylae, Battle of, 352, 353
- Thracians: in Andron of Halicarnassus's *Syngenika*, 300, 301, 301, 302; in Apadāna at Persepolis relief sculptures, 121, 122; in concentric pattern of Achaemenian empire, 43; as conquered population, 304
- throne names, 233, 396
- time: as destroyer, 250-51; divisions in Darius's inscriptions, 15, 41; historical time suspended between two periods of eternal duration, 127; homologous temporal structures at

- level of day, individual life, and cosmos, 349; for the longest time (*duvaištam*), 260; Mazdaean tripartite organization of, 462, 462, 463, 467, 472; occurrences of *šiyāti* and *šiyāta* and their temporal distribution, 264; in Zoroastrian texts, 41-42. *See also* history
- Tištrya (Sirius), 71, 413
- Tower of Babel, 184
- Tōz, 156, 157
- Tree of All Seeds, 73, 97, 97n17, 97n178, 99, 100, 103
- tribute: in Apadāna at Persepolis relief sculptures, 49, 49, 117-23, 171, 185; brought to Gate of All Lands/Peoples in Persepolis, 199; ceremonial aspect of, 171-72; as concentrating material conditions of happiness, 424; Darius on conquered populations bringing him, 304, 361, 422, 423; Darius on the peoples fearing him and bringing him, 135, 178; as innovation of Darius, 50; Persians exempt from, 48, 185. *See also*: *bāji*
- Tritantaxma: accusations of behaviors that constituted rebellion, 403; in Bisitun relief of Darius and defeated rebels, 113n15; Darius's accusation of lying by, 234; description of rebellion of, 240; genealogy claimed by, 399, 400, 400; legitimations for Darius's military action against, 28; mutilation of, 197n24, 222, 222n33, 404n14, 421n43; name and lineage he claimed for himself versus that given in Darius's texts, 397; speech acts attributed to, 36; structural logic that governs how rebellions against Darius are described, 401
- Troy, 321, 321n52, 323, 323n
- trs-*, 406, 410, 415
- truth: act of (*\*satyakriyā*), 244n26; in Achaemenian ethical dualism, 4, 136, 285, 395; Achaemenians emphasize the Lie, 226; as at center, 285; Darius as antithesis of falsehood, 29, 417, 417n29; Darius's solemn oath to tell truth about what he did after he became king, 30-34; as established through kingship, 40; *hašiya*, 30, 39, 225n1; and Lie contrasted in Bisitun relief, 116; only one, 182; Persian army fights on behalf of, 183; Persian versus Greek attitude toward, 284-85; and power, 20, 22; *rta*, 30, 416-17, 417-18, 419; *rtāvan*, 55, 418; *θanh-*, 34-37, 38, 39; those affected by the Lie become hostile to, 219; truth-telling in Persian curriculum, 335, 338, 341, 345; Vedic Indian focus on, 225
- Tuplin, Christopher, 3, 52
- Turanians, 156, 157, 159
- Tylor, Sir Edward Burnett, 168, 277
- ūnara*, 253n45, 254, 255
- Urpflanze*, 70-73, 74, 96-97, 202, 211
- uruuara-*: grammatical number in Older Avesta, 89-90; grammatical number in Younger Avesta, 90
- uši*, 197n23, 255n48, 345
- uši*, 254, 255, 344
- Utas, Bo, 363
- Vahyazdāta: accusations of behaviors that constituted rebellion, 403; in Bisitun relief of Darius and defeated rebels, 113n15; and contrasting uses of *kamna*, 426; Darius's accusation of lying by, 234; description of rebellion in Bisitun inscriptions, 240; execution of, 404, 404n14, 421n43, 425; general of, 425, 426, 430, 431; legitimations for Darius's military action against, 28; location of rebellion of, 453-54; name and lineage he claimed for himself versus that given in Darius's texts, 397; represents himself as Bardiya, 397, 398, 431, 453; speech acts attributed to, 36; structural logic that governs

- how rebellions against Darius are described, 401
- vaṇa-*, 191, 192, 192n12, 196, 197, 199, 200, 201, 255n48
- vaṇatai*, 191, 192-94
- Vaṇuhi Dāityā, 203, 466n8, 466n9, 468
- vasaj*, 213, 214, 215-16
- vasna*, 366-68
- vašna Auramazdāha*, 357-74; Darius becomes king by, xix, 134-35, 357, 358-60, 360n11, 361, 362, 363-64, 365, 427, 474-75; Darius depicts his relationship to peoples of the empire with, 110; Darius legitimates his usurpation with, xix; Darius puts things *gāθavā* ("in place") by, 128; in introductory formulae preceding lists of lands/peoples under Achaemenian rule, 179; kingship granted through, 233; *vasna* as Avestan cognate for, 366-68; verbs associated with, 358-66; with verbs of being and becoming, 358-62, 366; with verbs of doing and making, 364-66; with verbs of having and getting, 362-63, 366; with verbs of violence and destruction, 363-64, 366
- vaumajni*, 263-67
- vazra*, 433-36
- vazrka*, 432-36
- vermin (*xrafstra*): Achaemenian kings treat their enemies like, 461; Ahreman as creator of, 207, 232, 450, 451; in Dāitī, 203; darkness associated with, 162n35; and the Lie taking female form, 232; Magi on destroying, 452, 461; Susa as free of, 207, 210; water polluted by, 456
- Vidarna, 429n15, 430
- Vidēvdād (Vidēvdāt): on exposure of bodies, 439n16; on the Lie, 218, 220; the Lie treated as subordinate to Evil Spirit in, 228-29; on places for the polluted, 60, 61; on Raṇhā, 466n9; on tools of the warrior, 434, 434
- vinasta*, 254, 256-57
- Vindafarnā, 429n15, 430
- vīspā vohū*. See "good things" (*vīspā vohū*)
- Vispa-šiyātiš*, 68-69
- Vištāspa, 229n16, 362, 376, 378
- visual experience of gods, 191
- Vivāna, 429n15, 430
- vratīyai*, 30n47, 38, 39
- Wackernagel, Jacob, 25
- walls, 59-61
- Walser, Gerold, 123n30
- war: the Lie gives rise to, 182; martial capacity of Amazons, 350; Persian education in preparation for, 337, 340, 340, 341, 348; Persians rank peace more highly than, 347-49
- water: Achaemenian and Zoroastrian cosmogonies compared, 17, 448, 448-49, 460; bodily well-being and pleasure traced to, 18; creation associated with warmth and moisture, 56-57; and earth as tokens of submission, 440, 447-48; Evil Spirit corrupts, 203, 438, 449, 451; Evil Spirit creates vermin to wage war against, 150; fresh, 450, 451, 455-56; in garden in Ecclesiastes, 64; grammatical number for Wise Lord's material creations in Older Avesta, 89, 91; grammatical number for Wise Lord's material creations in Pahlavi texts, 94; grammatical number for Wise Lord's material creations in Younger Avesta, 90, 92, 95; Greeks associate themselves with, 332; in "happiness for mankind" (*šiyāti...martīyahyā*), 69; place of primordial, 203; plants associated with warmth and moisture, 58, 70; Plato on forms of, 329-30; in pleasure gardens (*paradeisoī*), 5, 61, 62, 69; running, 467-68; salt, 450, 451, 454-56, 459; in six original creations of Wise Lord, 16, 148, 416n27; of the Tearus, 457-58;

- tripartite pattern in, 465-68, 467;  
Wise Lord associated with warm and moist, 56, 57, 58; in Yasna ritual, 72. *See also* rivers
- weapons: for distinguishing between Persians and foreigners in reliefs, 112-13; in identity of *dahyu*, 109; taxonomy of offensive, 434; *vazra*, 433-36. *See also* bowmanship; spear throwing
- Weh River (*Weh-dāiti* (*Dāitī*)), 203, 229, 229n16, 465, 466, 467, 468, 469, 471
- Weissbach, F.H., 177n24
- White Haoma, 73, 98
- Wholeness/Health (*Haurvatāt*; *Hor-dād*), 72
- Widengren, Geo, xviii, 169n6
- Wiesehöfer, Josef, 3, 473-74, 475
- wind: grammatical number for Wise Lord's material creations in Pahlavi texts, 94; grammatical number for Wise Lord's material creations in Younger Avesta, 93
- winged figure, 112n14, 190
- wisdom. *See xraθu*
- Wise Lord (Ahura Mazdā; Ohrmazd): Achaemenian and Zoroastrian views of, 460; Achaemenian kings chosen to defend Truth, 285; Achaemenian kings chosen to restore primordial unities, 19, 126, 128, 145, 198, 200, 348, 372; Achaemenian kings' royal circuit associated with properties of, 58; Achaemenians as worshippers of, 4; Ahuna Vairiia prayer uttered by, 229n17; benevolent intentions of, 136; bestows (*fra-bar-*) things on the king, 194n18; in creation account of Pahlavi Rivāyat accompanying the *Dādestān ī Dēnīg*, 73-75; Darius prays for assistance to, 230; Darius's accomplishments compared with those of, 51, 372, 374; Darius's enthronement represented as response to the Lie of, 15-16, 145, 195-96, 371, 415; Endless Light as dwelling of, 462; enthrones Darius as king, 10-11, 15, 41, 134-35, 141, 175, 176, 196, 259, 358, 359, 360n11, 361, 363, 371-72, 380, 426, 427, 429, 442, 477; fate of original creations of, 146-47; fifth act of creation of, 10, 174, 175, 177, 446-47; five distinct acts of creation of, 173; four primordial creations of, 125-26, 146, 173, 174, 191, 446; *fraša* in creation of, 193n16; gift of office bestowed on Achaemenian kings, 147, 169, 175, 176, 186, 194, 251-54, 285; "happiness for mankind" (*šiyāti...martiyahyā*) created by, 11-13, 15, 41, 69, 75, 136, 186, 191, 258, 264, 348, 406-7, 418, 446, 477; iconic depictions of, 112n14; in inscription at Naqš-e Rostam, 442, 442n24; integrity as original intent for creation, 233; the law set down by, 420; *maθišta* denotes, 429, 429n14; in Mazdaean tradition, 449; as omniscient, 151; perfect entities created at center of the world, 212; Persepolis credited to, 184; prayer formulae seeking divine protection, 247-49; sees earth/empire seething and bestows it on Darius, 194-96, 444; six original creations of, 16, 148, 149, 416n27, 438; struggles with the Lie, 173-74; twenty-three variants of creations of, 10, 191; and *Urp-flanze*, 71, 72, 74; *vazrka* used of, 434, 434n30, 435; warm and moist associated with, 56, 57, 58; why Darius was chosen for special favor, 28-29, 195n19, 257n58; winged figure represents, 112n14, 190; wonders attributed to, 51, 258; Xerxes on following divine law and proper ritual to obtain happiness in life and truthful/righteousness in death, 260-62, 264, 418; in Zoroastrian creation story, 42. *See also* *vašna Auramazdāha*
- Wiseman, T.P., 383n
- women: Aeschylus's *Persians* contrasts European and Asian, 296n22;

- Amazons, 349-50; exchange of, 319-22; gendering of animate creation, 95; Greek knowledge of Persian, 292n14; pollution in, 60
- wonder (*fraša*), 369-72; Darius's palace at Susa as, 50, 198, 204, 370, 372, 374; *ima frašam taya vajnatai*, 191, 193-94; lists of Wise Lord's material creations in Achaemenian texts, 98, 98; peacock as wonder-bird, 211, 211n41; semantic range of, 191-92; senses in Achaemenian texts, 193n16; with *vasna*, 367, 367-68; Wise Lord makes a wonder on this earth, 51, 258; Xerxes uses only in cosmogonic contexts, 200
- XE (Xerxes, Elvend): formulae describing Wise Lord's final act of creation, 252; on Wise Lord as great god, 429n14
- Xenophon: on Achaemenian royalty and their gardens, 66-68; on Cyrus's elite bodyguard, 376n7; on king's annual circuit, 53; on Persian education, 335n1, 336-38, 338, 339, 346, 347-48, 349; on Persian king at center of his army, 54; pleasure gardens (*paradeisoi*) described by, 7; on satraps creating pleasure gardens, 64; service with Cyrus the Younger, 346; and Song of Solomon, 63; on spear use by Persians, 350
- Xerxes: acknowledges conquering new lands, 137, 139; in Aeschylus's *Persians*, 292, 293, 295, 296-97; Apadāna at Persepolis completed by, 117, 199; appointed *maθišta* by Darius, 429, 430; attempts to bridge Hellespont, 291n12, 326, 457; chosen crown prince, 359-60, 429; describes his accomplishments as good (*naiba*), 200; diplomatic initiative in Greece, 307; disaster crossing Strymon, 326-28; embassy to Argos of, 308-23; on expanding empire to make all lands one, 145-46; in fifth act of creation, 175, 446; on following divine law and proper ritual to obtain happiness in life and truthful/righteousness in death, 260-62, 264, 418; Gate of All Lands/Peoples at Persepolis made by, 199-200; Greek struggle against, 296n22; *hybris* attributed to, 326, 328, 457; lineage of, 359n8; on making things good, 181; *maθišta* used by, 429; Mardonius urges him to conquer Greece, 77-79; offers sacrifice at Troy, 323n; and plane trees, 66, 101-3; *ṛtāvan* employed by, 418; at Thermopylae, 352; unity but not wonder restored by, 200; *vašna Auramazdāha* used by, 357, 359-60, 364, 365. *See also* XE (Xerxes, Elvend); XPa (Xerxes, Persepolis a); XPh (Daiva inscription; Xerxes, Persepolis h); XPl (Xerxes, Persepolis l); XV (Xerxes, Van)
- XPa (Xerxes, Persepolis a): on fifth creation of Wise Lord, 175; on four primordial creations of Wise Lord, 174; singular used for "humanity" in, 173; *vaṇa-* in, 201; *vašna Auramazdāha* used in, 365; on Xerxes building Gate of All Lands/Peoples at Persepolis, 199-200
- XPb (Xerxes, Persepolis b), *vašna Auramazdāha* used in, 365
- XPc (Xerxes, Persepolis c), *vašna Auramazdāha* used in, 365
- XPd (Xerxes, Persepolis d), *vašna Auramazdāha* used in, 365
- XPf (Xerxes, Persepolis f): on Darius choosing Xerxes crown prince, 360; *vašna Auramazdāha* used in, 365
- XPg (Xerxes, Persepolis g), *vašna Auramazdāha* used in, 365
- XPh (Daiva inscription; Xerxes, Persepolis h): on demons, 247; on following divine law and proper ritual to obtain happiness in life and truthful/righteousness in death, 260-62, 264, 418; on God's law and king's law, 420n38; introductory formula preceding lists of lands/

- peoples under Achaemenian rule, 138, 179; on law that Wise Lord set down, 420; list of Xerxes's holdings in, 47-48; occurrences of *šiyāti* and *šiyāta* and their temporal distribution, 264; prayer formulae seeking divine protection, 248; *vašna Auramazdāha* used in, 360, 364, 365
- XPI (Xerxes, Persepolis I): formulae describing Wise Lord's final act of creation, 253, 253; *fraša* in, 193n16, 369; *ima frašam taya vajnataj* in, 191; lists of Wise Lord's material creations in Achaemenian texts, 98
- xrafstra*. See vermin (*xrafstra*)
- xraθu*: as divine quality, 254; of the king, 98, 253-54, 342-43; pairing with *aruvasa*, 253n45; as power of thought and interiority, 255; taxonomy underlying Persian system of education, 345; uniqueness of, 253, 257
- XSa (Xerxes, Susa a), *vašna Auramazdāha* used in, 365
- Xšaθrita, 400
- XV (Xerxes, Van): formulae describing Wise Lord's final act of creation, 252; *vašna Auramazdāha* used in, 365
- Xwanirah, 153-54, 155-56, 155n22, 158, 466
- Yama, King, 437
- Yasna: Ahuna Vairiia prayer, 229-30; on Aži Dahāka, 228n12; on creation, 148; on God's favor overcoming Zarathuštra's powerlessness, 428; grammatical number for Wise Lord's material creations in Older Avesta, 89-90, 91; grammatical number for Wise Lord's material creations in Younger Avesta, 90, 92-93; Haptaŋhaiti, 226; on the Lie, 218-19, 219n21; on two first spirits of existence, 226n6; *vasna* in, 366, 367, 367, 368; on Wise Lord's creation, 18, 18n37
- Yasna ritual, 72, 229
- Yašt: on Aži Dahāka, 228n12, 228n14; on bad year, 413n21, 416n27; on defects associated with the Lie, 220n22; on figures of high rank using *vazra*, 435, 436; on Gaya, 152-53; on kingship and truth, 40n68; Lie and Evil Spirit associated in, 228n14; on Mithra, 287, 287n57; on Raṇhā, 466n9; Tištrya (Sirius) overcoming bad year, 413n; *vasna* in, 366, 367, 367-68
- yaūd*-, 131, 137, 195
- Yima: demonic descendants of, 161, 161n, 163; and Iran's relation to the districts, 155n21; loses his royal charisma when he lies, 40, 162; mythic genealogy as narrated in Cihrdād Nask, 157; Spityura in myth of, 383n, 384n36
- Yimag, 161, 162, 163
- Younger Avesta: grammatical number for Wise Lord's material creations in, 90, 92-93; on Indo-Iranian deities, 246; on the Lie, 220-22, 227-30; *vasna* in, 366-68. See also Vidēvdād (Vidēvdāt); Yašt
- zandīk*, 161
- zangīg*, 161
- Zarathuštra: Ahuna Vairiia prayer, 229-30, 231, 237, 244; God's favor overcomes powerlessness of, 428; as lacking in Achaemenian texts, 4; and the Lie, 230-33, 237-39, 241-45; in Zoroastrian creation story, 42
- Zeus, 294, 311, 313, 319, 320
- Zoroastrianism: Achaemenians' relation to, 4, 16-18, 24, 42, 148-49, 202-4, 448, 460-61, 473-474; as aniconic, 190; arch-demons of, 217; on brother-sister marriages, 281; on the dead and the earth, 438-39; on fresh and salt water, 455-56; myths concerning plants in, 69-73, 80-85; Parsi Zoroastrians, 100n24
- Zoroastrian scriptures: language of, xviii; temporal sequence in, 41-42. See also Avesta
- zūrakara*, 28-29